THE HISTORY OF THE POPES,

FROM THE

Foundation of the SEE of *ROME*,

TO THE

PRESENT TIME.

VOL. VII.

By ARCHIBALD BOWER, *Esq*;

Heretofore Public Professor of Rhetoric, History, *and* Philosophy, *in the Universities of* Rome, Fermo, *and* Macerata,

And, in the latter Place, Counsellor of the Inquisition.

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M.DCC.LXVI.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES, OR BISHOPS of *ROME*.

JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East.* **URBAN V.** CHARLES IV. *Emperor of the West.*

The Hundred and Ninety-ſeventh BISHOP *of* Rome.

INNOCENT dying on the 12th of *September*, the Cardinals performed his Exequies the following Day, and Nine Days after, that is, on the 22d of the ſame Month, ſhut themſelves up according to Cuſtom in the Conclave, being in all Twenty. In the Scrutiny of the 28th of *September*, One of the Cardinals, a Black Monk, that is, a *Benedictine*, a Native of *Limoges*, a Man advanced in Years, and wholly addicted to a ſpiritual Life, was found to have Fifteen Suffrages out of the Twenty, and conſequently to be lawfully elected. But he declined the offered Dignity before his Election was made public. Thus *Villani*, a contemporary Writer [a]. But he does not name the Cardinal, and there were at this Time Two Cardinals, both Natives of *Limoges*, both Black Monks or *Benedictines*,

Year of Chriſt 1362.

[a] Villani, l. 11. c. 26.

Year of Christ 1362.

and both Biſhops, *viz. Hugh Roger*, Brother to *Clement* VI. and *William de Agrifolio*. However, as the Cardinal, who would not conſent to his Election, is ſaid by *Villani* to have been ſtricken in Years, and *William de Agrifolio* could not be above Forty-five Years of Age, as has been made to appear by *Baluzius*, we may well conclude with *Spondanus* the Pontificate to have been refuſed by the other [b]. Upon his Refuſal the Cardinals, not agreeing among themſelves in the Election of One of their own Body, choſe with one Conſent *William Grimoardi*, Abbot of the *Benedictine* Monaſtery of *St. Victor* at *Marſeilles*. But as he was abſent, having been ſent by the late Pope to *Naples* with the Character of his Legate on Occaſion of the Death of that King, the Cardinals, apprehending that if his Election were publicly known, the *Italians* would not ſuffer him to depart out of *Italy*, carefully concealed it, and only wrote to him to haſten to *Avignon*, in order to deliver his Opinion concerning an Affair of the utmoſt Importance. Upon the Receipt of that Letter he ſet out immediately from *Naples*, and his Election being notified to him upon his Landing at *Marſeilles* on the 28th of *October*, he conſented to it, and repairing to *Avignon*, entered that City privately on the 31ſt of the ſame Month [c]. The Cardinals had agreed to elect him before the 28th of *October*; but as he ſent his Conſent on that Day, he is ſaid to have been elected on that Day.

Urban V. *elected.*

Enthroned and crowned at Avignon.

He was enthroned on the Day of his Arrival at *Avignon*, and on that Occaſion took the Name of *Urban* V. But his Conſecration and Coronation were put off till the following *Sunday* the Sixth of *November*, thoſe Ceremonies being by an ancient Cuſtom performed on *Sundays* only. To ſhew his Averſion to all Pomp and Grandeur, inſtead of riding, as other Popes had done, in ſolemn Cavalcade through the City to ſhew himſelf in the gorgeous Apparel of High Pontiff, he privately withdrew to his Palace [d]. We are told that, though free from all Ambition, he accepted the Pontificate with great Pleaſure, out of the Deſire he had of reſtoring the Apoſtolic See to *Rome*; which he had ſo much at Heart, that when News was brought to him at *Florence* of the Death of *Innocent*, he was heard to ſay, *Could I but ſee a Pope who would return to his own Church at* Rome, *and quaſh the petty Tyrants of* Italy, *I ſhould die with great Satisfaction the next Day* [e].

[b] Spondan. ad ann. 1362. [c] Auctores primæ et ſecundæ vitæ Urban. [d] Iidem ibid. [e] Villani, l. 11. c. 27.

Urban

Year of Christ 1362.

His Birth, Education, &c.

Urban was the Son of *William Grimoardi*, Lord of *Griſac* in the Province of *Gevaudan* and Dioceſe of *Mende*. He embraced very early a religious Life among the *Benedictines*, ſtudied Civil and Canon Law at *Montpelier*, and afterwards taught both in that Univerſity, at *Avignon*, at *Toulouſe*, and at *Paris*, being reputed One of the beſt Civilians and Canoniſts of his Time. About the Year 1346 he was made Abbot of *St. Germain* of *Auxerre*, and ſoon after preferred to the Abbey of *St. Victor* at *Marſeilles*. While Abbot of that Monaſtery he was ſent by *Innocent* VI. who entertained a high Opinion of his Abilities, with the Character of Apoſtolic Legate into the Kingdom of the *Hither Sicily* or of *Naples*, as has been ſaid above.

Prefers his Brother to the See of Avignon.

The See of *Avignon* had remained vacant ever ſince the Year 1349, the Two preceding Popes, *Clement* VI. and *Innocent* VI. having applied to their own Uſes the Revenues of that Church. But *Urban* ſoon after his Promotion, that is, on the 12th of *December*, preferred to the vacant See *Anglic Grimoardi*, his own Brother, Canon Regular of *St. Rufus*, and at the Time of his Promotion Prior of *Die* [f].

Is viſited by Three Kings.

The new Pope was honoured, in the Beginning of his Pontificate, with a Viſit from Three Kings in Perſon. *John*, King of *France*, happening to paſs the Autumn in the Neighbourhood of *Avignon*, went on the 20th of *November* to congratulate his Holineſs upon his Advancement to the Pontifical Throne, and dined that Morning, ſays the Hiſtorian, with our Holy Father. On the 26th of *January* of the following Year 1363 came to *Avignon Waldemoris*, King of *Denmark*, but what Buſineſs brought him thither Hiſtory does not inform us. On the 29th of the following *March* arrived from *Cyprus Peter Luſignan*, King of that Iſland, come to ſollicit the Aſſiſtance of the Pope and the Weſtern Princes againſt the *Turks* threatening his Kingdom with an Invaſion. In that Affair *Urban* engaged with great Warmth, and as the *French* King ſtill continued in the Neighbourhood of *Avignon*, his Holineſs prevailed upon him, and likewiſe upon the King of *Denmark*, to take the Croſs, and they both took it, as well as the King of *Cyprus*, at the Pope's Hands on *Good Friday* the 31ſt of *March*, binding themſelves to paſs into the Eaſt againſt the Infidels in the Term of Two Years. The *French* King was appointed by the Pope Commander in Chief, and Cardinal *Talayrandus*, Biſhop of *Oſtia*, was

Whom he engages in a Cruſade againſt the Turks.

Year of Chriſt 1363.

[f] Auctores primæ et ſecundæ vit. Urban. apud Baluz.

Year of Christ 1363.

nominated to attend him with the Character of Legate *a latere*. But while the neceſſary Preparations were carrying on throughout the whole Kingdom of *France*, in Spite of the repeated Remonſtrances of the Nobility, apprehending, and not without Reaſon, that the King of *England* would invade the Kingdom in his Abſence, the King died in *April* 1364: And thus to the great Joy of the *French*, and Grief of the Pope, the intended Expedition came to nothing [m].

Bull againſt Barnabo Viſconti.

Barnabo Viſconti, Lord of *Milan*, and at this Time One of the moſt powerful Princes, or rather Tyrants of *Italy*, had ſeized in the late Pontificate on ſeveral Cities belonging to the Church, and on that Account had been over and over again excommunicated. However, upon the News of *Innocent*'s Death, and the Promotion of *Urban*, he ſent Embaſſadors to *Avignon* to treat of a Peace with the new Pope. But as *Urban* inſiſted upon his reſtoring all the Places he had taken, and giving the Church Satisfaction for the many enormous Crimes which he was charged with, the Treaty was broken off as ſoon as begun. Upon the Departure of the Embaſſadors the Pope publiſhed a Bull on the 28th of *November* 1362, and cauſed Copies of it to be diſperſed all over *Italy*, enumerating the many Crimes charged upon *Barnabo*, and ſummoning him to appear by the 1ſt of *March* of the following Year at the Tribunal of the Apoſtolic See, and hear his Sentence. The Bull contains many Charges of a very extraordinary Nature againſt *Barnabo*. For he is there ſaid to have countenanced and protected condemned Heretics; to have One Day ſent for the Archbiſhop on Occaſion of his refuſing to ordain a worthleſs Monk whom he had recommended to him, and to have addreſſed that Prelate, when he appeared before him, in the following Terms, *Doſt thou not know, thou old Fornicator, that I am King, Pope, and Emperor in my own Dominions*; that the Pope has no Power over me, nor any of my Subjects; that it is my Part to command, and yours blindly to obey? Many other ſtill more heavy Charges are brought againſt *Barnabo* in *Urban*'s Bull, *viz.* that he practiſed unheard-of Cruelties upon the Clergy and the Religious of all Orders, who did not readily obey his Commands, how repugnant ſoever to Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion; that he had cauſed ſome to be burnt alive in an iron Cage, and others to be tortured to Death; that he had ordered the Ears of a

Crimes laid by the Pope to his Charge.

[m] Auctor. ſecundæ vit. Raymund. ad ann. 1363. num. 14. et 1364.

holy

holy Minorite to be pierced with a red hot Iron; that he had prohibited all his Subjects, on Pain of being burnt alive, to entertain any Correſpondence with the Pope or his Legates, to lend them any Aſſiſtance, or receive from them any Favours or Preferments, and that Prohibition he had cauſed to be notified to all by the public Crier; and laſtly, that he had obliged a Prieſt of *Parma* to anathematize from the Top of a Tower the late Pope and all his Cardinals [n].

Year of Chriſt 1363.

As *Barnabo* did not appear at the Time appointed, the 1ſt of *March*, to clear himſelf from theſe Imputations, or to plead guilty, and give what Satisfaction ſhould be required, *Urban* in a full Conſiſtory, held on that Day, excommunicated him with great Solemnity, and all who ſhould any-ways aid or aſſiſt him, or even keep him Company; deprived him of all Privileges, Honours, Dignities, and Titles whatſoever; interdicted his Dominions, and forbad Divine Service to be any-where performed in his Preſence. *Urban*, beſides, ordered a Cruſade to be preached againſt him with the ſame Indulgences as were granted to thoſe who went againſt the Infidels. But in the mean time the *French* King, whoſe Daughter *Barnabo* had married, interpoſing, a new Treaty was begun, and a Peace at laſt concluded between *Barnabo* and the Church upon the following Terms: I. That *Barnabo* ſhould renounce all Claim to the City of *Bologna*. II. That he ſhould reſtore all the Caſtles and ſtrong Holds that he had ſeized in *Romagna*, and in the Diſtricts of *Modena* and *Bologna*. III. That he ſhould not perſecute nor moleſt thoſe of the *Guelph* Party in his Dominions. IV. That the Pope, on his Side, ſhould abſolve *Barnabo* from the Cenſures he had incurred, ſhould reſtore him to all his Privileges and Dignities, and pay him, in the Term of Eight Years, Five hundred thouſand Florins of Gold for the Caſtles and ſtrong Holds, which he had built in the Territories, that he was by the preſent Treaty to reſtore to the Church. Theſe Articles being agreed to and ſigned, in the Month of *February* 1364, by *Barnabo*, and Cardinal *Androinus de Rocha* the Pope's Legate, he was abſolved by the Cardinal from all Cenſures on what Account ſoever incurred, was reſtored to the Communion of the Church, to all the Privileges, Dignities, and Honours he ever had enjoyed, and the Interdict was taken off that had been laid on all his Dominions [o].

Cruſade preached againſt him.

A Peace concluded between him and the Church, and upon what Terms.

Year of Chriſt 1364.

[n] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1362. num. 12, 13.

[o] Spondan. ad ann. 1364. et Villani, l. 11. c. 41.

Peace:

Urban *invited by the* Romans *to* Rome. Year of Chriſt 1365.

Peace being thus concluded with the powerful Family of the *Viſconti*, and moſt of the rebel Cities brought again under Subjection by the Legate *Alvarez*, the *Romans* ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to congratulate the Pope upon theſe Events, and at the ſame time invite him to come and reſide at his own Church, as the moſt effectual Means of maintaining the Peace of *Italy*. *Urban* received the Embaſſadors with extraordinary Marks of Kindneſs, aſſured them that he had nothing ſo much at Heart as to reſtore his See to the Place of its Foundation, and promiſed to comply, in due Time, with their Requeſt as well as his own Inclination p. *Urban*, ſays one of the Authors of his Life, had reſolved to leave *Avignon*, and reſtore the Apoſtolic See to *Rome* before the Arrival of the *Roman* Embaſſadors, and would have carried his Deſign into Execution immediately after his Election, had not the Roads been infeſted by numerous Companies of Banditti, who robbed and often murdered all the Travellers they met with. Theſe Companies conſiſted chiefly of the diſbanded Soldiery. For a Peace being concluded at *Bretigni* on the 8th of *May* 1360, after a moſt bloody War between *France* and *England*, many, who had ſerved in that War, wanting Bread, and not caring to return to their former Occupations, formed themſelves into different Companies under different Leaders, and laid not only Villages, but large Cities and whole Provinces under Contribution. From One of *Petrarch*'s Letters it appears, that they beſieged and kept the Pope himſelf ſhut up in *Avignon*, till he purchaſed his Liberty with a large Sum of Money q.

Urban, in a Letter to the Emperor, had expreſſed a great Deſire of conferring with him in Perſon about ſome Affairs of the utmoſt Importance. That Letter *Charles* no ſooner received than, *like a true Son of the Church*, he flew to *Avignon*, and arrived there on the 23d of *May* of the preſent Year. The Emperor of the *Romans*, ſays One of the Authors of *Urban*'s Life, who lived at this Time, came to Pope *Urban* at *Avignon*, attended by a great Number of *German* Princes and Noblemen, and was received by his Holineſs and the Cardinals with all the Marks of the higheſt Reſpect and Eſteem r. The Pope and the Emperor frequently conferred; but what was the Subject of thoſe Conferences Hiſtory has not informed us. The Continuator of

The Emperor at Avignon.

p Auctor primæ vit. Urban. apud Baluz. q Petrarch. rer. ſenil. l. 7. r Auctor primæ vit.

Nangius ſuppoſes the Pope to have invited the Emperor to *Avignon*, in order to communicate to him the Plan he had formed of a Cruſade againſt the *Turks*, and perſuade him to engage in that Undertaking. Others ſay that the Pope wanted to conclude an Alliance with the Emperor againſt the Tyrants of *Italy*, and utterly extirpate them. But the above-mentioned Writer of *Urban*'s Life ſays no more than that the Pope and the Emperor had frequent Conferences about the State of the Church and the Empire [s]; and he knew no more, nor indeed did any body elſe; what paſſed at thoſe Conferences being kept inviolably ſecret [t]. *Charles* arrived, as has been ſaid, at *Avignon* on the 23d of *May*, aſſiſted in his Imperial Robes at high Maſs celebrated by the Pope with great Solemnity on *Whitſunday*, the 1ſt of *June*, and the next Day went to *Arles* to be crowned there King of that Kingdom, which then belonged to the Empire. The Ceremony of the Coronation was performed on the 4th of *June* by the Archbiſhop of *Arles* in the Preſence of the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Bourbon*, of the Seneſchal of *Provence*, and a great many Biſhops. On the 7th of *June* he returned to *Avignon*, continued there conferring privately with the Pope till the 29th of *June*, when he took Leave of his Holineſs, and returned to *Germany* [u]. Year of Chriſt 1365.

Urban had reſolved, from the Beginning of his Pontificate, to reſtore the Apoſtolic See to *Rome*, and this Reſolution he publicly declared ſoon after the Departure of the Emperor, ordering his Palaces at *Viterbo* and at *Rome* to be got ready for his Reception againſt *Eaſter* of the following Year 1366. He likewiſe wrote to the *Venetians* and the *Genoeſe* for their Gallies to convey him and his Court to *Italy* [w]. *The Pope reſolves to go to* Rome.

In the mean time he created Three new Cardinals, *viz. William Sudre*, a *Dominican* Friar, and Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, *Marcus* of *Viterbo*, General of the *Minorites*, and his own Brother *Anglicus Grimoardi*, Biſhop of *Avignon*, whom he is ſaid to have preferred to that Dignity at the earneſt Requeſt of the whole College of Cardinals, being a Man of an unexceptionable Character, but of no great Learning [x]. *Creates Three new Cardinals.* Year of Chriſt 1366.

On the 7th of *January* of the following Year the Pope went to *Montpellier*, to viſit a Monaſtery which he had built there in Honour of St. *Benedict* and St. *Germanus*, and richly endowed. He continued *Sets out for* Italy. Year of Chriſt 1367.

[s] Idem apud Baluz. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Auctor ſecundæ vit. et Albert. Argentin.
[w] Auctor primæ vit. [x] Aymericus de Peyr. in vit. Urban.

there

Year of Chriſt 1367.

there till the Month of *March*, when he returned to *Avignon*, and on the laſt Day of *April* ſet out from thence for *Italy*, *to the great Grief*, ſays *Petrarch*, of many of the Cardinals and the whole *Roman* Court, as if they were not going to *Rome*, the Head Quarters of Chriſtianity, but were dragged by the *Saracens* to *Cteſiphon* or *Memphis* [y]. Five Cardinals only, according to ſome, choſe to remain at *Avignon*, according to others only Four; but One of the Authors of *Urban*'s Life, who lived at this Time, writes, that no more than Five attended the Pope into *Italy*, the reſt all preferring *Avignon* to *Rome* [z].

His Journey. From *Avignon* the Pope went to *Marſeilles*, in order to embark there for *Italy*. He remained at *Marſeilles* in the Monaſtery of *St. Victor*, of which he had been Abbot, till the 20th of *May*, and on the 12th of that Month conferred the Dignity of Cardinal upon *William de Agrifolio*, though then but Twenty-eight Years of Age. *Urban* had lived from his tender Years in the greateſt Friendſhip and Intimacy with Cardinal *William de Agrifolio* the elder, and owed chiefly to his Intereſt, as he was a Man of great Weight in the Sacred College, his Promotion to the Papacy. Thus One of the Authors of *Urban*'s Life accounts for his creating his Friend's Nephew, though yet ſo young, a Cardinal, eſpecially as he was already in holy Orders, had been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Canon Law, and was Notary of the Apoſtolic See [a].

The Pope embarking on the 20th of *May* on board a *Venetian* Galley, ſet ſail the ſame Day for *Genoa* with Twenty-three Gallies, and a great Number of other Veſſels ſent by the *Genoeſe*, the *Veneti*ans, the *Piſans*, and by *Joan* Queen of *Naples*. He landed ſafe at *Genoa* on the 23d of the ſame Month, was received at his Landing by the Doge and the People with the greateſt Reſpect and Eſteem, and attended by them to the Houſe of the *Knights Hoſpitalers*, where he choſe to lodge during his Stay in that City. As he arrived on the *Sunday* preceding *Holy Thurſday* he reſolved to paſs the *Rogation Days* and celebrate there the Feſtival of the *Aſcenſion*, which he did accordingly, performing Divine Service on that Day with great Solemnity in the Church of the *Knights Hoſpitalers* [b]. The Day after the *Aſcenſion*, the 28th of *May*, the Pope re-imbarked, leaving Cardinal *Mark* of *Viterbo* at *Genoa*, to com-

Arrives at Genoa.

[y] Petrarch, l. 9. p. 2. [z] Auctor ſecundæ vit. [a] Auctor primæ vit. [b] Auctores primæ & ſecundæ vit.

poſe

poſe ſome Differences between *Barnabo Viſconti* and the *Genoeſe*. On the 4th of *June* the Pope landed on the Coaſt of *Corneto*, a City ſubject to the Apoſtolic See, and about Fifty Miles diſtant from *Viterbo*, where he deſigned to reſide ſome time before he went to *Rome*. On his Landing he cauſed Maſs to be celebrated in his Preſence under a magnificent Pavilion prepared on the Shore for his Reception, and then, taking ſome Refreſhment, ſet out for *Corneto* on Horſe-back, and reached that Place about Noon. He received there the Deputies of the *Romans*, who delivered to him the Keys of the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, which they had hitherto kept. At *Corneto* he celebrated the Feſtival of *Whitſunday* in the Church of the *Minorites*, with whom he lodged, and the next Day, the 7th of *June*, he purſued his Journey to *Viterbo*, and, arriving there on the 10th, was viſited a few Days after by moſt of the *Italian* Biſhops, of the Nobility, and the Deputies of the Communities, all come to congratulate him upon his ſafe Arrival in *Italy*. Year of Chriſt 1367. *Arrives at* Viterbo.

The Pope had been but a few Days at *Viterbo* when a Quarrel aroſe between the Inhabitants and the Domeſtics of the Cardinals; and the Inhabitants prevailing, not only the Domeſtics of the Cardinals, but the Cardinals themſelves, were moſt groſly inſulted by the enraged Multitude; their Houſes were plundered, and they obliged to fly for Shelter to the Pope's Palace. The Tumult laſted Three Days, but was quelled in the End by the Magiſtrates; and the People, returning to themſelves, expreſſed great Sorrow for the Outrages they had committed, and carried all their Arms to the Pope's Palace. But as Four Domeſtics of the Cardinals had been killed, Ten of the Ring-leaders of the People were hanged at their own Doors, and a general Pardon was granted to the Reſt [c]. Of this Tumult Mention is made by *Petrarch*, who calls it *Motiunculam*, a ſmall Commotion; and adds, that ſome flattered themſelves that the Pope would take Occaſion from thence to return to *France* [d]. *Tumult raiſed in that City.*

Urban, leaving *Viterbo* in the Month of *October* of the preſent Year, ſet out for *Rome*, and on the 16th of the ſame Month made his public Entry into that City, being met at the Gate by the Clergy, the Nobility, and the Magiſtrates in a Body, and attended by them amidſt Urban's *Arrival at* Rome.

[c] Auctores primæ & ſecundæ vit. apud Baluz. [d] Petrarch Senil. l. 9. epiſt. 1.

Year of Chriſt 1368.

the loud Acclamations of the Multitude to the Church of *St. Peter*. He prayed there ſome time at the Tombs of the holy Apoſtles, and then bleſſing the Multitude diſmiſſed them and retired to the *Vatican* Palace, where he choſe to reſide.

He firſt Care was to repair ſeveral Churches in the City, and rebuild others quite gone to Decay. On the 1ſt of *March* of the following Year he went in ſolemn Proceſſion from *St. Peter*'s to the *Lateran Baſilic*, and entering the Place called the *Sancta Sanctorum*, where the ſuppoſed Heads of the Apoſtles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* were kept, he ſhewed them from a Balcony to the immenſe Multitude aſſembled in the Square. As the Caſes of thoſe Reliques were but coarſe, and of very little Value, the Pope ordered new ones to be made of Gold and Silver, and adorned them with a great Number of Jewels and precious Stones, to the Value of Thirty thouſand Florins[e].

Adorns the Heads of the Apoſtles St. Peter *and St.* Paul.

While the Pope was thus engaged, *Joan*, the celebrated Queen of *Naples*, came to *Rome*, to congratulate his Holineſs upon his Arrival in that City. She was met at ſome Diſtance by *Peter*, King of *Cyprus*, who happened to be then at the Pope's Court, was received at the Gate by all the Cardinals and the *Roman* Nobility in a Body, and attended by them to the Church of *St. Peter*, where the Pope waited for her on the Steps of that *Baſiliic*, and conducted her to the Tombs of the Apoſtles. As the Queen was ſtill in *Rome* on the Fourth *Sunday* of *Lent*, when the Pope uſed to ſend the Golden Roſe, which he bleſſed and wore that Day, to ſome Perſon of high Rank and great Merit, he gave it to her as ſhe ſtood near him, preferring her to the King of *Cyprus*, who was likewiſe preſent; which, we are told, did not at all pleaſe ſome of the Cardinals. The Popes uſed to bleſs at High Maſs on *Eaſter-day* a Sword, and ſend it to ſome Prince or Perſon of diſtinguiſhed Merit, and that Sword too *Urban* beſtowed upon the Queen, who with his Holineſs's Permiſſion gave it to the King of *Cyprus*[f]. The Sword and with the Sword a Cap, called the Cap of Liberty and Juſtice, were originally bleſſed by the Pope on *Chriſtmas-day*, and ſent to ſome Prince or chief Commander, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in War againſt the Infidels and gained a ſignal Victory over them. When, or by what Pope, this Cuſtom was firſt introduced Authors are at a

Queen Joan *at* Rome.

Extraordinary Honours beſtowed on her by the Pope.

[e] Auctores primæ & ſecundæ vit.

[f] Auctor primæ vit. & Chron MS. regni Siciliæ, apud Baluz ad ann. 1368.

Loſs

Loſs to determine. But it ſtill obtains: For both the Sword and Cap were ſent by *Innocent* XI. to *John Sobieſki*, King of *Poland*, for obliging the *Turks*, with great Slaughter, to raiſe the Siege of *Vienna*, and by *Clement* XI. to Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, for the ſignal Victory he gained over the *Turks* at *Waradin* in 1716. Year of Chriſt 1368.

The Pope, ſoon after the Departure of the Queen, left *Rome*, apprehending that the exceſſive Heat of that Climate, in the Summer Seaſon, might hurt his Conſtitution, and retired to the pure and wholſome Air of *Monteſiaſcone*. The Popes had a Palace there, which he cauſed to be repaired, and at the ſame time he ordered a Well to be dug in the Middle of the Place, as the Inhabitants had no other than Rain-water. He continued there from *May* till *October*, with a few Cardinals and a very ſmall Number of Attendants, the Reſt of his Court reſiding, for Want of Room at *Viterbo*, but Eight Miles diſtant from *Monteſiaſcone*. *Urban* during his Stay in that Place erected their Collegiate Church into a Cathedral and the Place itſelf into an Epiſcopal See, withdrawing it from the Juriſdiction of the See of *Bagnarea*, to which it was ſubject g. Urban *retires to* Monteſiaſcone, *and erects it into a Biſhopric.*

On the 22d of *September* of the preſent Year *Urban* made at *Monteſiaſcone* a Third Promotion of Cardinals, adding Seven new Ones to the College, and among them *Simon de Langham*, an *Engliſhman*, of the Order of *St. Benedict*, and then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* h. On the 9th of *October* the Pope removed from *Monteſiaſcone* to *Viterbo*, and there received on the 17th of the ſame Month the Emperor *Charles*, who, at his earneſt Requeſt, had entered *Italy* the preceding Month at the Head of an Army of 20,000 Men, chiefly with a Deſign to keep in awe the *Viſconti*, who, notwithſtanding the Peace concluded with the late Pope, had ſeized upon ſome Territories belonging to the Church. The Emperor ravaged all the *Milaneſe*, and even laid Siege to *Milan*, which he was obliged to raiſe, and turn his Arms againſt the leſs powerful Tyrants. Moſt of theſe he ſubdued, and, arriving at *Viterbo* on the 17th of *October*, gave the Pope an Account of his Exploits, and ſet out the next Day for *Rome* to attend his Holineſs at his Entry into that City. The Pope arrived at *Rome* on the 21ſt of *October*, and was attended from the *Collina* Gate, near the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, to *The Emperor invited by the Pope into* Italy. Urban *returns to* Rome, *and*

g Auctor primæ vit.

h Auctor ſecundæ vit. & Continuator Nangii, ad ann. 1368.

Year of Christ 1368. *crowns the Empreſs.*

the Church of *St. Peter* by the Emperor walking on Foot and holding his Bridle. On the 29th of the ſame Month came to *Rome* the Empreſs *Elizabeth*, the Emperor's Fourth Wife; and on the 1ſt of *November* ſhe was anointed at the Altar of *St. Peter* by the Cardinal Biſhop of *Oſtia* and crowned by the Pope. The next Day the Emperor took his Leave of the Pope and returned to *Germany*. But the Empreſs remained at *Rome*, and was magnificently entertained by the Pope, the Cardinals, and the *Roman* Nobility till the 23d of *November* [i].

Repairs ſeveral Churches in Rome.

The following Year was employed by the Pope, during his Stay at *Rome*, in repairing and embelliſhing ſeveral Churches, thoſe eſpecially of *St. John Lateran* and *St. Paul*. The latter he repaired with the Money of the Abbot, who ſupplied him with a very large Sum for that Purpoſe, hoping, ſays the Abbot *Peter de Herentals*, that the Pope would reward his Generoſity with the Red Hat. But the Pope, adds that Writer, did with the Abbot's Money what the Abbot himſelf ought to have done, and left him as he found him [k].

Year of Chriſt 1369.

Canonizes Count Elzearius.

On the 15th of *April Urban* canonized with the utmoſt Solemnity Count *Elzearius de Sabrano*, who died at *Paris* in 1323, and was ſaid to have wrought many ſtupendous Miracles after his Death. The Pope had no ſooner performed that Ceremony than he left *Rome* and returned to *Montefiaſcone*, where he ſtaid till the 8th of *Auguſt*, when he went to *Viterbo*, and remained there till the 13th of *October*. During his Reſidence in that City he excommunicated the People of *Perugia*, and interdicted their City. They had not only withdrawn their Obedience to the Apoſtolic See, and declared themſelves a free People, but ſent out Parties to inſult the Pope himſelf under the very Walls of *Viterbo*.

Subdues the Perugians.

A Cruſade therefore was by the Pope's Order preached againſt them, with the ſame Indulgences as were granted to thoſe who went to the Holy Land. Thus was the Rebellion ſoon ſuppreſſed, and the Authors of it, ſays the Hiſtorian, came to an unhappy End [l].

The Greek *Emperor* John Palæologus *at* Rome.

On the 13th of *October* the Pope returned to *Rome*, where *John Palæologus*, the *Greek* Emperor, waited for him. That Prince, no longer able to withſtand the *Turks*, who had already over-run ſeveral Provinces of the Empire, came in Perſon to ſolicit the Aſſiſtance of

[i] Auctor primæ & ſecundæ vit. [k] Herentals in vit. Urban, apud Baluz. [l] Auctor primæ vit.

the Pope and the Weſtern Princes. *Urban* received him with all poſſible Marks of Friendſhip and Eſteem, and ordered the ſame Honours to be paid to him as to the *Roman* Emperor. On the 18th of *October* the Emperor made a ſolemn Confeſſion of the Faith held, taught, and profeſſed by the *Roman* Church, declaring, in particular, that he held the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt from the Father and the Son; that he believed in Purgatory; that he owned the Primacy of the *Roman* Church, and the Authority of the *Roman* Pontiff over all Biſhops and Patriarchs. This Profeſſion the Emperor made in the Preſence of Three Cardinals, of all the Notaries of the *Roman* Church, and a great many Perſons of Diſtinction, and delivered it, ſigned with his own Hand, and ſealed with a Golden Seal or Bull, to the Pope, ſwearing on that Occaſion perpetual Obedience to the *Roman* Church and the Apoſtolic See. The ſame Profeſſion that was delivered to the Pope by the Emperor is ſtill preſerved in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and has been tranſlated out of the original *Greek* into *Latin* by *Bzovius* and *Raynaldus* [m]. The Emperor, now reconciled to the *Roman* Church, went to *St. Peter*'s, where the Pope received him, and attending him to the High Altar, performed Divine Service in his Preſence. He was ſtill at *Rome* on the 20th of *January* 1370, as appears from a Diploma of his dated that Day at *Rome*, whereby he declared, in order to avoid all Ambiguity, that by the *Roman* Church he meant that Church over which preſided at preſent Pope *Urban*, and his Predeceſſors had preſided [n]. *Palæologus* frequently viſited *Urban* during his Stay at *Rome*, and, being taken with his affable Manner and inſtructive Converſation, he often dined with him though not invited. The Pope uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to form an Alliance in his Favour, but without Succeſs, the Chriſtian Princes being then all at War, or at the Eve of a War, with one another.

Year of Chriſt 1369.

Is reconciled to the Roman *Church.*

Urban remained at *Rome* to celebrate there the Feſtival of *Eaſter*; but the following *Wedneſday*, the 17th of *April*, he ſet out for *Montefiaſcone*, the Place of his Summer Reſidence, and going, after a ſhort Stay there, to *Viterbo*, he notified to the Court, what greatly ſurpriſed them all, his Intention of returning very ſoon to *Avignon*, and ordered them to prepare, without Loſs of Time, for the Journey. Whether it was to transfer his See again to *Avignon*, or to mediate a Peace in Perſon

Urban *reſolves to return to* Avignon.

Year of Chriſt 1370.

[m] Bzovius & Raynald. ad ann. 1370. [n] Apud Raymund. ibid.

Year of Christ 1370.

ſon between the Kings of *France* and *England*, and then return to *Italy*, is uncertain. He indeed gave out, that it was to procure an Interview between thoſe Two Princes, at which he himſelf intended to be preſent, and to lay hold of every Opportunity that offered of interpoſing his good Offices, that he removed to *Avignon*. But moſt Authors ſuppoſe that to have been a mere Pretence for leaving *Italy*, and enjoying that Tranquillity at *Avignon* which he deſpaired of being ever able to enjoy at *Rome*. *Ægidius* of *Viterbo* tells us, that *Urban* had no Reaſon to complain of the *Italians*; that he never thought of ſettling at *Avignon*; but was, on the contrary, reſolved to return to *Rome* as ſoon as he had compoſed the Differences lately ariſen between *France* and *England*, which he had above all Things at Heart °. Had he really intended to return, he would have naturally declared it; the rather as the *Romans*, and indeed the Subjects of the Church in general, expreſſed great Concern when they firſt heard of his intended Departure, and took it for granted that he deſigned to reſtore the See to *Avignon*. But from none of the contemporary Hiſtorians does it appear, that he ever ſo much as mentioned his Return. St. *Bridget*, ſo famous for her Revelations, hearing, as ſhe happened to be at this Time in *Italy*, that the Pope was preparing to repaſs the Mountains and return to *France*, ſent *Alphonſus*, her Confeſſor, or, as others write, *Nicholas*, Count of *Nola*, to let him know, that if he undertook his intended Journey he never would complete it. But *Urban*, paying no Regard to that Revelation or Prophecy, continued unalterable in the Reſolution he had taken: A plain Proof that he entertained no great Opinion of the Saint's Revelations, though received as Goſpel by the Reſt of the World.

Whether with a Deſign to ſettle there.

Leaves Italy.

From *Viterbo* the Pope returned to *Monteſiaſcone*, and continued there till the 26th of *Auguſt*, when he ſet out for *Cornеto*, on his Return to *Avignon*, leaving his Brother, Cardinal *Anglicus*, Biſhop of *Albano*, and Cardinal *Peter de Stagno*, whom he had lately raiſed to that Dignity, with the Character of his Legates in *Italy*. At *Corneto* he found a numerous Fleet of Gallies and other Veſſels ſent by the Kings of *France* and *Arragon* and Queen *Joan* of *Sicily* to attend him. He embarked on the 5th of *September*, and landing at *Marſeilles* on the

° Viterb. in notis ad Ciacon.

16th,

16th, he remained there till the 24th of the ſame Month, when he made his public Entry into *Avignon* amidſt the loud Acclamations of the People p. Year of Chriſt 1370. *Arrives at* Avignon.

Urban, a few Days after his Arrival, ſent to acquaint the Kings of *France* and *England* with the Motives of his Journey, and at the ſame time to propoſe an Interview between them, at which he intended to aſſiſt in Perſon, having nothing in View but the public Good, and the Welfare of both. But while he was wholly intent upon the Means of compoſing their Differences to the Satisfaction of both Parties, he was taken dangerouſly ill, and his Illneſs daily increaſing, he laid aſide all Thoughts of the Things of this World, and employed his Time wholly in preparing for another. He frequently confeſſed, and finding his End approached, he cauſed his Bed to be placed before the Altar of St. *Peter*, and there declared, in the Preſence of his Chamberlain, of his Confeſſor, and of many Perſons of Diſtinction, that he held and firmly believed whatever the holy Catholic Church held and believed, and that he had never *knowingly* departed from her Definitions; which, by the way, was tacitly owning, that he might have departed from them unknowingly, and conſequently was not infallible. He then cauſed himſelf to be clad in his monaſtic Habit, and the Doors being thrown open by his Order, he expired in the Sight of all, holding a Croſs in his Hand, and recommending, with his laſt Breath, his departing Soul to the Mercy of the juſt Judge, at whoſe Tribunal he was going to appear q. His Death happened on the 19th of *December* after a Pontificate, reckoning from his Coronation, of Eight Years One Month and Fourteen Days. His Remains were depoſited in the great Church of *Avignon*, but Two Years after tranſlated to the Church of the Monaſtery of *St. Victor* at *Marſeilles*, of which he had been Abbot.

Is taken dangerouſly ill.

His Death.

The contemporary Writers, all to a Man, ſpeak of this Pope with the higheſt Commendations, extolling him for his humane Diſpoſition, his univerſal Benevolence, his Generoſity, and his indefatigable Endeavours utterly to extirpate the many Abuſes that had been introduced by ſome of his Predeceſſors, and connived at by others. He made it his Buſineſs to encourage Learning, to reward Virtue, and reſcue Merit from Obſcurity r. He looked upon Pluralities as an intolerable

His Character.

p Auct. primæ et ſecund. vit. q Auctores vit. apud Baluz. p. 302. 412. r Auct. primæ vitæ.

Abuſe,

Year of Chriſt 1370.

Abuſe, would ſuffer no Clergyman to hold more Benefices than were neceſſary to ſupport him according to his Condition and Rank in the Church, and obliged thoſe, who were poſſeſſed of more, to reſign them, nay, and publiſhed Two Conſtitutions, the One beginning with the Words *Conſueta ſollicitudo*, and the other with the Word *Horribilis*, both calculated to baniſh that *horrid Cuſtom*, as he called it, from the Church [s]. As upon his Acceſſion to the Pontificate a great many Biſhops and other Dignitaries had flocked from all Parts, ſome even from the Kingdom of *Naples*, where he had been Legate, to court his Favour, he ordered them all to return to their reſpective Sees and Churches, and to reſide there; nor would he ſuffer any to remain at *Avignon*, unleſs upon urgent Buſineſs, which he took care to diſpatch with the greateſt Expedition [t]. *Anglicus Grimoardi*, his own Brother, a Man of eminent Probity, was the only Relation he preferred to the Dignity of Cardinal during the Eight Years of his Pontificate, and it was at the preſſing Inſtances of the whole College of Cardinals that he conferred upon him that Dignity. Far from enriching his Relations, as moſt other Popes had done, with the Wealth of the Church, he would not allow his Father, who lived to the Fourth Year of his Pontificate, and died in the Hundredth of his Age, to accept of a very conſiderable Penſion which the *French* King had ſettled upon him. He lived in the Pontifical Palace with the Pope, but never received any Thing from him, except Indulgences at the Point of Death. Inſtead of procuring great Alliances for his Family, he perſuaded his only Nephew to marry one much inferior to him in Rank, the Daughter of a Merchant of *Montpelier*, whom he would not have married even before his Uncle had attained to any Preferment in the Church [u]. He was a generous Encourager of Learning, maintained and furniſhed with Books a Thouſand Students in different Univerſities during the whole Time of his Pontificate. At *Montpelier* he founded and endowed a College for Twelve Students in Phyſic, that Place being then famous for that Study [w]. To conclude, *Urban* V. is ranked by all the Writers, who ſpeak of him, amongſt the beſt Popes; and after his Death Endeavours were uſed by *Waldemar*, King of *Denmark*, by *Charles* V. King of *France*, by *Lewis*, King of *Sicily*, and above all

[s] Idem ibid. et tom. 2. Concil. p. 1938. [t] Auctor. tertiæ vit. [u] Auctor. primæ vit. [w] Auctores ſecundæ et tertiæ vit.

by

by the City of *Marſeilles*, to procure him a Place in the Calendar. But the dreadful Schiſm that aroſe in the Church upon the Death of his immediate Succeſſor diverted the ſucceeding Popes from attending to Matters of that Nature. Year of Chriſt 1370.

JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the Eaſt.* **GREGORY XI.** CHARLES IV. *Emperor of the Weſt.*

The Hundred and Ninety-eighth BISHOP *of* Rome.

URBAN died, as has been ſaid, on the 19th of *December*, and the Cardinals, Nineteen in Number, ſhutting themſelves up in the Conclave on the 29th of the ſame Month, choſe with one Conſent, the very next Day, *Peter Roger*, Cardinal Deacon of *St. Mary the New*, who was ordained Prieſt on the 4th of *January* 1371, and on the 5th conſecrated Pontiff, and crowned with the uſual Solemnity, *Lewis*, the *French* King's Brother, who happened to be then at *Avignon*, performing the Office of Equerry as he rode in his Pontificals through the City [x]. He acquainted the *French* King with his Election by a Letter dated the 3d of the Calends of *January*, that is, the 30th of *December*, the very Day on which he was elected. At his Coronation he took the Name of *Gregory*. Gregory XI. *elected.* *Conſecrated and crowned.* Year of Chriſt 1371.

Gregory was the Son of *William Roger*, Lord of *Beaufort*, and Brother to *Clement* VI. was born at *Maumont* in the Dioceſe of *Limoges*, and preferred by his Uncle to the Dignity of Cardinal in *May* 1348, when he had not yet completed the Seventeenth Year of his Age. He afterwards applied himſelf wholly to the Study of the Civil and Canon Law, as well as of Divinity, and by conſtant Application became one of the ableſt Civilians, Canoniſts, and Divines of his Time. *His Birth, Education, &c.*

The new Pope, treading in the Footſteps of his Predeceſſor, diſpatched immediately after his Conſecration Two Legates to mediate a Peace between the Kings of *France* and *England*, and wrote a long Letter to both Princes, ſetting forth with great Eloquence the Calamities of War, and exhorting them to ſpare the Blood of their Sub- *Endeavours to mediate a Peace between* France *and* England.

[x] Auctor. primæ vit. apud Baluz. p. 255, et ſeq.

Year of Chriſt 1371.

jects, and compoſe their Differences in a Chriſtian and amicable Manner. But the inveterate Hatred thoſe Kings bore to each other did not allow them to hearken to any Terms of Accommodation whatever. Beſides, the Legates themſelves could not agree; but as the one, Cardinal *Simon de Langham*, had been Chancellor to the King of *England*, and the other, Cardinal *John de Dormannis*, to the King of *France*, inſtead of acting as Mediators, they made themſelves Parties, and thus rather exaſperated the Two Kings ſtill more than reconciled them *y*.

Creates Twelve Cardinals.

In the preſent Year, on the 6th of *June* according to ſome, on the 8th according to others, and according to ſome on the 30th of *May*, the Pope created Twelve Cardinals, Eight Preſbyters and Four Deacons. He created ſo many at once, ſays one of the Authors of his Life, in order to oppoſe them to the old Cardinals who had elected him, and upon that Merit pretended he ſhould pay greater Regard to their Counſels, and grant them more Favours than was fit he ſhould *z*. It was cuſtomary for the new Cardinals to receive the Red Hat immediately from the Pope. However, as *Bertrandus de Coſnaco*, Biſhop of *Cominges*, promoted on this Occaſion by *Gregory*, was abſent, being employed in mediating a Peace between *Ferdinand*, King of *Portugal*, and *Henry*, King of *Caſtile*, the Pope diſpatched a Nuncio to him with the Red Hat on the very Day of his Promotion. In the Promotion of Cardinals made by *Innocent* VI. in 1356, was preferred to that Dignity amongſt the reſt *Nicholas Roſelli*, Inquiſitor-General for the Kingdom of *Arragon*. As the new Cardinal was in *Arragon* at the Time of his Promotion, the King wrote to *Innocent*, begging he would be pleaſed to ſend the Red Hat to him, and not oblige him to leave the Kingdom, where his Preſence was ſo neceſſary, even for a ſhort Time.

The Red Hat ſometimes ſent to abſent Cardinals.

The Pope anſwered, that by an ancient Cuſtom the Red Hat was delivered to the new Cardinal with the Pope's own Hand, but nevertheleſs, being deſirous to gratify the King, he had conſulted the Cardinals, who had all oppoſed his diſpenſing with the ancient Cuſtom. Yet *Innocent* himſelf was afterwards prevailed upon to diſpenſe with that Cuſtom in Favour of *Peter de Foreſta*, Archbiſhop of *Rouen*, and Chancellor to the *French* King; and his Example was followed by *Gregory* in ſending the Hat to the Biſhop of *Cominges*. In the *Ordo Romanus* it is ſaid,

y Auctor. primæ vit. *z* Idem ibid.

The

The Red Hat is not regularly ſent by the Pope to a new Cardinal, but ſometimes only by a ſpecial Favour, when the newly created Cardinal has been ſent with the Character of Nuncio or Legate to treat of a Peace between Kings or Princes; and it is ſent then, that his Dignity may add Weight to his Counſels, and his Negotiations may, by that Means, be attended with the wiſhed for Succeſs [a]. The Red Cap, or *Biretum*, which in *Gregory*'s Time was not yet uſed by Cardinals, is now ſent to every new Cardinal who is abſent, but the Red Hat to Perſons only of a very high Rank. Thus it was ſent by *Paul* V. to *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, the Son of *Philip* III. King of *Spain*. But others muſt all go to *Rome*, and receive it immediately from the Pope himſelf. With the Red Hat the new Cardinal receives his Title, taken from ſome Church in *Rome*. But his being nominated to that Dignity gives him a Right to vote in the Election of a new Pontiff, though he may not have yet received either his Hat or his Title. Year of Chriſt 1371.

A Peace had been concluded in 1302 between *Frideric* of *Arragon*, who had ſeized on the Iſland of *Sicily*, and *Charles* II. of *Anjou*, upon the following Conditions among the reſt, that upon the Death of *Frideric* the Iſland of *Sicily* ſhould revert to *Charles* and his Heirs upon their paying to *Frideric* or his Heirs an Hundred thouſand Ounces of Gold, and that in the mean time *Frideric* ſhould not be ſtiled King of *Sicily*, but of *Trinacria*, the ancient Name of that Iſland. But notwithſtanding theſe Conditions, *Frideric* was ſucceeded by his Son *Peter* in 1337, *Peter* by his Son *Lewis* in 1342, and *Lewis* by his Brother *Frideric* II. in 1355. In *Frideric*'s Reign *Lewis* of *Taranto*, Queen *Joan*'s Second Huſband, undertook the Reduction of *Sicily*, and had already made himſelf Maſter of great Part of that Iſland. But he dying in the mean time, the Queen, who foreſaw that his Death would be attended, as it was, with great Diſturbances, thought it adviſeable to conclude a Peace with *Frideric*. A Treaty was accordingly ſet on Foot, and after ſeveral Conferences between *John*, Biſhop of *Gravina*, the Queen's Confeſſor, and *Ubertin* of *Corillon*, King *Frideric*'s Firſt Chaplain, a Peace was concluded upon the following Terms. I. That *Frideric* and his Succeſſors ſhould hold the Iſland of *Sicily* immediately of the Queen and her Succeſſors. II. That they ſhould pay yearly to the Queen and her Succeſſors the Sum of Fifteen thouſand Ducats, *The Iſland of* Sicily *yielded by Queen* Joan *to* Frideric *of* Arragon. Year of Chriſt 1372.

[a] Ordo Roman. apud Mabillon. Muſæi Italici, tom. 2. p. 433.

Year of Chriſt 1372. *And erected by* Gregory *into a ſeparate Kingdom.* Year of Chriſt 1373.

as an Acknowlegement of their holding the Crown of her and her Heirs. III. That they ſhould yearly furniſh the Queen and her Heirs with Ten Gallies, and an Hundred able and well-armed Men. To theſe the Pope added the following Conditions, that the Kings of *Sicily* and *Trinacria* ſhould do Homage to him and his Succeſſors, as holding their reſpective Kingdoms of the Apoſtolic See; that *Mary*, the Daughter of *Frideric*, ſhould ſucceed to the Crown if he died without Male Iſſue, and likewiſe the Daughters of all the ſucceeding Kings of *Trinacria*; and that all the Rights, Privileges, and Immunities of the Clergy ſhould be for ever inviolably maintained, eſpecially the Right of appealing to the Apoſtolic See. Theſe Conditions were all received and ſworn to by *Frideric* on the 2d of *March* 1373, in the Preſence of *John de Revellone*, Biſhop of *Sarlat*, ſent by the Pope for that Purpoſe into *Sicily*, and by the Queen on the laſt Day of the ſame Month, in the Preſence of *Bernard de Rovergue*, Archbiſhop of *Milan*, whom the Pope had appointed to receive her Oath. The Biſhop of *Sarlat* continued ſome Time in *Sicily*, abſolved the *Sicilians* from the Interdict that had been laid upon the Iſland on account of their having baniſhed ſome Biſhops, and *Frideric* marrying in the mean time *Antonia del Balzo*, the Duke of *Andria*'s Daughter by the late King *Lewis*'s Siſter, the Biſhop performed the Ceremony by the Pope's Order, and ſoon after crowned both with great Solemnity at *Palermo* [c]. Thus was the Iſland of *Sicily* erected by *Gregory* into a diſtinct Kingdom under the Name of *Trinacria*, Queen *Joan* renouncing for herſelf and her Succeſſors all Claim to that Iſland. The learned *Giannoni* obſerves in his *Civil Hiſtory of Naples*, that though by One of the Articles of the above-mentioned Treaty the Kingdom of *Naples* was to be called the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and that of *Sicily* the Kingdom of *Trinacria*, yet none of the Kings of *Sicily* ever took that Title in their Diplomas, but ſtiled themſelves conſtantly Kings of *Sicily ultra Pharum*, and the Kings of *Naples* Kings of *Sicily citra Pharum*. Thus were the Two Kingdoms diſtinguiſhed in all public Writings till the Time of *Alphonſus* I. of *Arragon*, who, upon both Kingdoms being united in his Perſon, took the Title of *King of both Sicilies* [d]; the Title uſed to this Day by all the Kings of *Sicily* and *Naples*.

[c] Auctor. primæ vit. Greg. apud Baluz. Bzovius ad ann. 1373. et Raynald. ad ann. 1372. [d] Giannoni, l. 23. c. 2.

The

The following Year 1374 the *Romans* ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Gregory*, inviting him, with great Promiſes and Proteſtations of Obedience and Subjection, to come and reſide with his Court at *Rome*, where the Apoſtle St. *Peter*, the Founder of his See, and ſo many of his holy Predeceſſors, had choſen to reſide and to die. At the Head of this Embaſſy were *Philip*, Biſhop of *Tivoli*, and *James*, of the illuſtrious Family of the *Urſini*, and Canon of *St. Peter*'s. *Gregory* received them in a moſt friendly Manner, and having communicated their Meſſage to the Cardinals, he expreſſed, in a Letter to the *Roman* People, a great Deſire of complying with their Requeſt, which he ſaid he had entertained ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Chair, and hoped he ſhould ſoon be able to carry into Execution. This Letter is dated the 20th of *March* in the Fourth Year of his Pontificate, that is, in 1374 [e]. On the 18th of *October* of the ſame Year he wrote to the Emperor, to the Kings of *Hungary* and *Trinacria*, to Queen *Joan* of *Sicily*, to the Dukes of *Auſtria* and *Bavaria*, to the *Venetians*, to the *Genoeſe*, and to all the Prelates and Princes of *Germany* and *Italy*, to let them know that he had, upon the moſt mature Deliberation, reſolved to remove from *Avignon* to *Rome*, and there to reſide with his Court. In his Letter to the Emperor he fixed the Time of his Departure to the Month of *September* of the following Year 1375. On the 6th of *January* of that Year he wrote to the *French* King, *Charles* the Vth, to acquaint him with the Reſolution he had taken of removing with his whole Court to *Rome* the following Autumn, expreſſed great Concern at his parting with his Highneſs, and leaving the Country where he was born, where he was educated, and where he enjoyed, quite undiſturbed, all the Comforts this Life could afford; but at the ſame time alleged the abſolute Neceſſity of his reſiding at *Rome*, or in the Neighbourhood of that City, in order to awe with his Preſence the Tyrants of *Italy*, taking Occaſion from his Abſence to ſeize on the Patrimony of the Church, which it was incumbent upon him to defend and maintain. Purſuant to his Reſolution of ſetting out on his intended Journey in the Autumn of the preſent Year 1375, he wrote to *Joan*, Queen of *Sicily*, to *Frideric*, King of *Trinacria*, and to *Andrew Contareni*, Doge of *Venice*, deſiring them to ſend their Gallies by that Time to *Marſeilles*, where he intended to embark. This

Year of Chriſt 1374. Gregory *invited by the* Romans *to* Rome.

Acquaints the Chriſtian Princes with his Reſolution of removing to that City.

Fixes the Time of his Departure.

Year of Chriſt 1375.

[e] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1374. num. 23.

Letter

Year of Christ 1375.

Letter is dated at *Avignon* the 8th of *July*. But on the 28th of the ſame Month he wrote again to inform them that, being engaged in mediating a Peace between the Kings of *France* and *England*, he had put off his Departure to the Spring of the following Year 1376 [d].

But puts it off.

Enjoins Reſidence.

In the mean time *Gregory*, to remove the Evil of Non-Reſidence ſo often complained of by his Predeceſſors, and looked upon by him as an inſufferable Abuſe, iſſued a Conſtitution on the 29th of *March*, ordering all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and Heads of Orders to return, in the Term of Three Months, to their reſpective Sees, Churches, and Abbies, and reſide there. From this general Injunction the Cardinals, the Legates, the Nuncios were excepted, and with them ſuch as bore any Employment in the Court, and the Patriarchs whoſe Sees were in *Partibus Infidelium* [e]. The reſt were all ordered to reſide at their Churches, on Pain of being excluded from all further Preferment.

Creates Nine new Cardinals.

On the 20th of *December* of the preſent Year *Gregory* made a new Promotion of Nine Cardinals, ſo that there were now no fewer than Twenty-one Cardinals of his creating. Amongſt thoſe of the preſent Promotion was *Peter de Luna*, of whom we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak at Length in the Sequel under the Name of *Benedict* XIII.

The Florentines *invade the Dominions of the Church.*

The *Florentines*, entering into an Alliance with the *Viſconti* of *Milan*, broke this Year unexpectedly into the Territories of the Church, made themſelves Maſters of ſeveral Cities, demoliſhed the ſtrong Holds, drove every-where out the Officers of the Pope, and ſetting up a Standard with the Word *Libertas* in capital Letters, encouraged the People to ſhake off the Yoke, and reſume their Liberty: At their Inſtigation *Bologna*, *Perugia*, and moſt of the chief Cities in the Pope's Dominions openly revolted, and joining the *Florentines*, either impriſoned, or barbarouſly murdered thoſe whom the Pope had ſet over them. *Gregory* was no ſooner informed of that general Revolt, and the unheard of Barbarities committed by the *Florentines*, and thoſe who had joined them, than he wrote to the People and Magiſtrates of *Florence*, exhorting them to withdraw their Troops forthwith out of the Dominions of the Church, to forbear all further Hoſtilities, to ſatisfy thoſe whom they had injured, and revoke the many Decrees they had iſſued, abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Eccleſiaſtical Immunity as eſtabliſhed

[d] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1375. num. 21, et ſeq. [e] Apud eund. num. 23.

by

by the Canons. As they paid no Regard to the Pope's Exhortations, he ſummoned the Magiſtrates to appear in Perſon, and the People by their Repreſentatives, at the Tribunal of the Apoſtolic See by the laſt Day of *March* 1376, to anſwer for their Conduct. The *Florentines*, far from complying with that Summons, inſulted the Pope's Meſſengers in the groſſeſt Manner, and continuing their Hoſtilities, laid waſte the greater Part of the Patrimony, deſtroying all before them with Fire and Sword. *Gregory* therefore, provoked beyond all Meaſure, iſſued the moſt terrible Bull againſt them that had ever yet been iſſued by any Pope. For by that Bull the Magiſtrates were all excommunicated; the whole People and every Place and Perſon under their Juriſdiction were laid under an Interdict; all Traffic, Commerce, and Intercourſe with any of that State, in any Place whatever, were forbidden on Pain of Excommunication; their Subjects were abſolved from their Allegiance; all their Rights, Privileges, and Immunities were declared forfeited; their Eſtates real and perſonal, in what Part ſoever of the World, were given away, and declared to be the Property of the firſt who ſhould ſeize them *Primi Occupantis*; all were allowed, and even exhorted and encouraged to ſeize on their Perſons, where-ever found, as well as their Eſtates, and reduce them to Slavery; their Magiſtrates were declared inteſtable, and their Sons and Grandſons incapable of ſucceeding to their paternal Eſtates, or to any Inheritance whatever; their Deſcendents to the Third Generation were excluded from all Honours, Dignities, and Preferments both Civil and Eccleſiaſtic; all Princes, Prelates, Governors of Cities, and Magiſtrates were forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to harbour any *Florentine*, or to ſuffer any in the Places under their Juriſdiction in any other State or Condition than that of a Slave. This Bull is dated in the Palace of *Avignon* in ſome Copies the 30th of *March*, and in ſome the 20th of *April*, in the Sixth Year of *Gregory*'s Pontificate, that is, in 1376 [f]. *Walſingham* writes, that upon the Publication of this Bull the *Florentine* Traders, who had ſettled in *England*, delivered up all their Effects to the King, and themſelves with them for his Slaves; and One of the Authors of *Gregory*'s Life tells us, that in all other Countries, eſpecially at *Avignon*, they abandoned their Effects, and returned, being no-where elſe ſafe, to their own Country [g].

Year of Chriſt 1375.

Sentence pronounced by Gregory *againſt them.*

Year of Chriſt 1376.

[f] Apud Raynald. ad hunc ann. num. 1. et ſeq. et Bzovium, num. 15. [g] Auctor primæ vit. Gregor.

Year of Chriſt 1376.

No Regard had by the Florentines *to the Pope's Cenſures.*

The Pope's Bull ſerved only to exaſperate ſtill more the People and Magiſtrates of *Florence*. Being now determined to keep no Meaſures with *Gregory*, as he kept none with them, they committed more dreadful Ravages than ever, baniſhed all whom they ſuſpected to favour the Pope's Cauſe, and confiſcated their Eſtates, obliged the Clergy to perform Divine Service, notwithſtanding the Interdict, impriſoning and treating with the utmoſt Severity ſuch as declined it. They even attacked the Character of the Pope, publiſhing and cauſing to be diſperſed all over *Italy* a great Number of defamatory Libels againſt him [h]. *Gregory* therefore, finding that they were not to be reſtrained by the Spiritual Arms alone, reſolved to add the Temporal to the Spiritual. Having accordingly raiſed in the different Provinces of *France* a Body of Six thouſand Foot and Four thouſand Horſe, he ſent them under the Command of *Robert*, Cardinal of the Twelve Apoſtles, with Orders to protect ſuch Places as had not yet ſubmitted to the *Florentines*, and recover, with the Aſſiſtance of their Allies, thoſe that had. The Cardinal put a Stop to the Ravages and Incurſions of the Enemy, but had not a ſufficient Force to attempt the Reduction of any of the Places they had ſeized [i].

An Army ſent againſt them.

St. Catherine *of* Siena *choſen by the* Florentines *to mediate a Peace.*

In the mean time the *Florentines*, who were great Traders, finding their Trade was entirely ruined by the Pope's Bull, forbidding all Intercourſe with them, reſolved in the End to conclude a Peace with the Apoſtolic See, and the Perſon they employed for that Purpoſe was the celebrated St. *Catherine* of *Siena*, whom they knew to be held in great Eſteem by the Pope for her eminent Sanctity. At their Requeſt the Saint flew to *Avignon*, and being received by *Gregory* with the greateſt Marks of Eſteem, ſhe acquainted him with the Motives of her Journey, begging his Holineſs, how juſtly ſoever provoked, to hearken to an Accommodation with the *Florentines* upon ſuch Terms as he ſhould think reaſonable. The Pope replied, *To ſhew to the whole World how deſirous I am of Peace, I leave the concluding of it, my dear Daughter, entirely to you, only recommending to you the Honour of the Church.* *Catherine*, being thus declared the Pope's Plenipotentiary, returned to *Florence*. But the *Florentines* refuſing to give any Satisfaction to thoſe whom they had injured, or to yield up the Places they

Her Negotiations unſucceſsful.

[h] Apud Baluz. p. 435.

[i] Apud Baluz. p. 436. et ſeq.

had

had ſeized, the Treaty was ſoon broken off, and Hoſtilities recommenced on both Sides [k]. Year of Chriſt 1376.

From the deplorable State of the Eccleſiaſtical Territories at this Time in *Italy*, the *Romans* took Occaſion to invite the Pope by a Second Embaſſy to *Rome*, promiſing to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their Power againſt all the Enemies of the Apoſtolic See, and aſſuring him that his Preſence alone was wanting to reſtore the ſo long wiſhed for Peace and Tranquillity. Being at the ſame time preſſed by St. *Catherine* of *Siena*, whom he looked upon not only as a Saint, but a Propheteſs, to haſten his Departure, he reſolved to delay it no longer. One of the Authors of *Gregory*'s Life tells us, that having one Day aſked a Biſhop why he did not repair to his See, the Biſhop returned Anſwer, *And you, Holy Father, why do you not repair to your See?* The Author adds, that his Holineſs, ſenſible of the Juſtice of that Reproach, reſolved to practiſe himſelf what he recommended to the Practice of others [l]. *Gregory reſolves to reſtore the Apoſtolic See to* Rome.

As *Gregory* put off his Departure from time to time, the *Romans*, ſuſpecting that he only amuſed them with fair Words, diſpatched *Luke de Sabellis*, a *Roman* Prince, and another to *Avignon*, to repreſent to him, that being *Roman* Pontiff, and as ſuch ſtiled and acknowleged by the whole Chriſtian World, he ought to reſide with his Court at *Rome*; that the *Romans* were determined to have a Pope who would reſide among them; and that if his Holineſs did not chuſe it, they had determined to provide themſelves with one who would. They therefore earneſtly entreated him, as he tendered the Peace and Unity of the Church, to haſten his Departure, and obviate, by that Means, the Scandal that would certainly attend a further Delay. Some Authors write, that the *Romans* had ſeveral Conferences among themſelves relating to the Election of another Pope; that they even ſent Embaſſadors to the Abbot of *Monte Caſſino* to offer him the Papal Dignity, in caſe *Gregory* did not ſpeedily comply with their Requeſt; and that the Abbot returned Anſwer, that he was a *Roman* Citizen, and thought himſelf bound in Duty to obey their Commands [m]. One of the Authors of *Gregory*'s Life tells us, that while the See was yet vacant he bound himſelf by a Vow to go to *Rome*, and reſide there, ſhould he be elected; and that mindful of his Vow he overcame all the Obſtacles *To what that Reſolution was chiefly owing.*

[k] Acta vitæ Sanctæ Catherin. apud Bolland. ad 30 April. et Inſtit. c. 14. tit. 23.
[l] Auctor tertiæ vit. [m] Apud Baluz. p. 1194.

Year of Christ 1376.

Gregory *perſiſts in it in ſpite of all Oppoſition.*

that were thrown in his Way. That Writer adds, that the Pope's Mother, proſtrating herſelf acroſs the Threſhold as he went out on his Journey, endeavoured to ſtop him, ſhewing him her naked Breaſt, and crying out bathed in Tears, *My dear Son, I ſhall never ſee you again*; but that the Pope, unaffected with her Tears, ſtept over her, repeating the Words of the *Pſalm*, *Thou ſhalt walk over the Aſp and the Baſiliſk, thou ſhalt trample upon the Lion and the Dragon* [n]. But this is all a mere Invention, it being ſaid in *Gregory*'s laſt Will, that his Mother died and was buried in the Cathedral of *Avignon* in 1346, that is Thirty Years before the preſent Time [o]. However in this all Authors agree, that the Pope's Father, who was ſtill living, that all his Relations, and with them all the Cardinals, nay and the *French* King, *Charles* V. left nothing unattempted to deter him from the Reſolution he had taken. *Charles* even wrote to his Brother, *Lewis*, Duke of *Anjou*, who was then at *Toulouſe*, to repair to *Avignon*, and prevail upon his Holineſs, if by any Means he could, to lay aſide all Thoughts of his intended Removal to *Rome*, or at leaſt to ſuſpend it. The Pope received the Duke with the greateſt Marks of Friendſhip, thanked him for the Trouble he had taken and the Concern he expreſſed for his Safety; but, unalterable in his Reſolution, he even fixed the Day of his Departure before the Duke left *Avignon*, the 13th of *September* of the preſent Year, and gave Notice thereof to the Cardinals and the Reſt of the Court, that they might be ready by that Time to attend him [p].

Recommends to the French *King the aboliſhing of an unchriſtian Cuſtom.*

A Cuſtom had long obtained all over *France* of denying Confeſſion and Abſolution to Criminals condemned to Death for their Crimes. Againſt that unchriſtian Practice the Pope wrote to the King before he left *France*, entreating him, as he tendered the Salvation of the Souls of thoſe unhappy Men and that of his own, not to ſuffer even the greateſt Criminals to be excluded from the Benefit of Repentance when they repented of their Sins [q]. What Anſwer the King returned we know not; but the Cuſtom complained of was not, it ſeems, aboliſhed by him, but by *Charles* VI. his Son and Succeſſor: For we have a Conſtitution of that Prince, ordering even the moſt notorious Criminals,

[n] Auctor quartæ vit. apud Baluz. col. 1234. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Apud Baluz. ibid.
[q] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1375. num. 28.

though

though ſentenced to Death for their Crimes, to be admitted to Confeſſion, if they deſired it, and aboliſhing the contrary Cuſtom [q]. Year of Chriſt 1376

Gregory, perſiſting in his Reſolution of re-eſtabliſhing the Apoſtolic See at *Rome*, ſet out on his Journey to that City on the Day appointed, *Saturday* the 13th of *September* 1376, with his Court, and all the Cardinals but Six, who choſe to remain at *Avignon*. The *French* Writers pretend the Departure of the Pope out of *France* to have been diſpleaſing to and diſcountenanced by Heaven, and allege ſeveral Inſtances to prove it. They tell us, that his Horſe, on all other Occaſions remarkably tame and gentle, ſeemed on this Occaſion to have changed his Nature, would ſcarce ſuffer his Holineſs to mount him, and became ſo ungovernable that he was obliged to quit him. The ſtormy Weather, and the Danger to which the Pope was expoſed by Sea, are likewiſe conſtrued by thoſe Writers into manifeſt Tokens of the Diſpleaſure of Heaven [r]. *Gregory* on his Way to *Marſeilles*, where he was to embark, paſſed through *St. Maximinus* to viſit the Reliques of St. *Mary Magdelen* preſerved in that Place, and on the 22d of *September* entered the City of *Marſeilles* on Horſe-back. He lodged with the *Benedictines* in the Monaſtery of *St. Victor*, and remained there till the 2d of *October*, when he embarked with his whole Court on board the Fleet ſent by the Queen of *Sicily* and other Princes to attend him. He did not reach *Genoa*, on account of the tempeſtuous Weather and contrary Winds, till the 18th of that Month, and having ſtaid there Eleven Days, he put to Sea again, and after touching at ſeveral Places arrived at *Leghorn*, then ſubject to the Republic of *Piſa:* And there died of the Fatigues of the Voyage, *maris fractus laboribus*, Cardinal *Peter de Judicis*, the Pope's Couſin-german, preferred by him the preceding Year to that Dignity. From *Leghorn* the Fleet ſailed to *Piombino*, to *Port Ercole*, and from thence to *Corneto*, in the Dominions of the Church. He kept there his *Chriſtmas*, and having been, to his great Mortification, detained in that uncomfortable Place Five whole Weeks by the boiſterous Weather and contrary Winds, he put to Sea again on the Thirteenth of *January*, and arrived the next Day at *Oſtia*. From thence he proceeded to *St. Paul*'s on the *Oſtian* Way, and remained there till the Seventeenth, when he made his public Entry into *Rome* with Thirteen Cardinals, who had ſet out with him from

Gregory *ſets out for* Rome

His Itinerary.

His Arrival at Rome *and the Reception he met with.*

Year of Chriſt 1377.

[q] Apud Spond. ad ann. 1375.

[r] Auctor ſecundæ vit. Greg. ibid.

Year of Christ 1377.

Avignon. He was received at the Gate by the Clergy in a Body, by the Magiſtrates, and all the Nobility, and attended by them to *St. Peter*'s, amidſt ſuch Demonſtrations of Joy from People of all Ranks, Ages, and Conditions, as till that Time had never been known in *Rome*. *Peter Amelius*, Biſhop of *Sinigaglia*, who attended the Pope from *Avignon* to *Rome*, and has given us his Itinerary, tells us, as an Eye-witneſs, that *Gregory*'s Entry into *Rome* was the moſt glorious Triumph mortal Eye could behold, and that the *Romans* ſeemed to be all mad with Joy, *amentes præ gaudio* [s].

The Romans *perform none of the Promiſes they had made.*

Thus was the Apoſtolic See, or, to ſpeak more properly, the Pope's Court, reſtored to *Rome* by *Gregory* XI. after it had been kept for the Space of about Seventy-two Years at *Avignon*. But the *Romans*, for all the Joy they expreſſed on that Occaſion, and the extraordinary Honours they paid to his Holineſs on his Arrival, fulfilled none of the mighty Promiſes they had made to intice him to *Rome*. The *Bannerets*, that is, the Heads of the different Wards of the City, ſo called from their different Banners, had uſurped the Government, and governed without Controul, but had promiſed to reſign all their Power into the Pope's Hands as ſoon as he arrived at *Rome*. They did ſo, but in a few Days reſumed, in ſpite of the Pope, their former Authority, governing the City with the ſame abſolute Authority as they had done before; which greatly alarmed *Gregory*, as he was not in a Condition to oppoſe their arbitrary Proceedings, and thought it dangerous to attempt it. The *Romans* had promiſed to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their Power againſt the *Florentines*, but yet declined, under various Pretences, to lend him the leaſt Aſſiſtance [t].

A Treaty of Peace between him and the Florentines *begun, and ſoon broken off.*

However the *Florentines*, tired of a War that proved ſo prejudicial to their Trade, ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome* to treat of an Accommodation with the Church. Some write, that the Pope, finding himſelf diſappointed with reſpect to the Aſſiſtance he expected from the *Romans*, applied the firſt for Peace, and that the Embaſſadors were ſent, at his Requeſt, to *Rome*. Be that as it may, *Gregory* received them with all poſſible Marks of Friendſhip, admitted them to the Kiſs of Peace, and, abſolving them from the Excommunication and Interdict, allowed Divine Service to be performed in their Preſence ſo long as

[s] Petrus Amel. Itinerarium Gregor. apud Ciacon. & apud Bzovium, num. 31. [t] Auctor primæ vit. Greg. apud Baluz. p. 436, & ſeq.

they

they remained at *Rome*. But as they inſiſted upon ſuch Terms as *Gregory* could not in Honour and in Conſcience grant, the Treaty was ſoon broke off, the Embaſſadors were recalled, and Hoſtilities begun anew. Upon the Departure of the Embaſſadors the Pope diſpatched *Catherine* of *Siena*, with an unlimited Power to treat with the leading Men of the Republic. But the Populace riſing againſt her, notwithſtanding the high Opinion the Reſt of the World entertained of her Sanctity, ſhe narrowly eſcaped (we are told by a Miracle) with her Life. Thus was the War carried on with various Succeſs between the Church and the *Florentines*, and the Eccleſiaſtical State miſerably haraſſed ſo long as *Gregory* lived [u].

Year of Chriſt 1377.

In the mean time, the hot Seaſon approaching, *Gregory* left *St. Peter*'s in the *Tranſtyberin* City, the loweſt Part of *Rome*, where he had hitherto reſided, and went to *St. Mary the Greater*'s, on *Mount Exquilin*, on the 16th of *May*, with a Deſign to repair from thence, as the Heat increaſed, to *Anagni*, and paſs the Summer there. He remained at *St. Mary the Greater*'s till the 30th of *May*, when he ſet out for *Anagni*, which City he entered on the 2d of *June*, having paſſed Two Days at a *Greek* Monaſtery pleaſantly ſituated on the Road [w]. It was during his Stay at *St. Mary the Greater*'s and on the 22d of *May* that *Gregory* wrote the ſeveral Letters, that have reached our Times, againſt the famous *John Wickliff*, whoſe Doctrine was at this Time received by many with great Applauſe in *England*. By One of theſe Letters, addreſſed to the Chancellor and the Univerſity of *Oxford*, the Pope ſeverely reprimands them for ſuffering the Doctrine of *Wickliff*, which he calls peſtilential Errors, to take root in *England*, to the Diſgrace of the Catholic Faith; and orders them to ſeize him and deliver him up to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Biſhop of *London*, or to either of them. He wrote the ſame Day Letters to theſe Two Prelates, enjoining them by One of them to inform themſelves privately concerning the Doctrine of *Wickliff*, and, if they found it to be ſuch as it had been repreſented to the Apoſtolic See, to keep him carefully and cloſely confined till further Orders. By the other they were required, in caſe they could not apprehend him, to ſummon him by an Edict, publiſhed at *Oxford* and other frequented Places, to appear in the Term of Three

Writes ſeveral Letters into England *againſt* John Wickliff.

[u] Aretin. lib. 8. Antonin. tit. 22. c. 1. num. 5. & vit. St. Catherin. part. 3. c. 8.
[w] Petrus Amel. in Itiner. Greg.

Months.

Year of Christ 1377. Months at the Tribunal of the Apostolic See. By a Third Letter *Gregory* charged the Two Prelates to inform the King, *Edward* III. his Children, and the Grandees of the Kingdom, of the Errors taught by *Wickliff*, and exhort them to concur with them in extirpating the said Errors [x].

His Doctrine. In the last of these Letters the Pope sent inclosed Sixteen Propositions, which *Wickliff* had been accused to him of holding and publicly maintaining; and these were, I. That the Eucharist is not the real Body of *Christ*, but only the Figure or Representation of it. II. That the Substance of the Bread and Wine remain after Consecration. III. That the Accidents of the Bread and Wine cannot possibly subsist without a Subject, or the Substance. IV. That *Christ* is not present really, identically, and corporally in the Eucharist. V. That the *Roman* Church is no more the Head of all Churches than any other. VI. That the Pope has no more Authority than any other Priest. VII. That the Temporal Princes may, nay and are bound, on Pain of Damnation, to deprive a delinquent Church of its Temporalities. VIII. That the Gospel alone is sufficient to direct every *Christian*. IX. That no Ecclesiastic ought to have Prisons for punishing Delinquents. X. That Excommunications, Interdicts, and other Ecclesiastical Censures, when employed for the Temporalities of the Church, are in themselves null. XI. That every Priest, lawfully ordained, is sufficiently impowered to absolve from any Sin whatever. XII. That the Sacraments administered by bad Priests are null. XIII. That Tithes are mere Alms, and the Parishoners may retrench them, if their Priest misbehaves or neglects his Duty. XIV. That those who forbear to preach the Word of God, to perform Divine Service, or assist at it, on Account of any Excommunication or Interdict, incur thereby the Excommunication. XV. That the Institution of the *Mendicant* Order is repugnant to the Gospel; and, lastly, that it is encouraging Idleness, and therefore sinful to relieve them.

Silenced by the Archbishop of Canterbury *and the Bishop of* London. As many had embraced the Doctrine of *Wickliff* at *Oxford*, neither the Chancellor nor the University seemed inclined to comply with the Pope's Injunction. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *London* sent them a peremptory Order to summon *Wickliff*, a Member of their University, to appear in the Term of Thirty Days before

[x] Concil. Labbei. tom. 11. p. 20. & seq.

them,

them, or their Delegates, in the Church of *St. Paul* at *London*, and there anſwer for the Doctrine which he had been accuſed at the Tribunal of the Apoſtolic See of holding and publicly maintaining. They ſummoned him accordingly, and he appeared, purſuant to the Summons, at the Time and Place appointed. But being protected by the Miniſters of King *Richard* II. who had ſucceeded *Edward* III. on the 22d of *June* of the preſent Year 1377, being then in the Eleventh Year of his Age, by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and by the greater Part of the Nobility as well as by the Citizens and People of *London*, no longer able to bear the daily Encroachments and Impoſitions of the Court of *Rome*, the Biſhops dared not arreſt nor impriſon him, but were obliged to content themſelves with only ſilencing him. *Walſingham*, who flouriſhed in 1440, writes, that *Wickliff* on this Occaſion ſoftened, and, in ſome Degree, retracted ſuch of his Aſſertions as had given moſt Offence, and thus eſcaped all Puniſhment for the preſent[y]. Of *Wickliff* we hear no more during the Pontificate of *Gregory*. But we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of him more than once under the ſucceeding Pontiffs.

Year of Chriſt 1377.

And now to return to *Gregory*, whom we left at *Anagni*. Being informed, during his Stay there, that the Biſhop of *Maguelon*, his Treaſurer at *Avignon*, knowing he had contracted great Debts, and was daily importuned by his Creditors, had laid a new Tax on the *French* Clergy, to deliver him from that Trouble, he immediately wrote to the Biſhop, and likewiſe to the Archbiſhop of *Rouen*, his Nuncio in *France*, declaring, that upon no Conſideration whatever he would ſuffer the *French* Clergy to be loaded with any new Taxes, it not being reaſonable, happen to him what would, that they ſhould be put to any extraordinary Expences on his Account. He therefore ordered an immediate Stop to be put to the new Impoſition, and the Money to be reſtored that had already been collected, though he wanted at that Juncture very large Sums to carry on the War againſt the *Florentines*, who would hearken to no Terms of Peace, and to ranſom his Brother and his Nephew, taken Priſoners in the War by the *Engliſh*[z].

Will ſuffer no new Taxes upon the Churches of France.

Gregory before he left *Anagni* received a Letter from the *French* King, *Charles* V. entreating him to exempt the Biſhop of *Paris* from

Refuſes to exempt the See of Paris.

[y] Walſingham in Edward III. [z] Vide Spondan. ad ann. 1377. num. 18.

Year of Christ 1377. *From the Juriſdiction of the See of Sens.*

all Subjection to the Archbiſhop of *Sens*, and to grant him the Uſe of the Pall. For though the City of *Paris* was now become the Metropolis of the Kingdom, yet the Biſhop of that City was ſtill ſubject to the Archbiſhop of *Sens* as his Metropolitan, and the King wanted the Church of his Metropolis to be independent of any other. But *Gregory*, notwithſtanding the great Obligations he owed to the King, could not be prevailed upon to conſent to the withdrawing of the See of *Paris* from all Subjection to that of *Sens*, alleging in his Anſwer to the King, that *Sens* was a very ancient and noble City, that it had been, what *Paris* was then, the Metropolis of the Kingdom; that his Uncle *Clement* VI. had been Archbiſhop of that City; that he himſelf had held One of the chief Dignities of that Church; and, laſtly, that the Archbiſhop ſcarce had already what was ſufficient to ſupport his Dignity. However, to gratify the King, and confer ſome Mark of Diſtinction upon the Metropolis of his Kingdom, and ſo renowned an Univerſity, he granted to the Biſhop the Uſe of the Pall for ever. But for all his Pall he continued ſubject to the Archbiſhop of *Sens* till the Year 1622, when, at the Requeſt of *Lewis* XIII. the See of *Paris* was exempted from all Subjection to that of *Sens*, and erected by *Gregory* XV. into an Archiepiſcopal See [a]. *Henry Gondi*, called Cardinal *de Retz*, was the laſt Biſhop of *Paris*, and his Brother *Francis Gondi* the firſt Archbiſhop.

Gregory *reſolves to return to* Avignon.

Gregory continued at *Anagni* till the 5th of *November*, when he left that Place and returned to *Rome*. But finding he could not prevail upon the *Romans* to lend him any Aſſiſtance againſt the *Florentines*, nor perſuade the *Bannerets* to reſign their uſurped Power, which they exerciſed quite independent of him, not ſuffering him any-ways to interfere in the Government of the City, he began ſeriouſly to think of leaving *Rome*, and returning to *Avignon*. We are told, that he had even writ into *Spain* for a ſufficient Number of Gallies to convey him and his Court to *Marſeilles* [b]. But in the mean time the Illneſs with which he was ſeized ſoon after his Return from *Anagni* to *Rome* increaſing daily, he laid aſide all Thoughts of his Removal to *Avignon*, and ſpent his whole Time in conſulting with the Cardinals concerning the moſt effectual Means of haſtening the Election of his Succeſſor, in caſe he ſhould not recover, and prevent the Diviſions which he foreſaw

Is taken ill. Year of Chriſt 1378.

[a] Spondan. ibid. [b] Theſaur. Anecdot. tom. 2. col. 1081.

would

would probably ariſe at ſo critical a Juncture in the Conclave. In order to that he ſuſpended ſome of the Regulations eſtabliſhed by his Predeceſſor *Gregory* X. with reſpect to the Conclave. For by the Conſtitution of that Pope the Conclave was to be held in the Place were the Pope happened to die; the Cardinals were not to enter into the Conclave till Ten Days after his Deceaſe, that the abſent Cardinals might have Time to repair to the Place of the Election; and he alone was to be deemed lawful Pope who was elected by Two Parts in Three of the Cardinals. But by the preſent Conſtitution the Cardinals were not confined to any particular Place, but allowed to meet for the Election of a new Pope in the Place that ſhould be thought by the greater Part of them the moſt proper and convenient, whether in *Rome* or out of it; they were to wait for the abſent Cardinals as long or as ſhort a Time as ſhould be judged moſt expedient by the greater Part, or, if judged expedient, not wait at all; and he ſhould be received as lawful Pope who ſhould have a Majority however ſmall. Theſe Regulations were eſtabliſhed by *Gregory* with reſpect to the next Election only, or to the Election of his immediate Succeſſor. This Bull is dated at *St. Peter*'s the 19th of *March*, that is, Nine Days before *Gregory*'s Death [c].

Year of Chriſt 1378.

Suſpends the Conſtitution of Gregory X. *concerning the* Conclave.

He propoſed making ſome other Regulations, calculated to prevent the Diſturbances which he apprehended would ariſe upon his Death, and retard the Election of his Succeſſor; but in the mean time a violent Fit of the Stone, a Complaint which he had been long liable to, put an End to his Life. He died on the 27th of *March* of the preſent Year 1378, after a Pontificate (reckoning from the Day of his Conſecration) of Seven Years Two Months and Twenty-three Days, when he had not yet compleated the Forty-ſeventh Year of his Age [d]. The celebrated *John Gerſon*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Paris*, who flouriſhed in the Beginning of the following Century, tells us, that *Gregory*, when at the Point of Death, holding the Body of our Lord in his Hand, warned all about him to beware of thoſe, whether Men or Women, who under Colour of Religion paſſed upon others the Viſions of their own Brains for divine Revelations, ſince he, ſeduced by Perſons of that Character, contrary to the Advice of all his Friends,

His Death.

[c] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1378. num. 2.

[d] Auctor primæ vit.

Year of Christ 1378.

had brought the Church into imminent Danger of a Schism [e]. Some ſuppoſe the Pope to have meant by theſe Viſionaries *Peter* of *Arragon*, *Bridget* of *Sweden*, and *Catherine* of *Siena*, who had all perſuaded him, that it was the Will of God, revealed to them, that he ſhould go and reſide at *Rome* [f]. But *Natalis Alexander* pretends *Gerſon* to have been miſinformed, and alleges the following Reaſons to prove it. I. No Notice is taken of what *Gerſon* writes, though worthy of particular Notice, by the Author of *Gregory*'s Life, who lived at that very Time. II. *Gregory* was not originally induced by any Revelations to tranſlate his See to *Rome*, but by other Motives, *viz.* to reſtore and maintain the Tranquillity of *Italy*, to recover the Dominions of the Church, ſeized and held by ſeveral petty Tyrants, and to engage the *Romans* to aſſiſt him, purſuant to their Promiſe, againſt the *Florentines*. III. *Gregory* could not think that he expoſed the Church to any Danger of a Schiſm by reſtoring his See to *Rome*; but on the contrary knew, that if he continued at *Avignon* a Schiſm would certainly enſue, the *Romans* being determined in that Caſe to have a Pope of their own, One who would reſide among them. Thus *Natalis Alexander* in his Life of *Gregory*; but whether theſe Reaſons ſufficiently evince the Falſity of what *Gerſon* wrote, I ſhall, with Father *Pagi*, leave the Reader to determine.

His Learning and Character.

Though he had not compleated the Eighteenth Year of his Age when he was preferred to the Dignity of Cardinal by his Uncle *Clement* VI. and conſequently could not yet be well acquainted with any Branch of Literature, he nevertheleſs became by conſtant Application, being endowed with very uncommon Parts, One of the beſt Civilians, Canoniſts, Divines, and Philoſophers of the Age [g]. We are told, that his Deciſions in Points of Juſtice and Equity were univerſally looked upon as ſo many Oracles; nay, that the famous *Baldus*, Profeſſor of Civil Law at *Perugia*, in his Explanation of the Laws, frequently quoted him while he was yet living [h]. In this all agree who mention *Gregory* XI. that in moſt Branches of Literature he was equalled by few and ſurpaſſed by none; that he took great Delight in converſing with learned Men, and by Choice preferred no other. He is no leſs commended by the contemporary Writers for his Piety, his Prudence,

[e] Gerſon de Examinatione Doctrinar. parte 2. Conſideratione 3. [f] Spond. ad ann. 1378. num. 2 [g] Auctor primæ vit. [h] Auctor tertiæ vit.

his Generosity, chiefly to the Poor, and his Humanity and Good-nature, than he is for his Learning. He left no Writings behind him that we know of besides some Letters and Constitutions, which I have had Occasion to speak of in the Course of his History. He is charged even by his Panegyrists with too great an Attachment and Partiality to his Relations, especially to his Father, his Brothers, and his Nephews. He did not indeed confer any new Honours upon them, as they had been all raised by his Uncle *Clement* to the First Dignities, and the most lucrative Employments. But he removed none of them to make Room for others, perhaps, more deserving; kept them constantly about him; advised with them, and followed their Advice in most Matters of Moment; and in the Disposal of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Preferments had some Times more Regard to their Recommendations than to the Merits of the Persons whom they recommended. Thus the contemporary Author of *Gregory*'s Life. Year of Christ 1378.

Gregory, by a Constitution dated at *Avignon* the 23d of *January* 1372, the Second Year of his Pontificate, declared the Church of *St. John Lateran* to be the See of the *Roman* Pontiff, and the First Church, *St. Peter*'s not excepted, in the whole World.——In the same Year he ordered the Festival of the *Presentation of the Virgin Mary* (when she was presented to the Temple in the Third Year of her Age) which had been observed in the East Time out of Mind, to be yearly kept as a Holiday in the West on the 21st of *November*, and it has been so kept from *Gregory*'s Time to the present.——It is observed of this Pope, that he carefully avoided all Contests with any of the Christian Princes, chusing to dissemble in their Conduct what most other Popes would have highly resented. *The* Lateran *Church declared the First of all Churches.*

Year of Christ 1378. Jo. Palæologus, Ma. Palæologus, *Emperors of the East.*

URBAN VI.

Charles IV. Wenceslaus, *Emperors of the West.*

The Hundred and Ninety-ninth BISHOP *of* Rome.

The Death of Gregory *followed by* The Great Weſtern Schiſm.

THE Death of *Gregory* was followed by a moſt dreadful Schiſm, commonly called in the Hiſtory of the Church *The Great Weſtern Schiſm.* It began in the preſent Year 1378, by the Election of *Clement* VII. in Oppoſition to *Urban* VI. and laſted till the Council of *Conſtance*, held in 1414. There were, during that Time, Two Popes, the One reſiding at *Rome* or in *Italy*, and the other at *Avignon*. But which of the Popes was the true One and which the Antipope has not yet been decided. St. *Antonine*, Archbiſhop of *Florence*, who wrote not long after an End was happily put to the Schiſm, ſpeaks of it thus: "This "Matter has been the Subject of many Diſputations; and many Books "have been publiſhed in Defence of the One and the other Party. "Both not only had Men thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures and "the Canon Law, but moſt religious Men, nay and ſome who even "wrought Miracles. Yet the Queſtion could never be ſo decided as "not to remain in the Opinion of many ſtill doubtful. For though "it is neceſſary to believe, that as there is but One Catholic Church "ſo there is but One Paſtor, *Chriſt*'s Vicar, upon Earth; yet if more "than One ſhould be created at the ſame time, it ſeems not neceſſary "to Salvation to believe, that this Man in particular, or that, was law-"fully elected, but only that One of them was. Which of them was "canonically elected no Man is bound to know, and the People may "therein follow their Betters or their Prelates [i]." *Wernerus Rollewink*, Author of the *Faſciculus Temporum*, who flouriſhed in 1480, declares, that from *Urban* VI. to *Martin* V. raiſed to the See in 1417, he knew not who was Pope. Two General Councils, thoſe of *Piſa* and *Conſtance*, were aſſembled, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel, to put an End to this Schiſm; yet neither would take upon them to declare whether *Urban* and his Succeſſors, or *Clement* and his, were canonically elected; but, leaving that Point undetermined, they were for having both re-

[i] Antonin. part. 3. tit. 22. c. 1.

ſign.

ſign. That Uncertainty was owing to the different and contradictory Accounts of the double Election, that were publiſhed at the Time, or ſoon after. Theſe Accounts I ſhall here lay before the Reader, and leave him to determine, if he can, which of the Two Competitors had the beſt Right. Year of Chriſt 1378.

Account of the Election of Urban *by an anonymous and contemporary Writer.*

I ſhall begin with the Account of the anonymous Author of *Gregory*'s Life, who was then, as he declares, in *Rome*, ſaw with his own Eyes what happened out of the Conclave, and learnt of ſeveral Cardinals what happened in it; and his Account is as follows: While *Gregory* lay dangerouſly ill, the *Bannerets* or *Bandereſians*, who preſided over the different Wards or Quarters of the City, frequently met to deliberate about the Means of retaining the Apoſtolic See in *Italy*; and that they thought they could by no other Means more effectually procure than by getting a *Roman*, or at leaſt an *Italian*, elected in the Room of *Gregory*. They therefore reſolved to apply, upon his Death, to the Cardinals, and leave nothing unattempted to prevail upon them to fill the See, when it became vacant, with a Native of *Rome*, or at leaſt of *Italy*. They were encouraged therein by ſeveral *Italian* Prelates, who, aſpiring at the Pontificate, aſſiſted at all their Conferences to court their Favour and Intereſt. Amongſt theſe was *Bartholomew Pignano*, Archbiſhop of *Bari*, a Man of an unbounded Ambition, of very uncommon Parts, of great Addreſs, and generally reputed one of the moſt learned Men of the Age. In the mean time *Gregory* died, as has been ſaid, on the 27th of *March* 1378, and the *Bandereſians* waiting upon the Cardinals as ſoon as they heard of his Death, earneſtly entreated them to elect a *Roman*, or at leaſt an *Italian* for his Succeſſor, adding, that if they complied not with their Requeſt, there was Reaſon to believe that the *Roman* People, provoked at their being ſo long deprived of their Paſtor, would reſent it in a Manner not pleaſing to them. They therefore deſired to know, before they entered into the Conclave, what the People might expect from them. Thus they applied to the Cardinals when aſſembled together, and to each of them in particular at his Houſe. The Cardinals anſwered, that ſuch Matters were not to be treated of out of the Conclave, and that in the Conclave they ſhould act agreeably to their Conſcience, without Exception to any Perſon or Nation, having nothing in View but the Good of the Church, and the Chriſtian Religion; and that

if

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if any Violence were offered, or Menaces uſed, the Perſon thus elected would not be Pope, but an Intruder. The *Bandereſians* however ſtill preſſed them to grant them their Requeſt, and conſult their own Safety, by promiſing to elect a *Roman*, or an *Italian*. As they could extort no ſuch Promiſe from them, they placed Guards at all the Gates, Bridges, and Avenues to the Town both by Land and Water, to prevent their retiring to ſome other Place, and holding the Conclave there, drove out all the Nobility, leſt they ſhould undertake the Defence and Protection of the Cardinals, and introduced in their Room Multitudes of Peaſants, who ſtuck at nothing, and were entirely at their Devotion. Theſe being ſupplied with Arms, continued running up and down the Streets Day and Night, threatening the Cardinals, and inſulting ſuch of their Domeſtics as they happened to meet. Beſides, they committed the Guard of the Conclave, which Perſons only of the firſt Diſtinction uſed to be charged with, to the very Scum of the People. As the Cardinals were entering into the Conclave, the Peaſants and the Populace attending them, cried out aloud, with dreadful Menaces, we will have a *Roman* Pope, *Romano lo volemo lo Papa*, *Romano lo volemo*. Many of them even entered the Conclave with the Cardinals, while others ſurrounded the Palace on all Sides. When the Cardinals were ready to ſhut themſelves up in the Conclave, the *Bandereſians*, breaking into the Palace, told them in plain Terms, that they muſt chuſe a *Roman*, or, at leaſt, an *Italian*; that ſuch was the Deſire and Requeſt of the *Roman* People; and that if they did not comply with it, it was not in their Power to ſcreen them from the Fury of the enraged Multitude. The Cardinals anſwered, that the Election ought to be free; that it was null if not free; and that where Menaces intervened there could be no Freedom. They deſired them therefore to reflect that ſhould they, intimidated by their Menaces, elect a *Roman* or an *Italian*, he would not be true Pope, how unanimouſly ſoever elected, but an Uſurper of the Apoſtolic See. With this Anſwer the *Bandereſians* withdrew, and the Cardinals ſhut themſelves up in the Conclave. But the Populace continued all Night making dreadful Noiſes, and crying out aloud, *A* Roman, *at leaſt an* Italian *Pope, or immediate Death*, which kept the Cardinals awake and in great Fear all that Night, the Night between the 7th and the 8th of *April*; for they entered into the Conclave on the 7th of

of that Month. Early next Morning, the 8th of *April*, while the Cardinals were aſſiſting at the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, in order to proceed afterwards to the Election, the Bells of *St. Peter* and the Capitol were ſuddenly rung, as upon the Irruption of an Enemy, for the People to take Arms. They flew to Arms accordingly, and flocking from all Parts of the City to the Pontifical Palace, ſurrounded it, crying out, as before, *A* Roman, *at leaſt an* Italian *Pope, or certain Death.* They even began to break down the Door of the Conclave; but in the mean time the Window being opened, they deſired to ſpeak with the Cardinals; and the Deans of the Three Orders, *viz.* of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, being ſent them by the Reſt to hear and appeaſe them, they inſiſted upon their electing, without further Delay, a *Roman*, or an *Italian*, threatening them with immediate Death if they complied not with this their Requeſt. Upon the Report of the Three Cardinals, the Reſt, apprehending themſelves to be in imminent Danger of their Lives, ſent one of the Officers of the Conclave to aſſure them, that the next Day they ſhould have a *Roman* or an *Italian* Pope, and beg them to retire. *We will have a* Roman, *at leaſt an* Italian *Pope this Moment*, replied the Multitude with one Voice; *nor will we depart from hence till you have complied with our Demand; immediate Compliance or immediate Death.* The Cardinals finding that there was no Medium, that they muſt gratify the People, or fall a Sacrifice to their Fury, reſolved to gratify them. Having therefore firſt proteſted againſt the Violence that was offered them, they caſt their Eyes, in that Hurry and Conſternation, upon *Bartholomew Pignano*, Archbiſhop of *Bari*, a Native of *Naples*. As he was better acquainted with the Canons than moſt Men of his Time, he knew that his Election was not free, and was conſequently null, they took it for granted that he would ſoon reſign the Dignity, which they had only conferred upon him to ſave their Lives; and that the rather, as he was reputed a Man of Conſcience, and had on ſeveral Occaſions diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Zeal for the Obſervance of the Canons. Upon theſe Conſiderations they declared him Pope, and at the preſſing Inſtances of the *Romans* immediately enthroned him; on which Occaſion he took the Name of *Urban* VI. Thus the contemporary Writer of *Gregory*'s Life [k].

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[k] Apud Baluz. tom. 2. p. 442.

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Deposition of the Ultramontaine *Cardinals.*

The Cardinals, by whom *Urban* was thus elected, not daring, so long as they continued in *Rome*, to question the Validity of his Election, outwardly acknowleged him for true Pope, nay, and wrote to the Cardinals, who had remained at *Avignon*, that they had unanimously placed *Bartholomew Pignano*, Archbishop of *Bari*, in the Chair of St. *Peter*. But retiring afterwards from *Rome* to *Anagni*, Twelve of them declared upon Oath before Cardinal *Peter de Cros*, Chamberlain of the Holy *Roman* Church and Judge in Ordinary, that it was to avoid immediate Death, which they were threatened with, that they elected the Archbishop of *Bari*, whom they never would have thought of electing had no Violence been offered. They added, that being in all Sixteen, *viz.* Twelve *Ultramontaines* and Four *Italians*, they had all agreed to elect one of the College; but they disagreed in this, that the *Ultramontaines*, that is, those on this Side the *Alps*, were for having an *Ultramontaine* and not an *Italian* Pope, and the *Italians* contended for an *Italian*. In this Disposition they entered into the Conclave, and the *Ultramontaines* would certainly have carried their Point, but for the Violence that was offered them by the *Roman* People, threatening them with immediate Death if they chose not an *Italian*. They further attested, upon Oath, that some of the *Italian* Cardinals declared that, should they be elected, they would not consent to their Election, as it would be owing to Violence, and consequently null; that when the Archbishop of *Bari* was unexpectedly nominated, they agreed to that Nomination only because they durst not oppose it; that some did not absolutely agree to it, but only upon Condition that he should be freely re-elected in some other Place; but that the People, in the mean time, impatient of any further Delay, broke into the Conclave, and would in their Fury have cut them in Pieces, had not one of the Cardinals, to save his own Life, and the Lives of his Brethren, told them that they had elected Cardinal *Thebaldeschi*, who was by Birth a *Roman*, and Archpriest of *St. Peter*'s, but had not been able to prevail upon him to consent to his Election, and that they would have what they wanted, a *Roman* Pope, if they could but persuade him to accept the Dignity which had been conferred on him to gratify them. Hereupon the People, crowding round Cardinal *Thebaldeschi*, placed him, notwithstanding his solemnly protesting against it, on the Pontifical Throne. While the People were thus employed, the

the Cardinals in the Conclave made their Eſcape, ſome of them retiring privately to their own Houſes, others to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and ſome in Diſguiſe out of *Rome*. The People, finding that they had been impoſed upon, grew more outrageous than ever; but being informed that the Archbiſhop of *Bari*, a Native of *Italy*, was really elected, the Tumult ceaſed, and the News of his Election was received with the loudeſt Acclamations. The Archbiſhop remained in the Pontifical Palace, and from thence ſent the next Day a peremptory Order to the Cardinals, who had withdrawn to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, or to their own Houſes, to repair to the Palace, and aſſiſt at his Inthronation. They refuſed at firſt to comply with that Order; but finding he had the *Roman* Magiſtrates and the whole Body of the People on his Side, they thought it adviſeable to yield for the preſent, and he was placed by them with the uſual Ceremonies on the Pontifical Throne. The Cardinals, who had fled into the Country, likewiſe returned, apprehending that in their Abſence their Houſes would be plundered by the enraged Multitude, and together with the Reſt outwardly acknowleged the Archbiſhop of *Bari* for Pope under the Name of *Urban* VI. intending that he ſhould thereby acquire no better Right than he had by his Election. All this the Twelve *Ultramontaine* Cardinals atteſted, upon Oath, before Cardinal *Peter de Cros*, Chamberlain of the Apoſtolic See, at *Anagni*, on the 2d of *Auguſt* 1378 [l]. This Atteſtation was copied by *Spondanus* from an authentic Manuſcript in the Library of *St. Victor* at *Paris*; and in the ſame Library is lodged, as that Writer informs us, a Treatiſe written by *Simon de Cramand*, Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, where he declares that one *Pontius Veraldi*, who had lived in great Intimacy with the Archbiſhop of *Bari*, told him upon Oath, that being with the Archbiſhop, in the Church of *St. Peter* during the Tumult, he (the Archbiſhop) addreſſed him thus; *You ſee what Methods are uſed; but he, who ſhall be thus elected, will not be Pope; for my own Part I would not obey him, nor ought he to be obeyed by any good Catholic* [m]. He little imagined then that he himſelf *ſhould be thus elected.*

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Antonine, Archbiſhop of *Florence*, ſpeaking of this Election, tells us, that the Cardinals apprehending, before they entered into the Conclave, *St.* Antonine's *Account.*

[l] Apud Spondan. ad ann. 1378. [m] Idem ibid.

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that their Lives would be in great Danger if they chose not a *Roman*, or at least an *Italian*, charged one of their Brethren, a *Limosin*, or Native of *Limoges*, deemed more sagacious than the Rest, to contrive some Means of appeasing the Multitude; that the Cardinal communicated the Affair to his Friend the Archbishop of *Bari*, knowing him to be a Man of great Craft and Address; that the Archbishop advised them to elect Two, One in Earnest, to be afterwards nominated in some other Place, where they might with Safety publish his Election; the other with no Intention that he should be really Pope, but only to deceive the People, and thus escape the present Danger; and that the Cardinals, applauding this Device, nominated the Archbishop himself, with a Design to nominate another when free from all Restraint; but the People, placing him in the Pontifical Throne, acknowleged him for lawful Pope, nor could he ever afterwards be prevailed upon to resign the Dignity thus conferred on him [n]. This Account of the Archbishop's Election *Antonine* copied from the History of *Peter Boninsegni*, a Citizen of *Florence*, who lived at this Time [o].

Accounts favourable to Urban.

Gobelinus Persona, a contemporary Historian, writes in his History intituled *Cosmodromium*, that the Election of *Urban* was free and unanimous; that the *Romans* indeed surrounded the Pontifical Palace and the Conclave, crying out, *We will have a* Roman, *or at least an* Italian *Pope*, but used no Menaces; that when the Cardinals, who had retired to the Castle of *St. Angelo*, to their own Houses, or into the Country, met to enthrone him, he conjured them, by all that was sacred, to declare whether they had elected him freely, and that all to a Man answered, that they had elected him of their own Free-Will; that since that of St. *Peter* no Election had ever been more canonical [p]. These Reports commonly prevailed, the Cardinals, while in *Rome*, not daring to contradict them. But one of them, Cardinal *de Aigrefeuille*, gave private Notice to the King of *France* to pay no Regard to any thing they wrote from thence.—*James de Seva*, a Native of *Provence*, who lived at this Time, gives us the following Account of *Urban*'s Election under the Title of *Factum Jacobi de Seva*. Upon the Death of *Gregory* the *French* Cardinals, says that Writer, disagreed among themselves be-

[n] Antonin. tit. 22. c. 1. [o] Pagi, Vol. 4. p. 244. [p] Gobelin. in Cosmodrom. ætat. 6. c. 74.

fore

fore they entered into the Conclave, as well as with the *Italian* Cardinals. The *French* Cardinals were Sixteen in Number, and the *Italians* only Four. But the greater Part of the *French* Cardinals being of the Province of *Limoges*, they were for electing one of the ſame Province. As there had been in the Courſe of a few Years Three Popes of that Province, namely, *Clement* VI. *Innocent* VI. and *Gregory* XI. who had filled the College with their Countrymen, the other *French* Cardinals joined the *Italians*, chuſing rather to have an *Italian* Pope than a *Limoſin*. Hereupon the *Limoſin* Cardinals agreed among themſelves to concur with the *Italians* in electing an *Italian*, if they could not carry the Election in Favour of one of their Province. Purſuant to this Agreement the *Limoſin* Cardinals, finding the Election of one of the ſame Province oppoſed in the Conclave by the other, *French* as well as *Italian*, Cardinals, unexpectedly propoſed the Archbiſhop of *Bari*. As the Archbiſhop had ſpent great Part of his Life at *Avignon*, and was beſides a Native of *Naples* then in the Hands of the *French*, the other *French* Cardinals, looking upon him as a *Frenchman*, readily conſented to his Election. Of the Four *Italian* Cardinals, Cardinal *Urſini* alone oppoſed the Election of the Archbiſhop, aſpiring himſelf at the Pontificate, as he was a Native of *Rome*, and the People wanted a *Roman*. To ſatisfy the Multitude for the preſent, he propoſed their ſending for ſome *Franciſcan* Friar, for their ſhewing him to the People in the Attire of High Pontiff, and retiring out of *Rome*, while the *Romans* were buſied in paying their Adorations to the mock Pope, proceed to the Election of a true one in ſome other Place. This Propoſal was rejected by the Reſt of the Cardinals, declaring that they would not be acceſſary to the Idolatry of the People, and damn their own Souls. As the Archbiſhop therefore had a Majority, he was declared duly elected, and, before his Election was publiſhed, ſent for by the Cardinals, apprehending that if his Election were publicly known, the People might fall upon him as he was not a *Roman*, and prevent his Promotion. Upon his Arrival at the Palace he was again freely elected by a great Majority, and the *Ultramontaine* Cardinals, dreading the Fury of the People as they had not elected a *Roman*, began to retire before the Election was made public. But the People and Magiſtrates inſiſting upon their not going out of the Conclave till the Elect was publicly named, they prevailed on Cardinal *Thebaldeſchi*, by Birth a

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Roman, to perſonate the Pope, and while the People, tranſported with Joy, were wholly taken up in congratulating him upon his Promotion, they got in great Haſte out of the Crowd, Five to their own Houſes, Six to the Caſtle *St. Angelo*, and Three out of Town, leaving the pretended Pope alone in the Palace. Upon their Departure the Cardinal declared that the Archbiſhop of *Bari* was Pope, and not he, and the People, pleaſed with the Election of an *Italian*, diſmiſſed him unhurt, and immediately paid all due Honours to the Archbiſhop as Pope. But he declined them till the Cardinals, meeting again, freely and unanimouſly confirmed his Election; and it was at their Deſire and earneſt Requeſt that he ſubmitted and accepted at laſt a Dignity, to which he thought himſelf altogether unequal [q]. This Writer diſſembles the Violence that was uſed; but that Violence was uſed ſufficiently appears from his own Account.——The famous *Theodoric* of *Niem*, who was at this Time in *Rome*, and afterwards Secretary to *Urban*, has betrayed no leſs Partiality in his Account of this Election than *de Seva*. For according to him the Election was entirely free and unanimous, the *Roman* People uſed no Menaces, but, like Suppliants, only begged the Cardinals to elect a *Roman*, or at leaſt an *Italian*, if they thought it conſiſtent with the public Welfare, and the Good of the Church. He owns however great Diſturbances to have been raiſed by the People, but aſcribes them to a Miſtake of theirs. For being told by the Cardinals when the Election was over, that the *Bareſe* was elected, meaning the Archbiſhop of *Bari*, they imagined that *John de Barre*, a *Lemoſin*, the late Pope's Chamberlain, who by his inſolent and haughty Behaviour had rendered himſelf odious to all Ranks of Men, was elected Pope; and that Report being ſpread all over the City, the enraged Populace, threatening the Cardinals, committed great Diſorders, but were appeaſed as ſoon as undeceived [r].

Urban's *Election deemed by ſome valid, though not quite free.*

Theſe Three Hiſtorians, *Gobelinus Perſona*, *James de Seva*, and *Theodoric* of *Niem*, are the only Writers who have pretended the Election of *Urban* to be quite free. The other Hiſtorians, even thoſe who acknowleged *Urban* for lawful Pope, all allow his Election to have been owing to Violence. Among theſe *Leonardus* of *Arezzo*, commonly known by the Name of *The Aretin*, who was Chancellor

[q] Apud Spondan. ad ann. 1378. et Hiſt. Univerſitat. Pariſ. tom. 4. [r] Theod. de Niem de Schiſ. l. 1. c. 1.

and

and Hiſtorian of the Republic of *Florence*, and wrote about the Year 1440, owns the Election of *Urban* to have been the Effect of Violence; but adds, that the Cardinals, when free from all Fear, obeyed him as lawful Pope, which, ſays he, was confirming his Election [s]. *Baldus*, as famous a Civilian as any in his Time or ſince, owned the Cardinals to have elected *Urban* out of Fear, but yet looked upon him as lawful Pope, ſince he had been obeyed as ſuch by all the Cardinals for the Space of Three Months [t]. St. *Catherine* of *Siena*, eſpouſing with great Zeal the Cauſe of *Urban*, wrote a great Number of Letters to different Perſons, all calculated to ſhew that the Endeavours, uſed by the *Roman* People to get a *Roman* or an *Italian* Pope, were not ſufficient to render the Election of *Urban* null. Innumerable Treatiſes have been written upon this Schiſm by different Authors, ſome maintaining, and others impugning the Validity of *Urban*'s Election. In the *Vatican* Library alone are lodged, in Manuſcript, no fewer than Thirty-two Volumes upon this Subject, containing all the Arguments that have been alleged on either Side. But which of the Competitors was the true Pope, and which the Antipope, has never been determined by the Church. Leaving therefore that Point undecided, I ſhall proceed to the Hiſtory of *Urban*'s Pontificate, and that of his Rival *Clement* VI.

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Bartholomew, Archbiſhop of *Bari*, elected in the Manner we have ſeen, was a Native of *Naples*, deſcended from the illuſtrious Family of the *Prignani* originally from *Piſa*, was reputed one of the beſt Civilians as well as Canoniſts of his Time, and univerſally eſteemed for his Probity, whether real or pretended. As Cardinal *de Monteruco*, Vice Chancellor of the Holy *Roman* Church, choſe to remain at *Avignon* when *Gregory* removed with his Court to *Rome*, *Bartholomew* was appointed by that Pope to act as Vice Chancellor in his Stead. In that Office he acquitted himſelf to the Satisfaction of *Gregory*, and was by him, on that account, preferred to the Archbiſhopric of *Otranto*, and ſoon after tranſlated to that of *Bari*. An anonymous Writer, who lived with him, gives us the following Account of his Manner of Life. " This Man," ſays that Author, " for many Years, while I was with " him, when he withdrew at Night to Reſt, cauſed the Bible to be " read to him till he fell aſleep, and while awake very ſeldom or ever

Urban's Birth, Preferments, and Character before his Election.

[s] Aretin. Hiſt. Florent. [t] Bald. de Schiſ. tit. *ſi quis aliquem.*

" paſſed

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" paſſed idly any Part of his Time, but employed it in Study, in the " Diſcharge of his Office, or in Prayer. He conſtantly wore Night " and Day a Hair-cloth next to his Skin. He never appeared in the " Streets but upon ſome urgent Buſineſs, and then rode on a Mule, " being only attended by One Domeſtic on Horſeback. He patiently " bore his own Misfortunes, and was greatly affected with thoſe of " others. He moſt ſtrictly obſerved all the Faſts of the Church, and " added to them that of the Advent. He was a great Friend to the " Religious, and took particular Delight in their Company. He en- " couraged Learning in others, being a Man of great Learning him- " ſelf [u]. Before his Promotion he was remarkable," ſays his Secretary *de Niem*, " for his Love of Juſtice, for his Abhorrence of Simony, " for his Piety, Modeſty, and Benevolence to all, eſpecially to Men " of Learning and Virtue. But after his Promotion one would have " thought," adds *Papirius Maſſonus*, " that he never had been en- " dowed with any of thoſe Virtues, or had at once forfeited them all " when he ſtood moſt in need of them [w]." He was elected on the 8th, and inthroned on the 9th of *April*, taking on that Occaſion for his Motto the Words of the *Pſalm*, *Ariſe, O Lord, and judge my Cauſe*. On the 18th of the ſame Month, *Eaſter-Day*, he was crowned with the uſual Solemnity by Cardinal *Urſini*, in the Preſence and with the Approbation of all the Cardinals then at *Rome*, being at that Time in the Sixtieth Year of his Age.

Letter from the Cardinals at Rome *to thoſe at* Avignon.

Urban, thus elected, inthroned, and crowned, cauſed a ſolemn Maſs to be ſaid the Day after his Coronation in the Pontifical Chapel for the deceaſed Pope, at which all the Cardinals aſſiſted. On the ſame Day, the 19th of *April*, the Cardinals at *Rome* wrote to the Six who had remained at *Avignon*, to acquaint them with the Election of the Archbiſhop of *Bari*, which they ſolemnly declared, in their Letter, to have been entirely free, and deſired thoſe Cardinals to give no Credit to any who ſhould aſſert or write the contrary. " Our late Father *Gre-* " *gory* of holy Memory," ſaid the Cardinals, " having left us to our " unſpeakable Concern on the 27th of *March*, we entered into the " Conclave on the 7th of *April* to deliberate about the Election of a " new Pontiff. The next Day being enlightened by the Rays of that " Sun that never ſets, about the Hour when the Holy Ghoſt deſcended

[u] Apud Oldoin. in notis ad Ciacon. [w] Anonym. et Papirius Maſſon. apud Ciacon.

" upon

" upon the Apoſtles, we all freely and unanimouſly elected for High " Pontiff our Reverend Father and Lord in Chriſt *Bartholomew*, Arch- " biſhop of *Bari*, a Man endowed, in an eminent Degree, with every " Virtue becoming ſo high a Station. The News of his Election was " received with loud Acclamations by an innumerable Multitude of " People. On the 9th he was placed in the Apoſtolic Throne, taking " on that Occaſion the Name of *Urban* VI. On the Day of the " Reſurrection of our Lord he was ſolemnly crowned, according to " Cuſtom, in the Baſilic of *St. Peter*. We have thought it neceſſary " to tranſmit to you this Account, containing the Truth, and nothing " but the Truth, of what has paſſed within theſe few Days in the " *Roman* Church. You may ſafely rely upon what we write; and it " is incumbent upon you to contradict, as abſolutely falſe, all Reports " to the contrary [x]." Thus the Cardinals at *Rome* to their Brethren at *Avignon*, and likewiſe to all the Chriſtian Princes, apprehending, as they afterwards owned, that had they wrote the Truth, their Letters would probably have been intercepted, and they cut in Pieces by the enraged *Romans*.

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The Cardinals, ſo long as they remained at *Rome*, paid all the Obedience to *Urban* that was due to a lawful Pope; and moſt Authors are of Opinion that, to avoid a Schiſm, and the dreadful Conſequences attending it, they would have continued to obey him, but for his unſeaſonable Severity. For in a Conſiſtory held immediately after his Coronation, he reprimanded the Cardinals very ſeverely, and in very coarſe Terms, taxing them with Pride, Avarice, and Venality, with engroſſing to themſelves all the beſt Benefices of the Church, and inſolently lording it over the Reſt of the Clergy. At the ſame time he commanded them to retrench all unneceſſary Expences, to leſſen the Number of their Attendants, to forbear all public and expenſive Banqueting, threatening to cut off the Means of ſupporting their Extravagance, if they did not reform it of their own Accord. He forbad them to accept of any Preſents or Penſions from ſecular Princes, on Pain of being looked upon as Betrayers of the Rights of the Church, and treated accordingly. While he thus behaved to the Cardinals, he was all Complaiſance to the *Romans*, made it his Study to gratify them in all their Demands, and even diſtinguiſhed with particular Marks

Urban *diſobliges the Cardinals with his unſeaſonable Severity.*

[x] Oldoin. in novis additionibus ad Ciacon. et Raymund. ad ann. 1378. num. 19.

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of his Favour ſuch of them as had been the moſt active in the late Diſturbances.

His haughty Behaviour to Otho, *Duke of* Brunſwick.

The News of his Election no ſooner reached *Naples*, than *Otho*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, Queen *Joan*'s Third Huſband, came to *Rome* to congratulate him upon that Occaſion, and do him Homage, in the Queen's Name, for her Kingdom, a Fief of the Apoſtolic See. *Otho* was a Prince endowed with every princely Virtue; had in the latter End of *Gregory*'s Pontificate negotiated, and happily concluded a Peace between the Church and the *Florentines* after a long and deſtructive War, and had been publicly thanked on that Account by the Pope and the whole College. Yet *Urban* received him with great Haughtineſs, ſcarce deigned to return him an Anſwer when he congratulated him in the Queen's Name and his own upon his Promotion, and treated him with great Contempt during the whole Time he ſtayed at *Rome*. Of this *Theodoric de Niem*, *Urban*'s Secretary, gives us the following Inſtance. The Pope happening to dine one Day in public, the Duke deſired the Honour of waiting upon him at Table, and ſtanding behind his Chair, when he called for Drink, offered it to him on his Knees; and in that Poſture the Pope ſuffered him to remain, diſcourſing with thoſe about him of different Matters, till One of the Cardinals took upon him to tell his Holineſs, that it was Time for him to drink.

The Ultramontaine *Cardinals reſolve to proceed to a new Election, and retire with that View to* Anagni.

Many ſuch like Inſtances are recorded by the contemporary Hiſtorians of his haughty and imperious Behaviour to all, more eſpecially to the Cardinals, whom he looked upon as his Enemies, knowing that he owed not his Promotion to them, but to the *Roman* People, whoſe Favour he therefore courted, while he treated the Cardinals, the *Ultramontaine* Cardinals, with the utmoſt Contempt; which ſo provoked them, that they came to a private Reſolution among themſelves to declare his Election uncanonical and null, as being entirely owing to Violence, and proceed in ſome other Place to a new Election. Purſuant to that Reſolution the Sixteen *Ultramontaine* Cardinals retired with *Urban*'s Permiſſion, who entertained not the leaſt Suſpicion of their Deſign, to *Anagni*, not all together, but one after the other, and at different Times, under Colour of avoiding the exceſſive Heats of *Rome*, to which they were not accuſtomed. They all met at *Anagni* about the latter End of *June*, *Urban* himſelf repairing at the ſame Time with the Four *Italian* Cardinals for the Benefit of the Air to *Tivoli*. The

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Cardinals, being now out of all Danger, and free from all Fear, aſſembled at the Houſe of *Peter de Cros*, Chamberlain and Judge in Ordinary of the Apoſtolic See, who had likewiſe retired with many other Prelates to *Anagni*, and in his Preſence atteſted, upon Oath, all the Particulars mentioned above concerning the Election of the Archbiſhop of *Bari*, and the Violence to which it was owing. They then ſent ſome Religious to acquaint *Urban* with what they had done, and exhort him, as he tendered the Peace and Welfare of the Church, to reſign a Dignity, to which he himſelf could not but know that he had no legal Title. The Cardinals, finding after repeated Exhortations and Admonitions, that he was determined to maintain himſelf, at all Events, in the Pontifical Chair, reſolved to proceed to another Election. But, in the firſt place, to guard againſt any Violence that might be offered them by *Urban*'s Friends, they ſent an Order to a Body of Troops, quartered at *Viterbo* under the Command of *Bernard de la Sale*, a *Gaſcon*, to repair to *Anagni*, in order to protect the *Ultramontaine* Cardinals, aſſembled there to provide the Church with a true Paſtor, inſtead of a ravenous Wolf. As they paſſed near *Rome*, the *Romans*, who by this Time had heard of the Proceedings of the Cardinals at *Anagni*, ſallying out in great Numbers, attempted to ſtop them, but were repulſed with great Loſs; which ſo enraged them, that upon their Return to the City they maſſacred all the Domeſtics of the *French* Cardinals, who had the Misfortune to fall into their Hands.

Exhort Urban *to reſign.*

Letter written at this Time to the Univerſity of Paris.

Theſe Particulars we learn from a Letter of *Marcellus* or *Marcellinus Inghen*, formerly Rector of the Univerſity of *Paris*, to that Univerſity, dated at *Tivoli* the 27th of *July*. " The Church," ſays he in his Letter, " is at this preſent Time in greater Danger of being divided " by a Schiſm than it has been for theſe Hundred Years. The Pope " reſides here with the Cardinals of *Florence*, of *Milan*, of *St. Peter*, " and *Urſini*. The other Cardinals are all at *Anagni*; and it is re- " ported that the Four *Italian* Cardinals, the *Roman* People, and the " greater Part of *Italy*, acknowledge *Urban* for true and lawful Pope, " while the Reſt will have his Election to be null on account of the " Violence uſed by the *Roman* People. The Cardinals at *Anagni* have " ſent for ſome Troops to protect them; and by thoſe Troops many " *Romans* have been killed as they paſſed by *Rome*. Their Death the " *Romans* have revenged upon the *French* in *Rome*, of whom they

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" have maſſacred great Numbers; and the Foreigners were all in great " Danger of their Lives. How the Cardinals intend to employ thoſe " Troops is not certainly known. Some ſay that they deſign to pro- " ceed to a new Election, and have with that View ſent for the Car- " dinals at *Tivoli*. I beg you will lay your Commands upon me, that " I may execute them without Delay; for I am here in great Danger, " and at a much greater Expence than I can bear. Yeſterday the Pope " confirmed, in a public Conſiſtory, the Election of the King of the " *Romans*. The Queen of *Sicily* has ſent Two hundred Horſe and a " great Body of Foot to guard and defend the Pope. It is ſaid that he " will return in a Week's Time to *Rome*[y]."

Manifeſto ſent by the Cardinals at Anagni *to* Urban.

The Cardinals ſoon after the Arrival of the Troops at *Anagni* drew up a Manifeſto, and ſent it to the *Italian* Cardinals to be communicated by them to *Urban*. In that Manifeſto, addreſſed to *Urban* himſelf with no other Title but that of Archbiſhop of *Bari*, they ſolemnly declared, that the Danger to which they were expoſed of being maſſacred by the *Roman* People, if they choſe not an *Italian*, had induced them to chuſe him; that they had elected him in that Fright and Confuſion, flattering themſelves that as he was ſo well acquainted with, and pretended to be ſo ſtrict an Obſerver of the Canons, he would not avail himſelf of an Election which he could not but know to be null by the Canons; but that as he nevertheleſs, trampling upon all Laws, and regardleſs of his own Salvation, had the Aſſurance to impoſe himſelf upon the World for true and lawful Pope, they thought it indiſpenſibly incumbent upon them to undeceive thoſe who received him as ſuch, by declaring him an Apoſtate from the Church and an Uſurper of the Apoſtolic See. At the ſame time *Peter de Cros*, by Order of the Cardinals at *Anagni*, ſent him a formal Summons to appear at his Tribunal, and there anſwer what was urged by the Cardinals, who had elected him, againſt the Validity of his Election. The Summons was directed *To Bartholomew, Archbiſhop of Bari, intruded into the Apoſtolic See:* Which was, in Effect, ſummoning him to maintain the Validity of his Election, and at the ſame time declaring it to be null. The Four *Italian* Cardinals, who had attended *Urban* to *Tivoli*, were likewiſe ſummoned to *Anagni*, in order to proceed with the Reſt, as the See was vacant, to the Election of a lawful

They ſummon him to appear before them.

[y] Hiſt. Univerſitat. Paris, tom. 4. p. 468.

Pope.

Pope [z]. Upon this Summons the *Italian* Cardinals left *Urban*; but, instead of repairing to *Anagni*, went to *Sueſſa*, ſituated between *Gaeta* and *Capua*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. St. *Catherine* of *Siena*, who had eſpouſed with great Warmth the Cauſe of *Urban*, did all in her Power to perſuade them to return to *Tivoli*, reproaching them, in a very ſharp Letter ſhe wrote to them on that Occaſion, with forſaking One whom they themſelves had proclaimed to the whole World for lawful Pope. But no more Regard was had by them to her Reproaches and Exhortations, than to the repeated Invitations of the Ultramontaine Cardinals at *Anagni*, preſſing them to come and proceed jointly with them to the Election of a new Pope, ſince they had ſufficiently ſhewn, by their abandoning the Archbiſhop of *Bari*, that they looked upon him as an Uſurper.

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Urban *forſaken by the* Italian *Cardinals.*

The Ultramontaine Cardinals therefore, making more than Two Parts in Three of the College, reſolved to proceed by themſelves; and aſſembling accordingly on the 9th of *Auguſt*, in the great Church of *Anagni*, they firſt aſſiſted at the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, celebrated with great Solemnity by *James*, the *Latin* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and then cauſed the Sentence, which they had drawn up, declaring the Archbiſhop of *Bari* an Uſurper and Intruder, to be publicly read, and Copies of it to be ſent to all the Chriſtian Princes, ſetting forth the Violence to which alone he owed his Election. The next Step was to elect another in his Room. But leſt any Violence ſhould be offered them at *Anagni*, in the Territories of the Church and at no great Diſtance from *Rome*, they reſolved to remove from thence, and hold the Conclave at *Fondi*, a City in the Kingdom of *Naples*, or, as it was then called, the *Hither Sicily*, ſubject to Queen *Joan*, who of a moſt zealous Friend to *Urban* was become his moſt bitter Enemy. As he was a Native of *Naples* the Queen expreſſed great Joy at the News of his Promotion, had eſpouſed his Cauſe with uncommon Warmth, had ſent a Body of Troops, upon whom he could depend, for his Guard, and beſides aſſiſted him with large Sums of Money. But ſhe was in the mean time informed, that a Treaty was privately carried on between him and *Charles* of *Durazzo*, her Couſin-German by the Father, and that the Queen was by that Treaty to be depoſed, and *Charles* raiſed to the Throne in her Room, upon Condition of his yielding the Principality

The Election of Urban *declared null by the Ultramontaine Cardinals.*

Who retire to Fondi, *under the Protection of Queen* Joan.

[z] Apud Bzovium ad ann. 1378.

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of *Capua* to *Urban*'s Nephew. The Queen, provoked, and very juſtly, at ſuch Treachery and Ingratitude, reſolved to oppoſe *Urban* and ſupport the Cardinals to the utmoſt of her Power. She therefore very readily granted them Leave to hold the Conclave at *Fondi*, and aſſured them of her Protection [a].

Artfully entice the Italian *Cardinals to join them.*

Urban in the mean time, leaving *Tivoli*, returned to *Rome*, and the Ultramontaine Cardinals, removing from *Anagni* to *Fondi*, wrote moſt preſſing Letters to the Three *Italian* Cardinals at *Sueſſa* (the Fourth Cardinal, *Thebaldeſchi*, being dead) to come to *Fondi*, and provide the Church, left to the Mercy of a furious Wolf, with a lawful Paſtor. But the *Italian* Cardinals ſhewing themſelves more diſpoſed to hearken to St. *Catherine* of *Siena* and return to *Urban*, than to have any Hand in the Electing of another, the Ultramontaines, to entice the mto *Fondi*, wrote to each of them in particular, that they had agreed among themſelves to elect him, provided he carefully concealed this their Agreement from the other Two, to obviate the Difficulties which they, aſpiring at the ſame Dignity, might raiſe. There wanted no more; they flew all Three to *Fondi*, each of them looking upon himſelf as already placed in the Pontifical Throne. But (the cruel Diſappointment!) the Ultramontaine Cardinals, entering a few Days after their Arrival into the Conclave, choſe with One Voice *Robert* of *Geneva*, Cardinal Preſbyter of the Title of the Twelve Apoſtles. He was Brother to *Peter*, Count of *Geneva*, was allied to moſt of the Chriſtian Princes, had been Notary of the Apoſtolic See, and Biſhop firſt of *Terroüane* and afterwards of *Cambray*, was raiſed in 1371 by *Gregory* XI. for his diſtinguiſhed Merit to the Dignity of Cardinal, and was at the Time of his Promotion to the Pontificate but Thirty-ſix Years of Age. The *Italian* Cardinals neither voted for him nor oppoſed his Election; but, finding they had been made the Dupes of the Ultramontaines, they left *Fondi* as ſoon as the Conclave broke up, and returned no leſs confuſed than mortified to *Sueſſa*. *Robert* was elected on the 20th of *September*, and crowned, according to the moſt probable Opinion, the very next Day in the Preſence of *Otho*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, and the chief Nobility of the Kingdom; and on that Occaſion he took the Name of *Clement* VII. The Cardinals immediately notified his Election to all the Chriſtian Princes, giving them a particular and diſtinct

Cardinal Robert *of* Geneva *elected.*

Who takes the Name of Clement VII.

[a] Vit. Urban apud Baluz.

Account

Account of the Violence to which alone that of the Archbiſhop of *Bari* was owing, and exhorting them to look upon him as an Uſurper, and receive *Clement*, whom they had freely and canonically elected, for lawful Pope. Theſe Letters were written and ſent to all the Chriſtian Princes and Biſhops the Day after *Clement*'s Coronation, that is, the 22d of *September* [b]. Year of Chriſt 1378.

The Election of *Clement* divided the whole Chriſtian World, nay and even private Families, ſome adhering to one of the Competitors and ſome to the other. *Urban* was received as lawful Pope in *Italy* and almoſt all over *Germany*, in *England*, *Portugal*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Pruſſia*, and *Norway*, while *Clement* was acknowleged in *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland*, *Sicily*, and in the Iſlands of *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*. As nothing could be certainly determined in Favour of either of the Pretenders, ſome ſided at one Time with the one, and at another with the other, as their Intereſt directed them. Indeed both had amongſt their Partizans ſome of the moſt eminent Men of the Age for their Integrity, as well as their Knowlege in the Civil and Canon Law, and by thoſe of one Party new Pieces were daily publiſhed, and anſwered by thoſe of the other. Urban *acknowleged by ſome Princes and* Clement *by others.*

Urban, finding himſelf abandoned by all the Cardinals, made a new Promotion on the 18th of *September* of no fewer than Twenty-nine, the moſt numerous that had ever yet been made. Of the Twenty-nine, whom he nominated to that Dignity, Three declined receiving it at his Hands, and were afterwards preferred to it by *Clement*. They were all Men of Merit, moſt of them *Italians* and of great Families, whom *Urban* wanted to gain to his Party. On the other Hand, *Clement* on the 17th of *December* added Six new Members to his College of Cardinals, of whom Three were Natives of *Italy* [c]. Urban *creates* 29 *Cardinals and* Clement *ſix*.

As the *Romans* ſupported *Urban* to the utmoſt of their Power, the *Gaſcons* under *de la Sale*, whom *Clement* had taken into his Pay, committed moſt dreadful Ravages in their Territories, and threatened *Rome* itſelf with a Siege; inſomuch that *Urban* had reſolved to retire from thence and abandon the City to his Rival. But *Clement*'s Troops being in the mean time defeated, and moſt of them cut in Pieces by a Body of Adventurers under the Command of an *Engliſhman*, whom Authors call Clement *retires to* Naples.

[b] Apud Spond. ad ann. 1378. Niem de Schiſm. Auctor primæ vit. Clement, & ſecundæ Greg. & Bzovius ad hunc ann. [c] Apud Baluz. col. 1261.

Haucut,

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Haucut, *Clement*, thinking himſelf no longer ſafe at *Fondi*, removed from thence to *Splonata* in the Dioceſe of *Gaeta*, and ſoon after from *Splonata* by Sea to *Naples*. The Queen, who had, for very juſt Reaſons, abandoned *Urban*, as we have ſeen, received *Clement* with extraordinary Marks of Honour and Reſpect, acknowleged him for lawful Pope, and entertained him with the greateſt Magnificence in the Caſtle *dell'Ovo*. But the Populace mutinying and loudly complaining of the Queen, of the Duke her Huſband, and the Nobility, for ſupporting a foreign Pope againſt an *Italian* and a Native of *Naples*, nay and flying Night and Day about the Streets and crying out aloud, *Viva Papa Urbano*, God ſave Pope *Urban*, *Clement* thought it adviſeable to leave *Naples* and return to *Splonata*. He had not been long there when he was informed, that *Urban* was contriving the Means of getting him into his Power, which ſo alarmed him, as he was well acquainted with the cruel and ſavage Temper of his Antagoniſt, that, diſtruſting the *Italians*, he reſolved to throw himſelf into the Arms of the *French*. Purſuant to that Reſolution he embarked, in the Month of *May* 1379, with his Court and all his Cardinals on board ſome Gallies and other Veſſels that accidentally put into *Gaeta*, and on the 10th of *June* landed ſafe at *Marſeilles*. From thence he purſued his Journey to *Avignon*, and was there received with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Joy, not only by the Inhabitants of all Ranks, but by the Cardinals, who had remained in that City when the late Pope went with the reſt to reſide at *Rome* [d].

Is received and treated as lawful Pope by Queen Joan.

Goes from thence to reſide at Avignon.

Year of Chriſt 1379.

When the Election of *Clement* was known in *France*, the King, *Charles* V. not to proceed raſhly in an Affair of ſuch Importance, diſpatched ſome Perſons, in whom he could confide, to *Rome*, to enquire upon the Spot into all the Circumſtances of both Elections. They returning to the King aſſured him, that the Election of *Urban* was owing to Violence alone, giving him at the ſame Time a minute Account of the outrageous Behaviour of the *Roman* People, threatening the Cardinals in the Conclave with immediate Death, if they choſe not an *Italian*. What they atteſted was confirmed upon Oath by ſeveral Eye-witneſſes, and among the reſt by Cardinal *John de Cros*. Upon this Information the King aſſembled all the Prelates and learned Men of the Kingdom in the Caſtle of *Vincennes*, and having firſt obliged them to ſwear upon the Body of our Lord that they would diveſt themſelves of

France *declares upon the moſt mature Deliberation for* Clement.

[d] Auctor vit. Clement. apud Surita. Annal. Arragon. l. 20. c. 24.

all Partiality, and judge according to their Conſciences, he cauſed all the Atteſtations, relative to the one and the other Election, to be laid before them. All that had been or could be urged for or againſt either of the Pretenders was ſtrictly examined by that learned Aſſembly according to the eſtabliſhed Laws or Canons of the Church; and it was upon the moſt mature Deliberation determined on the 16th of *November* of the preſent Year 1379, that the Election of *Urban* was null, as being intirely owing to Fear, and that *Clement*, freely elected by more than Two Parts in Three of the Cardinals, ought alone to be acknowleged for lawful Pope. This Determination the King immediately communicated to all his Allies, and cauſed it to be publiſhed throughout his Dominions, that his Subjects might all know which of the Two Popes they were to acknowlege and which to obey. The Univerſity of *Paris* had hitherto acknowleged *Urban*, and ſent *Marcellus de Inghen*, of whoſe Letter to that Univerſity I have ſpoken above, to congratulate him in their Name upon his Promotion; nay they had, it ſeems, eſpouſed his Cauſe with great Zeal, and publicly maintained the Legality of his Election againſt all who queſtioned it: For we have a Letter from him to the Members of that Univerſity, wherein he thanks them for having aſſerted his Right with ſuch ſolid Reaſonings, as had either convinced or ſilenced all who had dared to call it in queſtion. But before the Univerſity received this Letter they had, agreeably to the Deciſion of the Aſſembly at *Vincennes*, diſowned *Urban* and acknowleged *Clement* [e]. Year of Chriſt 1379.

In the mean time *Urban*, wholly intent upon being revenged on *Joan*, Queen of *Naples*, for abandoning him and ſiding with his Rival, revived the old Quarrel between her and King *Lewis* of *Hungary*, whoſe Brother ſhe had married and was accuſed of having treacherouſly murdered. She had been declared innocent of that Crime by *Clement* VI. in 1347, as has been related above. But nevertheleſs *Urban*, pretending ſhe was guilty, left nothing unattempted to ſtir up *Lewis* and his *Hungarians*, who had once invaded the Kingdom, to invade it anew. *Charles* of *Durazzo*, Count of *Gravina*, and next Heir to the Crown of the *Hither Sicily* or *Naples*, ſerved at this Time under *Lewis* of *Hungary*, his Couſin, in the War that Prince was carrying on in the *Trivigiana* againſt

Urban *revives the old Quarrel between the King of* Hungary *and Queen* Joan.

Encourages Charles *of* Durazzo *to drive her from the Throne.*

[e] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1378. num. 61. Continuator Nangii, & Auctor vit. Clementis.

the

Year of Chriſt 1379.

the *Venetians*. *Urban* therefore, thinking he could by no other Means more effectually compaſs the Ruin of the Queen, than by engaging *Charles* to invade her Kingdom, and the King of *Hungary* to aſſiſt him with his Troops, wrote moſt preſſing Letters to that Prince, promiſing to depoſe the Queen and beſtow the Kingdom upon *Charles*, provided he would allow him to employ the Troops under his Command to conquer it, which he repreſented as an Undertaking, that could not fail of Succeſs, and was due to the Manes of his Brother. The King readily conſented to the Propoſal. But *Charles*, mindful of the many Favours he had received at the Queen's Hands, who had brought him up almoſt from his Infancy as her own Child, had given him her Niece in Marriage, and deſigned him for her Succeſſor, ſhewed himſelf at firſt inclined not to diſturb his Benefactreſs in the Poſſeſſion of a Kingdom, that upon her Death, as ſhe had no Children, would fall to him. But being importuned by *Urban*, and at the ſame time encouraged by *Catherine* of *Siena*, the great Saint of the Age, to forget, on ſuch an Occaſion, all Obligations, and embark, without Heſitation, in an Undertaking, which ſhe aſſured him was pleaſing to Heaven, and would be crowned with Succeſs, he yielded at laſt, and acquainted therewith both *Catherine* and her Pope, to the unſpeakable Joy of the one and the other[f].

Queen Joan *excommunicated.* *by* Urban, *and depoſed.* Year of Chriſt 1380.

Urban, having obtained *Charles*'s Conſent, in order to facilitate the Undertaking, thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt the Queen for acknowleging, admitting into her Dominions, and honouring as lawful Pope an Apoſtate, an Intruder, and an Uſurper of the Apoſtolic See; declared her a Schiſmatic, a Heretic, and guilty of High Treaſon; deprived her of the Kingdom, of all Fiefs and Poſſeſſeſſions which ſhe held of the Empire, of the *Roman* or of any other Church; confiſcated all her Eſtates, her Moveables and Immoveables, beſtowing them upon any who ſhould ſeize them; and not only abſolved her Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, but forbad them, on Pain of Excommunication, to acknowlege or obey her for the future as their Sovereign. This Sentence is dated at *Rome* the 21ſt of *April*, in the Third Year of *Urban*'s Pontificate, or in 1380[g].

Charles *of* Durazzo

The Queen being thus excommunicated, anathematized, and depoſed, and the Throne thereupon declared vacant, *Urban* gave imme-

[f] Auctor vit. Clement. apud Baluz. Niem de Schiſm. l. 1. c. 9.

[g] Apud Raymund. ad eum ann. num. 2. &

diate

diate Notice thereof to *Charles*, preſſing him to haſten to *Rome*, in order to receive there the Inveſtiture of his new Kingdom at his Hands, and invade it before the perfidious *Joan* could put herſelf in a Condition to oppoſe him. Upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter *Charles* ſet out for *Rome* at the Head of a numerous Body of *Hungarians*, was received on his Arrival in that City with all poſſible Marks of Diſtinction by *Urban* and his Cardinals, and on the 1ſt of *June* 1381 anointed and crowned King of *Sicily* with the uſual Solemnity in the Church of *St. Peter*. On that Occaſion *Urban*, not ſatisfied with the Oaths that it was cuſtomary for the Kings of *Sicily* to take at their Coronation, inſiſted upon *Charles*'s ſolemnly promiſing, before he crowned him, to yield to his Nephew *Francis Prignano*, ſurnamed *Butillus*, the Principality of *Capua*, with ſo many other Lordſhips, Territories, Cities, and Caſtles as made near One-third of the Kingdom. We are told by all the contemporary Hiſtorians, that it was not only to be revenged upon Queen *Joan*, for abandoning him and declaring for his Rival, that he deprived her of her Kingdom, but in order to aggrandize his own Family, not doubting but *Charles*, if raiſed by his Means to the Throne, would readily comply with all his Demands; nay, if we may rely upon the Teſtimony of ſome of the moſt credible Writers of the Times, while the Queen was ſupporting him both with Men and with Money to the utmoſt of her Power, he was ſecretly treating with *Charles*, and had even agreed to transfer the Kingdom to him, upon his promiſing to yield the Principality of *Capua*, and ſome other Demeſnes of the Crown, to his Nephew *Butillus*; and it was, according to thoſe Writers, on Account of this his unparalelled Baſeneſs and Treachery that the Queen of a moſt zealous Friend became his moſt implacable Enemy [k].

Year of Chriſt 1380. *crowned King of* Naples *by* Urban.

Year of Chriſt 1381.

Charles came attended by a ſtrong Body of *Hungarian* Troops, but as he brought no Money to pay them, *Urban* was obliged to pay them himſelf; and in order to raiſe the neceſſary Sums for that Purpoſe, he was forced to lay moſt exorbitant Taxes upon the Clergy under his Obedience, to alienate or mortgage ſeveral Eſtates of the Churches and Monaſteries, to ſell the moſt valuable Ornaments that adorned them, the Gifts of Kings and Emperors, and even to melt down and turn into Money the Chalices themſelves, and the Gold and Silver Images of the

The Churches and Monaſteries pillaged by Urban *to ſupport the War.*

[k] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1381. num. 24.

Year of Christ 1381.

Saints [l]. Thus were the Churches pillaged, says the Author of *Clement*'s Life, to gratify the Revenge and Ambition of an ambitious and furious Man, whom nothing could satisfy but the Exaltation of his Family to the Rank of Princes, and the Destruction of all who presumed to traverse his wicked Designs [m].

Queen Joan *adopts* Lewis *of* Anjou.

Charles, being thus supplied with the necessary Money to defray the Expences of the intended Expedition, set out from *Rome* on his March for the Kingdom of *Naples*. As the Queen had no other Allies but the *French*, being descended from the Royal Family of *France*, she had, as soon as informed of *Urban*'s Designs, dispatched the Count of *Caserta* to implore the Assistance of that King, *Charles* V. and to engage him more effectually she had adopted, having no Children of her own, his Brother *Lewis* of *Anjou*, and made him her Heir and Successor to all her Dominious both in *Italy* and *Provence*. This Adoption was approved and confirmed by Pope *Clement*, as Lord Paramount of the Kingdom of *Naples*, by a Bull dated at *Avignon* the 22d of *August* 1380 [n]. Upon this Bull was grounded the Claim of the Second Race of the Princes of *Anjou* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, which, in Process of Time, involved that unhappy Country in endless Calamities.

Who is crowned King of Sicily *by* Clement.

Year of Christ 1382.

And now *Lewis*, looking upon the Kingdom of *Naples* as his own, began to make the necessary Preparations to support his Claim against *Charles* of *Durazzo*, Pope *Urban*'s King. With that View he raised a strong Body of Troops in *France*, being upon the Death of his Brother *Charles* V. which happened at this Time, made Regent of the Kingdom, as *Charles* VI. the Son and Successor to the deceased King was but Twelve Years of Age. Before he set out for *Italy* he came to *Avignon*, attended by *Amedeus*, Count of *Savoy*, and many other Persons of Distinction, to receive at the Hands of Pope *Clement* the Investiture of his new Kingdom. *Clement* received him with all possible Marks of Esteem and Affection, and on the 30th of *May* of the present Year 1382 crowned him King of *Sicily* and *Jerusalem*, blessed his Standard, and declared him Commander in Chief of the Army of the Church against *Bartholomew Prignano*, who stiled himself Pope, and all his Adherents.

[l] Niem. l. 1. c. 21. Raynald. ad ann. 1381. num. 24.
[m] Apud Baluz, p. 501.
[n] Apud Raynald. ad hunc ann. num. 11.

In

In the mean time *Charles* of *Durazzo*, entering the Kingdom with his *Hungarians*, was welcomed and joined by many of the *Neapolitan* Barons, chuſing to have rather for their King one, born and brought up among them, and nearly related to moſt of the great Families, than a Stranger, who, they apprehended, would bring new *Ultramontaines* with him, whom he could not help rewarding at the Expence of the Natives. *Charles*, encouraged by the Barons who flocked daily to him from all Parts of the Kingdom, advanced without Oppoſition to the very Gates of *Naples* itſelf, which obliged the Queen to retire with her Court to the Caſtle *dell'Ovo*. The Duke's Approach occaſioned great Diſturbances in the City, ſome declaring for the Queen, and ſome for *Charles*. But the latter prevailing, the Gates were opened, and *Charles* admitted, who immediately laid Siege to the Caſtle. On the other hand, the Duke of *Brunſwick*, determined to relieve the Queen, or periſh in the Attempt, approached *Naples* with what Troops he had been able to aſſemble. *Charles* met him with his Army in Battle-Array, and an Engagement thereupon enſuing, both Armies fought ſeveral Hours without loſing or gaining One Inch of Ground. But while Victory ſtill remained doubtful, the Duke of *Brunſwick* ruſhing forward with more Courage than Caution to engage *Charles* Hand to Hand, was ſurrounded by the Enemy's Cavalry, and obliged to ſurrender. His Captivity was followed by a total Defeat of his Army; and *Charles* returning triumphant before the Caſtle *dell'Ovo*, ſummoned the Queen to ſurrender, aſſuring her that ſhe ſhould in every Reſpect be treated as Queen, and no Violence ſhould be offered to her, or to any who belonged to her. Upon theſe Conditions ſhe ſurrendered, being reduced to great Straits for Want of Proviſions, and hearing nothing of the Duke of *Anjou*, from whom alone ſhe expected Relief. *Charles* being admitted into the Caſtle, ſaluted and addreſſed her as Queen, renewed all the Promiſes he had made, and allowed her to remain in the Royal Apartment of the Caſtle, and be there attended by her own Servants. But this Kindneſs of *Charles* was very ſhort-lived. For finding the Queen was greatly pitied by the People of *Naples*, and apprehending, as he was well acquainted with their fickle and turbulent Temper, that they might attempt to reſcue her out of his Hands, he firſt placed Guards about her, and ſoon after ſent her Priſoner to the City of *Muro* in the Province called

Year of Chriſt 1382.

Charles *enters the Kingdom, and is joined by many of the Barons.*

The Queen's Troops under the Duke of Brunſwick *defeated, and he taken Priſoner.*

The Queen ſurrenders.

Year of Chriſt 1382.

Baſilicata, and at the ſame time ordered her Huſband Duke *Otho* to be conveyed under a ſtrong Guard to the Caſtle of *Altamura* in *Apulia*. He then wrote to the King of *Hungary* to give him an Account of his Succeſs, and to know of him how he ſhould diſpoſe of his Royal Captive. The King anſwered, that he ought to treat her as ſhe had treated his Brother her Huſband. Purſuant to this Sentence ſhe was, according to *Niem*, by *Charles*'s Order, ſtrangled while ſhe was praying in her Chapel, and, according to others, ſmothered in her Apartment with a Bolſter. However that be, certain it is, that on the 22d of *May* 1382 ſhe was put to Death by *Charles*'s Order, and he is on that account very juſtly charged by all the contemporary Writers with the utmoſt Ingratitude, Cruelty, and a manifeſt Breach of the Conditions upon which ſhe had delivered herſelf up into his Hands. Her Body was brought to *Naples*, was for the Space of Seven Days expoſed to public View in the Church of *St. Clare*, and then interred there near the Remains of her Father the Duke of *Calabria*, King *Robert*'s only Son, where her Tomb is to be ſeen to this Day. The Plague that broke out in the City of *Naples* ſoon after her Death, and ſwept off 27,000 Inhabitants, is commonly conſtrued by the Writers of thoſe Times into a Judgment upon them for their Ingratitude to one, who deſerved ſo well of them and the whole Kingdom. With the Queen were taken, upon the Surrender of the Caſtle *dell'Ovo*, her Two Nieces, Siſters to the Ducheſs of *Durazzo*, *Charles*'s Wife, and Two Cardinals of Pope *Clement*'s Creation. The Two young Princeſſes *Charles* ſhut up, unmoved by the Entreaties and Tears of the Ducheſs, in different Priſons, where they ſoon died of the barbarous Treatment they met with. As to the Two Cardinals, *James de Itro* and *Leonardus de Giffono*, they were delivered up to Cardinal *Gentilis de Sangro*, who had attended *Charles* in this Expedition with the Character of Legate *a latere* from Pope *Urban*; and by him they were obliged to acknowledge *Urban* publicly, in the Church of *St. Clare*, for lawful Pope, to abjure *Clement* as an Uſurper and Intruder, and to throw the Red Hats they had received from him into a Fire kindled for that Purpoſe in the ſaid Church. All the Biſhops and other Dignitaries, who had adhered to the Queen as their lawful Sovereign, were depoſed by the Legate, and confined, after he had ſtript them of all their Effects, amongſt the common Malefactors, to the public Gaols, without

And is by his Order put to Death.

out any Regard to their Rank, Age, Merit, or Learning. Theſe Cruelties, practiſed by the inhuman Cardinal, as *Urban*'s Legate, upon ſo many innocent Men, we ſhall ſee in the Sequel retaliated upon him by *Urban* himſelf. Such is the Account the Writers, who lived in thoſe Times, or near them, have given us of this Revolution, and the unhappy End of the famous Queen *Joan* °. Year of Chriſt 1382.

In the mean time *Lewis* of *Anjou*, whom *Clement* had crowned, as we have ſeen, King of *Naples*, having croſſed the *Alps* at the Head of a very numerous Army, purſued his March through *Lombardy* with ſuch Expedition, that *Charles*, not having Time to aſſemble his Forces, was obliged to abandon to him great Part of *Apulia*. His Arrival alarmed the *Romans*, and they had determined, ſays the Author of *Clement*'s Life, if *Lewis* ſhould prevail, to deliver up to him *Bartholomew* the Intruder, and all his Anticardinals. Of this *Urban* was apprized, and therefore diſtruſting them, he left *Rome* under Colour of avoiding the Infection that raged there, and retired to *Tivoli*, where he ſtayed a Month, and then removed firſt to *Valmontone* in *Campania*, and afterwards to *Ferentino* in his Way to *Naples*. The *Romans*, apprehending that he deſigned to leave them, and ſettle at *Naples*, his native Country, diſpatched Meſſengers after him to invite him back, threatening, if he did not return, to look upon his Flight from his See (for they could call it by no other Name) as a Reſignation, and appoint another in his Room. *Urban* anſwered, that he had ſome Affairs of the utmoſt Importance to tranſact with the King of *Sicily*, *Charles* of *Durazzo*, and would in a very ſhort Time return to *Rome*. *Charles*, it ſeems, loth to part with the Principality of *Capua*, one of the beſt Jewels of his Crown, and the other Lordſhips, which at the Time of his Coronation he promiſed to yield to the Pope's Nephew *Butillus*, delayed, under various Pretences, to put him in Poſſeſſion of thoſe Lordſhips; and it was with a Deſign of obliging *Charles* to perform, without further Delay, what he had promiſed, that *Urban* undertook the preſent Journey to *Naples*. The Cardinals, apprehending the Conſequences of a Rupture, which they foreſaw would probably happen on this Occaſion between *Charles* and the Pope, did all they could to diſſuade him from entering the Kingdom, and putting himſelf in

Lewis *of* Anjou *invades the Kingdom.* Year of Chriſt 1383.

Urban *repairs to* Naples.

° Niem. de Schiſm. c. 23. et 26. Nauclerus Generat. 47. Kranzius, l. 10. c. 15. Auctor vit. Clement. apud Baluz.

the

Year of Christ 1383.

the Power of that Prince. But *Urban* proceeding, without hearkening to their Remonſtrances or Reaſons, on his Journey, was met by *Charles* as he approached *Averſa*, and attended by him, leading his Horſe on Foot as his Equerry, into the City. *De Niem*, who was preſent, tells us, that the Pope, diſmounting from his Horſe at a ſmall Chapel not far from the Gate of *Averſa*, attired himſelf in his Pontifical Robes, and then remounting was met by the King, who came clad in Black, not by the high Road, but riding through the Vineyards, *per vineas equitando*. He was attended by a great Number of Peaſants, who, proſtrating themſelves before the Pope, kiſſed his Foot after kiſſing Three Times the Ground p.

Is ill treated by Charles.

Urban and *Charles* entered *Averſa* together, and were received by the Inhabitants with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Joy. *Charles* offered him the Caſtle to reſide in, under Colour of doing him Honour, but in Truth to confine him till he renounced all Claim to the Principality of *Capua*, which he was determined to keep, at all Events, annexed to the Crown. *Urban*, ſuſpecting his Deſign, declined his Offer, and went to reſide in the Epiſcopal Palace. The next Day he ſent to invite the Pope to the Caſtle, as he himſelf lodged there, and the Invitation was ſo preſſing, that *Urban* thought it adviſeable to comply. *Charles*, having now the Pope in his Power, and in a Manner his Priſoner, obliged him to revoke moſt of the Conditions upon which he had granted him the Kingdom. *Charles* then returned to *Naples*, whither he was followed the next Day, the 9th of *October*, by *Urban*. He had cauſed a magnificent Throne to be erected before the Gate, through which the Pope was to paſs, and placing himſelf in it in his Royal Robes, with the Crown on his Head, and the Sceptre in his Hand, he deſcended as the Pope approached, kiſſed his Foot, and attended him, holding his Stirrup, to the Epiſcopal Palace. *Urban* remained there till the Feaſt of *All Saints*, or the 1ſt of *November*, when *Charles*, being informed that he was endeavouring by his Emiſſaries to ſtir up the People againſt him, ſent ſome of his Officers to arreſt him, and bring him to the *Caſtel Nuovo*, where he himſelf reſided. Thus was his Holineſs, ſays *Gobelinus*, carried as a common Malefactor to Priſon; but undaunted even while in the Power of his Enemies, he excommunicated and anathematized all, who were any-

And confined in a Caſtle.

p Niem, l. 1. c. 28.

ways

ways concerned in ſo wicked an Attempt; and Heaven eſpouſing his Cauſe, he, who firſt laid violent Hhnds on him, loſt for ever the Uſe of his right Hand q. *De Niem*, who then attended the Pope, knew nothing, it ſeems, of this Miracle. Be that as it may, *Urban* was by *Charles*'s Order kept Three Days cloſely confined in the Caſtle, and then enlarged, but was not allowed to go out of the Caſtle, nor were any, beſides thoſe of his own Court, ſuffered to come near him. But a Reconciliation being in the End brought about, *Urban* was ſet at Liberty, upon Condition that he did not concern himſelf with the Affairs of the Kingdom. *Charles* even aſked publicly Pardon for his paſt Behaviour; and to court his Favour, as *Lewis* of *Anjou* carried all before him in *Apulia*, he renewed the Promiſe he had made of giving the Inveſtiture of the Principality of *Capua* to his Nephew *Butillus*, a Promiſe, ſays the Hiſtorian, which he never intended to perform. But what above all rivetted him in the Pope's Favour was his pardoning *Butillus*, ſentenced to Death for forcibly entering a Monaſtery, and carrying off and debauching a profeſſed Nun of the Firſt Quality. Of ſuch an Outrage the Relations of the Nun complained to the Magiſtrates, and they to the Pope. But his Holineſs excuſing it, and ſaying, that it was but a Sally of Youth, though *Butillus* was at that Time above Forty Years of Age, the Magiſtrates brought him to his Trial, and by them he was ſentenced to Death, but pardoned by *Charles* r.

Year of Chriſt 1383.

The Pope and Charles *reconciled.*

As *Lewis* in the mean time made daily great Progreſs in *Apulia*, *Charles*, diſſatisfied with the Conduct of his Generals, reſolved to go and head his Army againſt him in Perſon. Before he ſet out he aſſiſted at high Maſs, celebrated, on the 1ſt of *January* 1384, with great Solemnity by *Urban*. When Maſs was over the Pope thundered out, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, the Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Lewis* of *Anjou*, for preſuming to invade a Kingdom that belonged to the Apoſtolic See, and againſt all who any-ways aſſiſted or favoured him in ſo treaſonable an Attempt; granted to all, who ſhould join his beloved Son *Charles* in the preſent Expedition, a plenary Indulgence, with all the Privileges, Immunities, and Exemptions enjoyed by thoſe who went to the Holy Land; preſented him with a Standard, repreſenting St. *Peter* and his Keys, and bleſſing it, appointed him Standard-Bearer of the Church. However, *Charles* did not ſet out till the Be-

Urban *excommunicates the Duke of* Anjou.

Year of Chriſt 1384.

q Gobelin. ætate 6. c. 77. r Niem, l. 2. c. 28.

ginning

Year of Christ 1384.

ginning of *April*, the Pope refuſing to grant him any Subſidies, and only ſupplying him with Indulgences and Pardons, upon which, he ſaid, his Army could not ſubſiſt. Upon his Departure the Pope, finding that his Preſence was no-ways acceptable either to the People or the Nobility, retired with his Court to *Nocera*, which had been granted to *Butillus*, and was diſtant but a Day's Journey from *Naples* [a].

Death of the Duke of Anjou.

In the mean time *Charles* arrived with his Army in *Apulia*. But though the Duke of *Anjou* offered him Battle upon his Arrival, he wiſely declined it, contenting himſelf with haraſſing the Enemy in their March, with ravaging the Country through which they were to paſs, and intercepting their Convoys. Thus they paſſed the Summer; and on the 18th of *October*, as ſome write, or, as others will have it, on the 21ſt of *September*, *Lewis* of *Anjou* died of the Fatigue he had undergone, and his Army diſperſed, ſome returning to *France*, and ſome ſubmitting to *Charles*. An End being thus put to the War in *Apulia*, *Charles* returned to *Naples* in the Month of *November*, and entered that City amidſt the loud Acclamations of all Ranks of People.

Urban *and* Charles *quarrel anew.*

As *Urban* was ſtill at *Nocera*, *Charles* ſoon after his Arrival ſent to invite him to *Naples*, pretending he had ſome Affairs to impart to him of the utmoſt Importance. *Urban* anſwered with his uſual Haughtineſs, that it was cuſtomary for Kings, when they had any Buſineſs to tranſact with the Popes, to wait upon them, and not for the Popes to wait upon Kings. He added, that if he deſired to live in Friendſhip with him, he muſt moderate, or entirely aboliſh, the oppreſſive Taxes with which he burdened his Subjects, the Vaſſals of the Church. *Charles*, having now no Enemy to contend with but *Urban*, returned Anſwer, that the Kingdom was his own by Right of his Wife as well as by Conqueſt, and that inſtead of leſſening he would double the Taxes: And he did ſo accordingly, ſtanding at that Time in great Want of Money to ſupport his Claim to the Crown of *Hungary*, to which he was called, upon the Death of King *Lewis*, by ſome of the Grandees of that Kingdom [b].

Urban's own Cardinals were no leſs diſſatisfied with his Conduct than the Reſt of the World; and ſome of them began privately to deliberate among themſelves about the Means of controuling the Power which he ſo much abuſed. The Author of this *horrid Plot*,

[a] Niem, l. 2. c. 28. [b] Idem ibid.

as

as he called it, was Cardinal *Bartholomew Mezzavacca*, called the Cardinal of *Reate*, now *Rieti*, as he had been Biſhop of that City before his Promotion to the Dignity of Cardinal. Being at this time in *Naples*, under the Protection of *Charles*, he kept up a private Correſpondence with the Cardinals who had attended the Pope to *Nocera*. The Subject of their Correſpondence was, whether if a Pope neglected his Duty, if he was too much attached and indulgent to his Relations, if he acted arbitrarily without conſulting the Cardinals, and by his Conduct brought the Church into Danger, whether in ſuch Caſes it was lawful to place ſome diſcrete Perſons about him, choſen by the Cardinals, with full Authority to controul him. This Correſpondence was privately diſcovered to *Urban* by One of the Cardinals themſelves, Cardinal *Thomas Urſini*, and a Letter in Cyphers from Cardinal *Gentilis de Sangro* to the Four Cardinals who had withdrawn from *Nocera* to *Naples*, being at the ſame time intercepted and brought to *Urban*, he called a Conſiſtory on the 11th of *January* 1385, and having acquainted the Cardinals with the horrid Conſpiracy, as he called it, carried on by ſome of them againſt him, and ſhewn the intercepted Letter, he ordered his Nephew *Butillus*, who was preſent, to take Six of them, whom he named, into Cuſtody. Theſe were *Gentilis de Sangro*, who, as *Urban*'s Legate, had, but Four Years before, treated with the utmoſt Barbarity all who did not acknowlege him, *Lewis*, a Native of *Venice*, *Adam de Aſton*, an *Engliſhman*, *Bartholomew*, Archbiſhop of *Genoa*, *John*, Archbiſhop of *Corſinium* or *Valva*, and *Martin*, Archbiſhop of *Taranto*. Theſe *Butillus* immediately ſeized, and, loading them with Irons, ſhut them up in ſeparate Cells, ſo low and narrow that they could neither ſtand upright nor lie at length. The Biſhop of *Aquileia*, who lived in great Intimacy with moſt of theſe Cardinals, was taken together with them, was put immediately to the Rack, and tortured till he declared, that the Conſpirators, to his certain Knowledge, had agreed among themſelves to depoſe the Pope, or, if they failed in that Attempt, by ſome Means or other to diſpatch him. Upon the Biſhop's Confeſſion, though extorted by the moſt exquiſite Torments, the Six Cardinals were moſt cruelly tortured for ſeveral Days together, till, finding that they muſt confeſs or die on the Rack, they owned every Article of the Charge brought againſt them. We are told by *Theodoric de Niem*, who was preſent, that *Butillus* aſſiſted in Perſon at the torturing of theſe

Year of Chriſt 1385.

Six Cardinals impriſoned and cruelly tortured by Urban's *Command.*

Year of Christ 1385.

unhappy Men, and that far from being affected with ſo ſhocking a Spectacle, he ſeemed rather to delight in it, inſulting them with an Inſtance of Barbarity ſcarce to be matched, in the Height of their Torments [c]. Upon their Confeſſion they were carried back to their Cells, and there kept upon Bread and Water for the Space of Seven Months, that is, till the following *Auguſt*, when *Urban* leaving *Nocera* carried them with him in Chains, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

Makes a Promotion of Cardinals.

Urban ſoon after held a Conſiſtory, in which he declared the Six abovementioned Cardinals deprived of their Dignity, and at the ſame time promoted others, we are not told how many, in their Room. Among thoſe whom he nominated to that Dignity were the Three Electors of *Cologne*, *Mentz*, and *Treves*, the Biſhop of *Liege*, and Two other *German* Biſhops; but not One of them could be prevailed upon to accept it at his Hands; and, upon their declining it, he was obliged to confine that Honour to his own Countrymen the Natives of *Naples*; who indeed accepted it, but dared not publicly appear in their Robes; the King, ſays *de Niem*, meaning *Charles* of *Durazzo*, looking upon the Pope's Friends as his Enemies and the Enemies of his Kingdom [d].

He excommunicates and depoſes Charles *and his Wife* Margaret.

On the 15th of *January*, *Urban*, having aſſembled all the Clergy in *Nocera* and the Neighbourhood, acquainted them with the horrid Conſpiracy againſt his Life, contrived, he ſaid, by the Cardinal of *Rieti*; read to them the Confeſſion of the Six Cardinals, but took no Notice of its having been extorted from them upon the Rack; charged *Charles*, ſtiling him only Duke of *Durazzo*, and his Wife *Margaret* with having been privy to it; inveighed in a long Speech and in moſt bitter Terms againſt both, ſetting forth the many Favours he had beſtowed upon them, and the Ingratitude with which they had repaid them, *&c.* When he had done he cauſed a Croſs to be erected and a great Number of Tapers to be lighted, and then, attended by all the Cardinals who had remained with him, he thundered out with great Solemnity the Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Charles* of *Durazzo*, who ſtiled himſelf King of *Sicily*, and his Wife *Margaret*, diveſted them, as the Vicegerent of him to whom all Power was granted in Heaven and on Earth, of the Royal and every other Dignity, abſolved their Subjects from their Allegiance, and declared them Heretics, Schiſmatics, and Enemies to the Church, forbad any Obedience to be paid to

[c] De Niem, c. 50, 51. Gobelinus, c. 78. [d] Niem, ibid.

them,

them, or to any acting in their Name. At the same time he excommunicated anew the Six Cardinals, with the Cardinal of *Rieti*, and all their Accomplices and Abettors, all who had been privy to their wicked Designs and had not discovered them, as being no less guilty than the Authors themselves of so black an Attempt; forbad on Pain of Excommunication all Intercourse with them; and, lastly, put the whole City of *Naples* and all its Inhabitants, without Distinction, under an Interdict, declaring such of the Clergy as should perform Divine Service, or exercise any Function of their Office in that City, to be *ipso facto* excommunicated, and deprived of all their Benefices and Dignities. Having pronounced this Sentence, he ordered all the Tapers to be put out and dashed to Pieces on the Ground [e].

Year of Christ 1385.

Charles, provoked beyond all Measure at the unparalleled Insolence and Boldness of the Pope in thus excommunicating and deposing him in his own Kingdom, resolved to treat him no better than he was treated by him. He accordingly forbad all his Subjects under the severest Penalties to maintain any Correspondence with him, to pay any Obedience to him or to any acting in his Name, to have any Intercourse with the Inhabitants of *Nocera*, or to convey any Provisions into their City. Such of the Clergy as observed the Interdict met with the same Treatment from him as the Six Cardinals had done from the Pope. Some of them were by his Order shut up in dark and painful Dungeons, others were most cruelly tortured, and some thrown into the Sea. *Charles* did not stop here; but, determined to keep no Measures with the Pope as the Pope kept none with him, he sent a strong Body of Troops under the Command of the Cardinal of *Rieti*, the Pope's avowed Enemy, to besiege the City of *Nocera*. The Place was soon obliged to surrender at Discretion, was given up by the Cardinal to be plundered by the Soldiery, and then set on Fire. Upon the Surrender of the City the Pope fled to the Castle, where he was closely besieged, and soon reduced, for Want of Provisions, to the utmost Extremity. During the Siege the Pope regularly excommunicated Three Times a Day, and cursed with Bell, Book, and Candle, *Charles*'s Army from One of the Windows of the Castle. *Charles* was not behind hand with him, for on the 10th of *May* of the present Year 1385 he caused it to be proclaimed throughout the Army by the public Crier,

The Friends of Urban *treated with great Severity by* Charles.

Urban *besieged in* Nocera.

[e] Niem, c. 49. Walsingham in Richard II. Kranzius Metrop. l. 10. c. 18.

Year of Chriſt 1385.

that whoever delivered up Pope *Urban* VI. dead or alive to any of his Officers, or to any Civil Magiſtrate, ſhould receive 10,000 Florins of Gold as a Reward; and that whoever procured or favoured his Eſcape, publicly or privately, by Day or by Night, ſhould be deemed guilty of High Treaſon and puniſhed as a Traitor [t].

Makes his Eſcape.

Urban remained thus cloſely beſieged in the Caſtle and greatly diſtreſſed for Want of Proviſions till the 7th of *July*, when, to the great Diſappointment of *Charles*, expecting hourly the News of his Captivity, he was unexpectedly delivered out of his Hands. Of this remarkable Event the contemporary Writers give us the following Account. *Raymund Urſini*, Son of the Count of *Nola*, either pitying the deplorable Condition of *Urban*, or expecting to be well rewarded by him, ſhould he ſave him from the imminent Danger he was in of falling into the Hands of his moſt implacable Enemies, reſolved at all Events to attempt it. With that View he applied to *Thomas Sanſeverino*, a Native of *Naples*, and to a *German* Officer named *Lotharius*, who had both ſerved with him in the Army of the Duke of *Anjou*, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves no leſs by their Courage than their Conduct. Both approved the Undertaking, and readily engaged in it, being encouraged by *Urſini* with the Hopes of great Rewards. It was therefore agreed between them, that they ſhould with the utmoſt Secreſy aſſemble the diſperſed Troops that had ſerved under them, and, meeting through Bye-ways in a Wood at a Diſtance from *Nocera*, ſhould ſally from thence, and fall unexpectedly upon the Beſiegers. The Day appointed for the Execution of their Deſign was the 10th of *July*, and on that Day it was executed with all the Succeſs they could have wiſhed. For *Charles*'s Troops, ſeeing themſelves attacked when they expected nothing leſs, and knew not by what Enemy, nor by what Force, betook themſelves to a precipitate Flight. *Urſini* would not allow his Men to purſue the Fugitives, but entering the Caſtle, which he found muſt have ſurrendered in a few Days, took from thence the Pope with his Cardinals, even the Priſoners, whom *Urban* would by all means carry with him, and, travelling through Bye-roads almoſt impracticable, got ſafe to the Plains of *Salerno*. He was there attacked by a Body of *Charles*'s Troops, whom he repulſed with great Loſs on their Side, and then purſuing his March, or rather his Flight, being harraſſed by Parties of

[t] Niem, Walſingham, Kranzius, ibid. Baluz in notis ad vit. Pap. Aven. col. 1332.

the

the Enemy conſtantly at his Heels, he arrived, by Way of *Benevento* and *Minerbium* in *Apulia*, at a Place between *Trana* and *Barletta*, where Ten Gallies, ſent by the Republic of *Genoa*, waited for him: For *Urban* from the very Beginning of the Siege of *Nocera* had writ to that Republic, begging they would ſend Ten Gallies to convey him out of the Kingdom, in caſe he ſhould by ſome Means or other make his Eſcape out of the beſieged City. For he expected that his Friends in *Naples*, eſpecially the Relations of thoſe whom he had preferred to the Dignity of Cardinals, would attempt his Reſcue. *Urban* during his whole Journey carried his Priſoners, the Six Cardinals and the Biſhop of *Aquileia*, along with him on Horſe-back, and near his Perſon, leſt *Urſini*, who could not help ſhewing ſome Compaſſion for them, ſhould connive at their Eſcape. As the Biſhop of *Aquileia*, whoſe Limbs had been all disjointed on the Rack, could not keep up with the Reſt, the Pope, ſuſpecting that he only wanted to be left behind and to make his Eſcape, ordered the Soldiers to diſpatch him; and they diſpatched him accordingly with many Wounds, and left his mangled Body unburied on the public Road. *Urban* before he embarked preſented *Raymund Urſini* with 11,000 Florins of Gold beſides ſome Lordſhips in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and, as he could ſpare no larger Sum for the preſent, he ſolemnly promiſed to pay as ſoon as he conveniently could 26,000 more, to be divided amongſt the other Officers and the Soldiery [g].

Year of Chriſt 1385.

The Fleet with the Pope, his Court, and his Priſoners ſailed firſt to *Meſſina* and from thence to *Palermo*, and in both Places he cauſed his Bulls to be publiſhed excommunicating and depoſing *Charles* of *Durazzo* and his Wife *Margaret*, as Schiſmatics, Heretics, and Enemies to the Church. The Pope after a very ſhort Stay at *Palermo* reembarked for *Genoa*, not thinking it ſafe for him to appear at *Rome*, as he was there univerſally hated, and *Charles* had a ſtrong Party in that City. He landed ſafe at *Genoa* on *Saturday* the 23d of *September*, and remained there till the latter End of the following Year 1386. His firſt Care and chief Concern after his Arrival in that City was to have his Priſoners cloſely ſhut up and carefully guarded in different Jails, all but *Adam*, the *Engliſh* Cardinal, and him he diſmiſſed at the Requeſt of *Richard*, King of *England*, whom he was unwilling to diſoblige.

Urban *arrives at* Genoa.

[g] Gobelinus, Walſingham, Kranzius, Summontius apud Spondan. ad ann. 1385. & Niem, c. 50.

That

Year of Chriſt 1385.

That Cardinal had been no leſs cruelly treated than the other Five; and yet the only Crimes laid to his Charge were his having ſpoken diſreſpectfully of the Pope, and not having diſcovered what the others were machinating againſt him. The Pope in diſcharging him degraded him from the Dignity of Cardinal, and deprived him of all the Benefices he poſſeſſed: But he was reſtored to his former Condition by *Boniface* IX. the immediate Succeſſor of *Urban* [h].

The French *Clergy burdened by* Clement, *and relieved by the King.*

In the mean time *Clement*, reſiding conſtantly at *Avignon*, on the 12th of *July* of the preſent Year created Seven new Cardinals. As he ſtood in great Need of Money to ſupport his own Dignity and that of his Cardinals, the unſucceſsful Expedition of *Lewis* of *Anjou* againſt *Charles* of *Durazzo* having been, in great Meaſure, carried on at his Expence, he was obliged to load the *Gallican* Clergy with moſt exorbitant Taxes, exacting One Half of all Benefices, as well as of the Revenues of all the Churches and Abbies throughout the Kingdom. But the King, interpoſing upon the Complaints of the Clergy, ordered their Revenues to be divided into Three equal Parts, One to be employed in their Maintenance, another in diſcharging the Burdens laid upon them, and the Third in repairing the Fabrics. At the ſame time he forbad any Gold or Silver to be carried out of the Kingdom. The Eccleſiaſtical Revenues were thus to be divided and laid out, not by the Eccleſiaſtics themſelves, but by the King or his Miniſters. To this Ordinance *Clement*, though greatly diſtreſſed for Want of Money, was forced to agree [i].

Urban *puts his Priſoners to Death.*

Year of Chriſt 1386.

Urban, who had remained at *Genoa* from the 23d of *September* to the latter End of the preſent Year 1386, began now to think of removing to ſome other Place. As he found by Experience that the cruel Treatment of his Priſoners prejudiced all, who had any Senſe of Humanity, againſt him, he reſolved to carry them no longer about with him; and accordingly ordered them to be all put to Death a few Days before he left *Genoa*. There is a ſtrange Diſagreement among Authors with reſpect to the Manner of their Death. *De Niem*, who was then abſent from the Pope's Court, ſays it was reported, that by a remarkable Inſtance of Severity or Juſtice, Five of them were either ſhut up in Sacks, and thrown into the Sea, or ſtrangled in Priſon, or beheaded, and that their Bodies were privately conveyed from the

[h] Iidem ibid. [i] Apud Spond. ad ann. 1385.

Priſon

Year of Christ 1386.

Priſon to the Pope's Stables, and there conſumed with quick Lime [k]. The Author of *Clement*'s Life, who lived at this Time, writes that, if public Report may be relied on, the unhappy Priſoners were either thrown into the Sea and drowned, or buried alive, or beheaded, being firſt buried in the Ground up to the Chin [l]. *Blondus*, who flouriſhed in 1440, only ſays that they were drowned [m]. *Pietro Giannone* tells us, in his *Civil Hiſtory of Naples*, that *Urban* cauſed the Heads of Two of the Cardinals to be ſtruck off, and their Bodies to be dried in Ovens, and reduced to Powder, which he ordered to be put into Bags, and carried with their Red Hats upon Mules before him when he travelled, to deter others from conſpiring againſt him [n]. But *Collinuccio*, whom *Giannone* quotes, is a modern Writer, and of what he relates no Notice is taken by any of the Hiſtorians who lived in thoſe Times, or near them. *Boninſegni*, the *Florentine* Hiſtorian, who lived and wrote at this Time, ſays, that with the Five Cardinals Five eminent Prelates were put to Death in the ſame cruel Manner [o].

Is forſaken by Two of his Cardinals.

Two of *Urban*'s favourite Cardinals, ſhocked at his Cruelty, on this Occaſion left him, namely, *Pileus de Prata*, Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, formerly his Legate in *Germany* and *England*, and *Galeatto Tarlato de Petramala*, who had hitherto adhered to him with unſhaken Fidelity, and had ever been his inſeparable Companion. They both declared for *Clement*, and afterwards repaired to *Avignon*. Cardinal *de Prata*, not ſatisfied with abjuring *Urban*, burnt in the public Market-Place at *Pavia*, and in the Preſence of Duke *Galeazzi*, Lord of *Milan*, the Red Hat he had received at the Hands of *Urban*, which gave great Pleaſure, ſays the Hiſtorian, to the Duke, provoked againſt *Urban* on Account of his having refuſed him the Title of King. *Urban* excommunicated both the Cardinals, deprived them of their Dignity, and declared them incapable of holding any Benefice, or being ever raiſed to any Preferment in the Church. But *Clement* reinſtated both in their former Dignity. *Galeatto* adhered to *Clement* and his Succeſſors in *Avignon* to the Hour of his Death. But *Pileus*, upon the Death of *Urban*, changed Sides again, and leaving *Clement*, joined *Boniface* IX. *Urban*'s Succeſſor, whence he was commonly called *Car-*

[k] Niem, c. 60. [l] Apud Baluz. [m] Blond. l. 2. decad. 10. [n] Giannon. l. 24. c. 1. [o] Boninſegn. l. 4.

dinal

Year of Christ 1386.

dinal de Tricarelli, the Cardinal of Three Hats, having received One from *Urban*, another from *Clement*, and a Third from *Boniface* p.

Leaves Genoa, *and repairs to* Lucca.

Urban, having reſided at *Genoa* a whole Year and upwards, left that City in the latter End of *December* of the preſent Year 1386, either on Account of a Miſunderſtanding between him and the Doge *Antonio Adorno*, as we read in the Hiſtory of *Genoa* by *Folieta* q, or becauſe the *Genoeſe*, ſays *Walſingham*, treated him not with due Reſpect, but inſiſted upon his paying them an immenſe Sum of Money for the Uſe of their Gallies in delivering him out of the Hands of his Enemies; for it was more for the Sake of Money, adds that Author, than the Love of God, that they undertook his Reſcue r. From *Genoa* he repaired to *Lucca*, being attended at his Departure by the Gallies of the Republic. At *Lucca* he reſided Nine whole Months, and on *Chriſtmas-Night* ſolemnly bleſſed, at High Maſs, and delivered to the ſupreme Magiſtrate of the City a gilt Sword, richly adorned with Jewels, and the Cap of Liberty, a Mark of Diſtinction hitherto conferred only upon great Princes or Commanders, when they marched againſt the Infidels, or had obtained a ſignal Victory over them.

The Kings of Navarre *and* Arragon *forſake* Urban, *and declare for* Clement.

The Two Kingdoms of *Navarre* and *Arragon* had hitherto acknowleged *Urban*. But *Charles* of *Navarre* dying the following Year 1387, and *Peter* of *Arragon* ſoon after him, an Aſſembly was convened by their Succeſſors of all the learned Men and Grandees of their reſpective Kingdoms, and the Right of the Two Pretenders being ſtrictly examined, the Election of *Clement* was declared canonical, and that of *Urban* null; and it was decreed that *Clement* alone ſhould be thenceforth acknowleged for lawful Pope. This Change is ſaid to have been chiefly owing to Cardinal *Peter de Luna*, a Man of extraordinary Parts, and at this Time *Clement*'s Legate to the Courts of *Spain*. Thus of all the *Spaniſh* Princes the King of *Portugal* alone now adhered to *Urban* s. In *Lucca Urban* received the Embaſſadors of ſeveral *German* Princes, ſent to propoſe an Accommodation between him and *Clement*. But to all he returned the ſame Anſwer, that he never would, nor was it reaſonable that he ſhould ſuffer the Legality of his Election to be called in Queſtion t.

p Gobelin. in Perſona, c. 81. Auctor vit. Clement. Rubeus Hiſt. Ravenn. l. 6. p. 591.
q Folieta Hiſt. Gen. l. 9. r Walſingham, in Rich. II. s Bellegard. Hiſt. General. Hiſpan. tom. 3. p. 326. t De Niem, c. 66.

At this Time great Diſturbances and a general Confuſion reigned throughout the Kingdom of *Naples*. For *Charles* of *Durazzo* being gone into *Hungary*, at the Invitation of many of the Grandees, to take Poſſeſſion of that Crown as the next Male Heir, *Lewis* the deceaſed King having left but One Daughter, who was yet very young, he was treacherouſly murdered, as an Uſurper, by One of the young Queen's Friends. By his Wife *Margaret*, Niece to the celebrated Queen *Joan*, he left Two Children, *Joan* already a Woman, and *Ladiſlaus* at the Time of his Father's Death but Ten Years of Age. No ſooner was the News of the unhappy End of *Charles* brought to *Naples*, than *Ladiſlaus* was proclaimed King by One Party, and *Lewis* the Son of *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who died in *Apulia* in 1384, by another. Thus was a moſt cruel and bloody War kindled in the Bowels of the Kingdom. *Clement* ſupported *Lewis* to the utmoſt of his Power, both with Men and Money; but *Urban* would lend no Aſſiſtance to the one or the other, having formed a Deſign, as afterwards appeared, of ſeizing on the Kingdom for himſelf, and beſtowing it, as was ſuppoſed, upon his Nephew *Butillus*, in order to raiſe his Family by that Means to the Royal Dignity. Purſuant to this Deſign he forbore declaring for either of the Competitors, till thinking that both were ſufficiently weakened, and that either would rather ſubmit to him than yield to the other, he notified to all the Biſhops by a circulatory Letter, that the Kingdom of *Naples* neither belonged to *Ladiſlaus* nor to *Lewis*, but to the Apoſtolic See, to which it had devolved by the Excommunication and Depoſition of *Charles* of *Durazzo*; that he was determined to aſcertain his Right by Dint of Arms, and therefore ordered the Biſhops to cauſe a Cruſade to be preached in their reſpective Dioceſes, with the ſame Indulgences, Exemptions, and Immunities for ſuch as ſhould ſerve in this War, as had ever been granted by his Predeceſſors to thoſe who fought in the Holy Land againſt the Infidels. The Pope's Letter is dated at *Lucca* the 29th of *Auguſt*, in the Tenth Year of his Pontificate, that is, in 1387 [u]. St. *Antonine* writes, that the Cruſade was publiſhed chiefly againſt *Otho* of *Brunſwick* and *Thomas Sanſeverino*, who ſided with *Lewis* of *Anjou*, and made themſelves Maſters of *Naples*, but that none took the Croſs, though great Indulgences were offered to all who ſhould take it [w].

Year of Chriſt 1386.

New Diſturbances in the Kingdom of Naples.

Urban *attempts to ſeize it for himſelf.*

Year of Chriſt 1387.

[u] Raymund. num. 7.

[w] Antonin. parte 3. tit. 22. c. 2.

Year of Chriſt 1387.

Year of Chriſt 1388.

Urban however, unalterable in his Reſolution of ſubduing the Kingdom of *Naples*, ſet out from *Lucca* in the latter End of *September* with a Deſign to aſſemble his Troops at *Perugia*, and march from thence into *Apulia*. We are told, that as he rid out of the Gate at *Lucca*, his Bridle broke, and the Mitre fell off his Head, which was by many reputed a bad Omen. But *Urban*, looking upon ſuch Incidents as merely caſual, purſued his Journey, and arrived ſafe at *Perugia*. He remained there wholly employed in aſſembling his Forces from the Beginning of *October* 1387, till the Month of *Auguſt* 1388, when he left that Place with a numerous Body of Cavalry, in order to proceed upon the intended Expedition. But Heaven declared againſt it, ſays the *Hiſtorian*. For he had ſcarce gone Ten Miles, when his Mule ſtumbling he fell, and was ſo bruiſed with the Fall, as not to be able to travel any otherwiſe but in a Litter. He avoided *Rome*, and reſted a few Days at *Tivoli*, having reſolved to enter the Kingdom of *Naples* not by *Apulia*, agreeably to his Firſt Plan, but by *Campania*, where he expected to be joined by many of the Barons. At *Tivoli* he was met by the Deputies of the *Roman* People ſent to invite him to *Rome*, and divert him, if by any Means they could, from concerning himſelf at all, at leaſt for the preſent, with the Affairs of *Naples*. But he, paying no Regard to their Invitation or Remonſtrances, purſued his March to *Ferentino*, flattering himſelf that he ſhould be able to reduce the Frontier Cities in that Part of the Kingdom before either of the Competitors could come to their Relief. But being obliged for Want of Money to curtail the Soldiers Pay, they all forſook him [x]. Thus *de Niem*. But according to St. *Antonine* the Mercenaries, conſiſting chiefly of *Engliſh*, left the Pope at *Narni*, and went to ſerve the *Florentines*, by whom they firſt had been hired [y]. However that be, *Urban*, now deſpairing of being able to carry his Deſign upon the Kingdom of *Naples* into Execution, dropt in the End that wild Undertaking, and, returning to *Rome* in the Beginning of *October* of the preſent Year, ſpent there undiſturbed the ſmall Remains of his Life.

Urban ſets out upon his Expedition againſt the Kingdom of Naples.

Which he is obliged to drop, and return to Rome.

Terms of Accommodation propoſed by Clement, *but rejected by* Urban.

In the mean time *Clement*, pretending great Zeal for the Peace and Union of the Church, diſpatched Nuncios to all the Chriſtian Princes and States to propoſe the aſſembling of a General Council, and declare, in his Name, that he was ready to acquieſce in their Judgment; that

[x] Niem, l. 1. c. 99. [y] Antonin. ubi ſupra.

ſhould

ſhould the preſent unhappy Diſpute be determined by them in his Favour, *Urban* ſhould meet with the kindeſt Treatment from him, ſhould be made Cardinal of the Firſt Rank, and enjoy that Dignity to the Hour of his Death. But, on the contrary, ſhould the Controverſy be decided in Favour of his Antagoniſt, he would that Moment reſign his Dignity, acknowlege *Urban* for lawful Pope, and deliver himſelf up into his Hands, to be diſpoſed of by him as he ſhould think fit. But *Urban* declaring he would hearken to no Terms, many, looking upon him as the Author of the Schiſm, forſook him, and ſided with *Clement*, though, perhaps, no more diſpoſed to hearken to any than he [z]. Year of Chriſt 1388.

Urban now led a quiet Life at *Rome*, and attending only to Spiritual Matters, iſſued Three Conſtitutions the following Year 1389, all on the ſame Day, the 8th of *April*. By the Firſt he reduced the Jubile from every Fiftieth to every Thirty-third Year, in Memory of the Thirty-three Years our Saviour lived upon Earth, and ordered that Solemnity to be kept the enſuing Year 1390 [a]. By his Second Conſtitution he ordered the Feſtival of the Viſitation of the Virgin *Mary*, when ſhe viſited *Elizabeth*, the Mother of St. *John Baptiſt*, to be kept for ever as a Feſtival on the 2d of *July*: And by the Third he allowed Divine Service to be performed in all Churches with the Doors open on *Corpus Chriſti* Day, even in Time of a general Interdict; and beſides granted an Hundred Days Indulgence to all who ſhould attend the Body of *Chriſt* when carried to any infirm Perſon [b]. *The* Jubile *reduced by* Urban *to the Thirty-third Year.* Year of Chriſt 1389.

We hear no more of *Urban* till the Time of his Death, which happened on the 15th of *October* 1389, after a moſt unhappy Pontificate of Eleven Years Six Months and Six or Seven Days. It was ſuſpected that he died of Poiſon, ſays St. *Antonine*, for his Body ſwelled after his Death [c]. *Onuphrius* writes, that he died without receiving any of the Sacraments of the Church, though his Illneſs had laſted, according to *de Niem*, Two-and-twenty Days. He was buried in the *Vatican*, where his Tomb with an Epitaph was ſtill to be ſeen in the Time of *Onuphrius Panvinius* [d]. None were found, ſays *Trithemius*, who grieved at his Death, except his Creatures and Relations [e]. Indeed his whole Conduct, from the Time of his Election to the Urban *dies.*

[z] Chron. Germanic. l. 26. [a] Gobelinus Perſona, num. 81. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Antonin. part. 3. tit. 22. c. 3. [d] Panvin. in notis ad ejus vit. a Platina. [e] Trith. in Chron.

Year of Chriſt 1389.

Hour of his Death, ſhews him to have been a moſt ambitious, arrogant, inexorable and bloody-minded Tyrant, an entire Stranger to all Pity and Compaſſion, one who could neither live himſelf, nor ſuffer others to live in Peace, and on that Account juſtly called by *Otho*, Prince of *Brunſwick*, *Turbanus* inſtead of *Urbanus*. He ſtuck at nothing, as we have ſeen, to aggrandize his Family, eſpecially his Nephew *Butillus*, whom all the contemporary Hiſtorians repreſent as an abandoned Profligate, without any Senſe of Honour, Honeſty, or Religion. On his Account he quarrelled firſt with his great Benefactreſs Queen *Joan*, excommunicated and depoſed her, and afterward treated *Charles* of *Durazzo*, whom he himſelf had raiſed to the Crown, in the ſame Manner as he had done the Queen. But by a juſt Judgment his whole Family periſhed ſoon after him. For *Butillus*, knowing that he was univerſally hated by the *Romans*, left *Rome* as ſoon as the Recovery of his Uncle was deſpaired of, with a Deſign to reſide in the *March of Ancona*, where *Urban* had granted him ſome Caſtles. But being taken Priſoner on his Journey in the Neighbourhood of *Perugia*, we are not told by whom, he was obliged to purchaſe his Liberty with the Delivery of thoſe Caſtles, and of all he was worth. Being thus reduced to Poverty, he retired into *Apulia*, and having lived Six Years there with his Friend *Raymundus Baucius*, he embarked for *Venice* with his Mother, his Children, and his whole Family; but a violent Storm ariſing, the Veſſel was caſt away, and all on board periſhed.——*Urban* wrote the Lives of the Biſhops of *Bari* to his Time, ſome Forms of Prayers, ſome Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions or Bulls, to be met with in the *Great Bullarium*.

His Character and Writings.

MAN. PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the Eaſt.*

BONIFACE IX.

WENCESLAUS, RUPERT *of* Bavaria, *Emperors of the Weſt.*

The Two-Hundredth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Boniface *elected.*

THE News of *Urban*'s Death was received with great Joy by all well-meaning Perſons, flattering themſelves that it would put an End to the Schiſm, or at leaſt pave the Way to a Reconciliation between the Two Parties. But the Cardinals of *Urban*'s Party all aſpiring at

at the Papacy, and beſides apprehending that, ſhould *Clement* be univerſally acknowleged, the See would be again ſettled at *Avignon*, reſolved to proceed without Delay to the Election of a new Pope in the Room of the Deceaſed. Of the many Cardinals *Urban* had created, only Fourteen were preſent at *Rome* when he died; and theſe, entering into the Conclave as ſoon as they had performed his Funeral Obſequies, after ſome Diſagreement among themſelves, unanimouſly elected *Peter*, or *Perinus Thomacelli*, Cardinal Preſbyter of *St. Anaſtaſia*, who was inthroned the ſame Day, the 2d of *November*, under the Name of *Boniface* IX. and on the Ninth, or the Eleventh, as others will have it, of the ſame Month, conſecrated and crowned with the uſual Solemnity in the Church of *St. Peter* [f]. Year of Chriſt 1389.

Boniface was a Native of *Naples*, deſcended from a noble, but a very poor Family in that City, and is only commended by the contemporary Hiſtorians for his Skill in Singing and Writing, and his Knowlege of the Grammar; but as for the more ſublime Sciences he is ſaid to have been very little acquainted with them, but to have ſupplied that Want with his Prudence and Addreſs. He was at the Time of his Promotion Forty-five Years of Age according to *de Niem*; but only about Thirty according to *Platina*, *Boninſegni*, and St. *Antonine*. His affable, obliging, and courteous Behaviour, quite the reverſe of his Predeceſſor's, engaged the Affections of all who had any Buſineſs to tranſact with him [g]. He never was taxed, though in the Prime of his Years, with any Levity or Lewdneſs, inſomuch that he ſeemed, ſays *Platina*, to have exchanged Youth for old Age [h]. *His Birth, Education, &c.*

As *Urban*'s Cardinals were reduced to a very ſmall Number, being at this Time in all but Seventeen, for many had died, ſome he had put to Death, and others, forſaking him, had gone over to *Clement*, *Boniface* on the 18th of *December* created Four new Cardinals, and reinſtated Five, whom *Urban* had depoſed, in their former Dignity. Theſe were *Adam*, Biſhop of *London*, *Bartholomew Mezzavacca*, Biſhop of *Rieti*, *Landulph Mattamarus*, Archbiſhop Elect of *Bari*, and *Pileus de Prata*, who had left *Urban* to join *Clement*, and now left *Clement* to join *Boniface*. *Creates ſome new Cardinals, and reſtores others.*

In the mean time *Charles* VI. King of *France*, to ſhew the World his ſteady Reſolution of adhering to *Clement*, paid him this Year a *The* French *King at* Avignon.

[f] Niem, l. 2. c. 6. Gobelinus ætate 6. c. 81. Boninſegni, l. 4. [g] Niem ibid. Antonin. tit. 22. c. 3. [h] Platina in ejus vit.

Year of Christ 1389.

Visit at *Avignon*, which City he entered on the 25th of *October*, attended by his Brother, his Uncles, and the Flower of the *French* Nobility. *Clement* received him with all the Marks of Distinction that were due to his Dignity, and the Obligations he owed him, had several private Conferences with him concerning the State of the Church, and declared himself ready to agree to what Terms of Accommodation he should think fit to propose. As *Lewis* of *Anjou* was then at *Avignon*, having been invited thither by the Pope, to be crowned by him King of *Naples*, *Charles* would assist at that Ceremony; and it was performed in his Presence with great Solemnity on the 1st of *November* of the present Year. On that Occasion the Pope celebrated High Mass, at which the King is said to have sung the Gospel. Before the King left *Avignon*, the Pope, at his Request, conferred the Dignity of Cardinal upon *John de Talaru*, Archbishop of *Lions*, a Prelate descended from One of the most illustrious Families in *France*, of great Learning, and an exemplary Life. From *Avignon* the King went to *Toulouse*, staid there till the following *January*, and taking *Avignon* in his Way on his Return from thence, paid a Second Visit to the Pope [i].

The Jubile celebrated at Rome.

Year of Christ 1390.

As *Urban* had ordered the Jubile to be celebrated the following Year 1390, *Rome* was crowded that whole Year with Pilgrims from all the Countries where *Boniface* was acknowleged, *viz.* from *Hungary*, *Germany*, *England*, *Portugal*, *Norway*, and most States of *Italy*. To the Two Kings of *England* and *Portugal*, and likewise to their Queens, *Boniface* granted the same Indulgences in their own Kingdoms, that they would have gained by coming to *Rome*, upon their representing to him the Inconveniences that would inevitably attend their undertaking that Journey. But for that Dispensation they were to pay what the Journey would have cost them. When the Jubile Year expired, *Boniface* sent his Collectors into all the Countries of his Obedience, with full Power to grant the Indulgences of the Jubile to such as had been prevented by Sickness, or any other lawful Impediment, from going to *Rome*. Thus were immense Sums collected. But the Collectors, abusing the Power vested in them, absolved for ready Money the most hardened Sinners, refused no Dispensations to those who came up to their Price, and setting the most Sacred Things to public

[i] Auctor vit. Clementis et Miscellan. Labbei, tom. 1. p. 640.

Sale,

Sale, left none unabſolved, of what Crimes ſoever guilty, but ſuch as wanted Money to purchaſe Abſolution [k]. They remitted, ſays *de Niem*, all Sins to all at a fixed Price without Repentance, Satisfaction, or Reſtitution, as if Money alone were a ſufficient Atonement for the moſt enormous Crimes. But being convicted upon their Return to *Rome* of having embezzled great Part of the Treaſure thus collected, they were puniſhed by the Pope with the utmoſt Severity, ſome of them being impriſoned for Life, and ſome even put to Death [l].

Year of Chriſt 1390.

Urban had excommunicated and depoſed, as has been ſaid above, *Charles* of *Durazzo*, and excluded his Poſterity from the Crown of *Naples*, with an Intention of ſeizing on that Kingdom for himſelf. Upon his Death *Margaret*, the Widow of *Charles*, killed in *Hungary*, and his Son *Ladiſlaus*, applied to *Boniface* as ſoon as they heard of his Election, begging he would abſolve them from thoſe Cenſures, would take them into his Protection, and reſtore them to the Throne, from which they had been ſo unjuſtly driven by his Predeceſſor. *Boniface* readily granted their Requeſt, and *Angelus*, Biſhop of *Florence*, and Cardinal of *St. Lawrence in Damaſo*, was immediately diſpatched to crown the young King, and govern the Kingdom jointly with his Mother during his Minority. The Ceremony of the Coronation was performed on the 29th of *May*, of the preſent Year, at *Gaeta*, the City of *Naples* being then held by the Prince of *Brunſwick* and *Sanſeverino* for *Lewis* of *Anjou*, whom *Clement* had crowned the preceding Year King of *Naples*. On this Occaſion *Ladiſlaus* bound himſelf by a ſolemn Oath not only to adhere to *Boniface*, but to ſupport him to the utmoſt of his Power againſt the Uſurper *Clement*, and his falſe Cardinals [m].

Ladiſlaus *crowned King of* Naples *by* Boniface.

Year of Chriſt 1391.

As the Evils, occaſioned by the Schiſm, became daily more intolerable, both Popes plundering, as it were, in Emulation of one another, the Churches and Nations of their Obedience, to ſupport themſelves and reward their Friends, while the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline was entirely neglected, many Propoſals were made by the Princes, the Univerſities, and even by private Perſons, for the re-eſtabliſhing of the ſo much wiſhed for Union and Tranquillity. Among the latter was a *Carthuſian*, Prior of *Aſti* in *Lombardy*, a Man univerſally eſteemed for the Sanctity of his Life and his Learning, who, pitying the deplorable

Attempts towards a Reconciliation between the Two Competitors.

Year of Chriſt 1392.

[k] Gobelinus Perſona, c. 88. [l] De Niem, c. 68. [m] Niem, l. 2. c. 4.

State

Year of Chriſt 1392.

State of the Church, undertook a Journey to *Rome*, in order to try whether he could perſuade *Boniface* to hearken to an Accommodation. The Pope received him with all poſſible Marks of Kindneſs, hearkened to him with great Attention, and pretending to wiſh for nothing ſo much as to ſee an End put to the preſent unhappy Diviſion, declared himſelf ready to give Ear to any Terms of Accommodation that his dearly beloved Son the King of *France*, the chief Support of his Antagoniſt, ſhould in his great Wiſdom think fit to propoſe. The Monk, encouraged with the Reception he met with from the Pope, and believing him ſincere, begged he would allow him to acquaint the *French* King with his peaceable Diſpoſition. *Boniface* not only conſented to his Requeſt, but appointed him and another Monk of the ſame Order his Nuncios to the Court of *France*, charged them with a Letter for the King, earneſtly intreating him to exert his utmoſt Endeavours in re-uniting the divided Members of the Church under One Head, and promiſing to leave nothing in his Power unattempted, that could be any-ways conducive to the forwarding or completing of ſo meritorious a Work. With this Letter the Two Monks ſet out for *Paris*, but taking *Avignon* in their Way, in order to ſound the Diſpoſition of *Clement*, they were arreſted by his Order, and kept confined in the *Carthuſian* Monaſtery, till the King, at the Deſire of the Univerſity of *Paris* complaining of *Clement* as guilty of a manifeſt Violation of the Right of Nations in ſtopping and detaining them, commanded them to be ſet at Liberty. From *Avignon* they purſued their Journey to *Paris*, and arriving there about *Chriſtmas*, were well received both by the King and the Univerſity. The Letter they brought from *Boniface* was read in a full Council, and it was agreed, contrary to the Opinion of ſome of *Clement*'s more zealous Friends, that an Anſwer ſhould be returned to it. But they were all greatly at a Loſs with Reſpect to the Direction of the Anſwer. For to give the Title of Pope to *Boniface* was to acknowlege him, and renounce *Clement*. On the other hand, to addreſs him under any other Title would be treating him as an Uſurper, and deciding the Controverſy in Favour of his Antagoniſt. It was therefore reſolved that no Anſwer ſhould be returned in Writing, but Two Monks of the ſame Order ſhould be ſent with the Two come from *Rome*, to aſſure *Boniface* by Word of Mouth, in the King's Name, that he had nothing ſo much

at

at Heart as the Peace and Unity of the Church, and was ready to concur in any Measures calculated to procure them. On the other hand *Clement*, pretending to be no less desirous than his Rival of putting an End to the present Division, and the Evils attending it, caused Prayers to be offered in all the Churches, and public Processions to be made for the Peace and Unity of the Church [n]. Year of Christ 1392.

In the mean time the Four *Carthusian* Monks arriving at *Perugia*, where *Boniface* then resided, acquainted him with the *French* King's Answer. But he, instead of proposing any Terms of Accommodation upon which the King could proceed, undertook in another Letter to prove the Validity of *Urban*'s Election, and the Nullity of *Clement*'s, concluding from thence, that *Urban* and his Successors ought to be acknowleged for lawful Popes. To this Letter no Answer was returned, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, the King's Two Uncles, who then governed the Kingdom (the King himself being seized with a Fit of Madness) thinking it unworthy of their Notice. Thus was the Negotiation with the King and his Ministers entirely broken off [o]. But the University of *Paris*, interposing the following Year with the Consent and Approbation of the King, who had some lucid Intervals, proposed, upon the most mature Deliberation, Three Ways of removing effectually the present Scandal, and restoring the long wished-for Tranquillity. These were, that the Competitors should both resign, or that the Matter should be left to Arbitration, or be decided by a General Council. These Proposals were communicated by the University both to *Boniface* and to *Clement*, but neither would suffer the Legality of their Election to be disputed, nor resign a Dignity that had been legally conferred on them. We are told that the Cardinals at *Avignon* approved of the Proposals of the University, and even told *Clement* that he must submit to one of them; since by no other Means an End could be put to the Schism, and that he thereupon fell into so violent a Passion, as brought on a Fit of Apoplexy, of which he died in a few Days [p]. *Proposals made by the University of* Paris. Year of Christ 1393.

Clement died on the 16th of *September* 1394, in the Sixteenth Year of his Pontificate, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of *St. Mary de Donis* in *Avignon*: But in 1401 his Remains were translated from Clement *dies*. Year of Christ 1394.

[n] Monachus Dionys. in Hist. Carol. VI. et Johannes Juvenalis Ursinus in vit. Caroli.
[o] Iidem ibid. [p] Auctor vit. Clement. apud Baluz. Monachus Dionys. ubi supra, et Spondan. ad ann. 1394.

Year of Christ 1394.

thence to the Church of the *Celeſtines* in the ſame City, where his Tomb is to be ſeen to this Day. His Death was no ſooner known at *Paris* than the King and the Univerſity wrote moſt preſſing Letters to the Cardinals at *Avignon* to delay the Election of his Succeſſor till they had renewed their Endeavours with *Boniface*, and uſed every other Means of putting an End to the preſent unhappy Diviſion. The King of *Arragon* wrote to the ſame Purpoſe, exhorting the Cardinals, as they tendered the Peace of the Church, not to proceed to the Election of a Succeſſor to *Clement* till they had conſulted their Brethren at *Rome* as well as the other Prelates of the Church, and tried jointly with them all poſſible Means of accommodating their Differences. But the Cardinals then at *Avignon*, in all Twenty-one, ſhutting themſelves up in the Conclave on the 26th of *September*, as ſoon as they had performed the Funeral Obſequies of *Clement*, elected on the 28th, before they received or at leaſt before they opened the *French* King's Letter or that of the Univerſity, *Peter de Luna*, Cardinal Deacon of *St. Mary in Coſmedin*, a Man of an unbounded Ambition, of great Parts and Learning, but of greater Cunning and Addreſs. He was deſcended from a very ancient and noble Family in *Arragon*, was preferred in 1375, by *Gregory* XI. to the Dignity of Cardinal for his Knowlege in the Canon Law, which he had taught with great Applauſe in the Univerſity of *Montpellier*. Upon the breaking out of the Schiſm he joined *Clement*, and being ſent by him, with the Character of his Legate, into *Spain*, he gained over to his Party the Two Kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Caſtile*. He was employed by *Clement* as his Legate to the Court of *France* at the Time of that Pope's Death: But he no ſooner heard of it than he flew to *Avignon* to haſten the Election, being well appriſed that the King and the Univerſity would interpoſe, and endeavour to prevent or delay it. He was ordained Prieſt on the 3d of *October* by *Guido*, Biſhop of *Paleſtrina*; was conſecrated on the 11th of the ſame Month by *John*, Biſhop of *Oſtia*, and crowned the ſame Day by *Hugh*, Cardinal Deacon of *St. Mary in Porticu*, taking on that Occaſion the Name of *Benedict* XIII.

Benedict XIII. *elected.*

Oath taken by the Cardinals in the Conclave.

The Cardinals, to avoid the Imputation of abetting and countenancing the Schiſm, drew up an Act obliging each of them to promiſe upon Oath, that, ſhould he be elected, he would readily and ſincerely embrace all Means of reſtoring Peace, that of Ceſſion not excepted, ſhould it be judged expedient

expedient by the greater Part of the Sacred College. The Oath was drawn up in the following Terms: "We all and each of us Cardinals "of the Holy *Roman* Church, aſſembled for the Election that is to be, "being before the Altar upon which Maſs is celebrated, and touching "the Holy Goſpels, promiſe, for the Service of God, for the Unity "of the Holy Church, and the Salvation of Souls, to labour without "Fraud or Deceit, and uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to reſtore Peace, "and extinguiſh the preſent unhappy Schiſm. We ſhall neither pub- "licly nor privately, directly nor indirectly, counſel or adviſe him, who "ſhall be Chriſt's Vicar upon Earth, any-ways to hinder or retard the "Union of all the Faithful under One Head. On the contrary, we ſhall "all and each of us readily and ſincerely embrace all poſſible Means "of procuring ſo deſirable an End, that of Ceſſion not excluded, if "it ſhall be approved by the Cardinals, or by the greater Part of them, "and thought expedient for the Union and Good of the Church [q]."

Year of Chriſt 1394.

Three of the Cardinals excuſed themſelves from taking that Oath, but the other Eighteen readily took it, and Cardinal *Peter de Luna* amongſt the Reſt; nay he even confirmed it after his Election. Not ſatisfied with declaring to the Cardinals his ſincere Deſire of reſtoring Peace; in the Letter he wrote to all the Chriſtian Princes and the Prelates of the Church, to acquaint them with his Promotion to the Pontifical Dignity, which, he ſaid, had been forced upon him, he aſſured them, that he was ready to concur with them in all Meaſures any-ways conducive to the End they all aimed at, the Union and Tranquillity of the Church; that this his Diſpoſition was well known to all the Cardinals, and that it was chiefly upon that Conſideration they had preferred him to many much better qualified than he to diſcharge ſo great a Truſt.

His Diſſimulation.

Upon the Receipt of theſe Letters the *French* King and the Univerſity of *Paris*, believing him ſincere, not only acknowleged him, but ſent Deputies to congratulate him upon his Promotion, and expreſs the Satisfaction it gave them to ſee One truſted with the Government of the Church, who was ſo ready to reſign it, and ſacrifice his Dignity to the Peace of the Church. The Pope received the Deputies with particular Marks of Diſtinction, and upon their exhorting him, in the Name of the King and the Univerſity, to convince the World by his

Is acknowleged in France.

[q] Apud Raymund. ad hunc ann. & Dacheri Spicileg. tom. 6. p. 64.

Year of Christ 1394.

Actions, as he now had it in his Power, of the Sincerity of his Intentions, he assured them that he was firmly and unalterably resolved to embrace all Means of redeeming the Church from the present unhappy Situation, and would, to obtain that End, as willingly and readily lay down his Dignity as he laid down his Mantle, which he was then putting off to sit down to Dinner. He returned the same Answer to *Peter d'Ailly*, Chancellor of the University and the King's Almoner, upon his representing to him the distracted State of the Church and the many Evils attending it. But many suspected, adds the Author, that this was all mere Fiction [r]; and that it was mere Fiction appeared soon after.

Tumult against Boniface *at* Rome.

Towards the latter End of the present Year 1394 the *Roman* People, provoked at *Boniface*'s claiming and exercising an absolute Power in *Rome*, which they maintained to be lodged in their Magistrates, rose up in Arms, besieged the Pope in his Palace, and would, as was apprehended, have imprisoned or even put him to Death in the Height of their Fury, had not *Ladislaus*, King of *Naples*, who happened to be then at *Rome*, armed his People, and saved him from falling into the Hands of the enraged Multitude. By his Mediation an Agreement was concluded, upon what Terms we know not, between *Boniface* and the People, and Tranquillity restored to the City [s].

Charles VI. *of* France *strives to put an End to the Schism.*

In the mean time *Charles*, King of *France*, wholly intent upon extinguishing the Schism, and, depending upon the repeated Declarations of *Benedict* that he was ready to concur with him in all the Measures, without Exception, that should be thought conducive to that End, assembled in the Beginning of *February* 1395 the chief Prelates and the most learned Men of the Kingdom, to deliberate about the most effectual Means of restoring Peace. The Result of their Deliberations was that both the Competitors should resign; that this was the most effectual as well as the most expeditious Way of putting an End to the Schism, and ought therefore to be alone insisted upon, as it would prove a difficult and endless Task to examine into the Pretensions of both, and decide the Controversy in favour of either. This being agreed to by the whole Council, they deliberated in the next Place about the Method of proceeding in the Affair; and it was determined, that the

The Way of Cession approved in a grand Council held at Paris.

Year of Christ 1395.

[r] Joannes Juvenal. Ursin. in vita Caroli VI. & Surit. in Indic. l. 3. [s] Antoninus, tit. 22. c. 1.

King

King and *Benedict* himſelf ſhould notify to the Princes of his Obedience that he was ready to ſacrifice his Dignity to the Peace of the Church, provided his Competitor in like Manner agreed to ſacrifice his. As for the Princes who acknowleged *Boniface*, the King alone was to acquaint them with the pacific Diſpoſition of *Benedict*, and urge their inſiſting with *Boniface* upon his embracing the Way of Ceſſion, ſince his Competitor was ready to embrace it. When both had reſigned, the Affair was to be left to a certain Number of Arbitrators choſen by both Parties, or the Cardinals of both Parties were to meet, and, proceding to a new Election, elect a Third Perſon, or either of the Two Competitors, as they ſhould think proper. Such was the Determination of that grand Aſſembly; and the King immediately acquainted *Benedict* with it by the moſt ſplendid Embaſſy that on any Occaſion had been ever ſent. It conſiſted of the moſt eminent Prelates of the Kingdom, of the chief Members of the King's Council and the Univerſity, of the Flower of the Nobility, with the King's Two Uncles, *John*, Duke of *Berry*, *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and his Brother *Lewis*, Duke of *Orleans*, at their Head [t].

Year of Chriſt 1395.

The Embaſſadors arrived at *Avignon* on the 22d of *May*, met with a moſt favourable Reception from *Benedict*; but found him, to their great Surpriſe, intirely averſe, notwithſtanding his repeated Declarations and the ſolemn Oath he had taken, to the Way of Ceſſion or Reſignation, which he ſaid had never been approved, but on ſome Occaſions had been diſapproved, by the Fathers, as tending to expoſe the Pontifical Dignity to Contempt. He added, that his reſigning would be generally conſtrued into a Conſciouſneſs of the Nullity of his Election, which would be arraigning the Judgment of the Prelates, the Princes, and the People who had acknowleged him. He therefore propoſed Three other Methods of reconciling the preſent Differences, all Three, in his Opinion, preferable to that of Ceſſion, as being free from all the Difficulties and Inconveniences attending it. Theſe were, that the Two Competitors and their Cardinals ſhould meet in ſome ſafe Place under the Protection of the King of *France*, and there amongſt themſelves accommodate their Differences; or that Arbitrators ſhould be choſen by both Parties, and the Competitors ſhould bind themſelves to acquieſce in their Deciſion; or, laſtly, if neither of theſe Methods ſhould be ap-

But rejected by Benedict.

[t] Monachus Dionyſ. ubi ſupra.

Year of Christ 1395.

proved of, he would propose, or leave the opposite Party to propose, some other, and readily agree to it, if founded upon Justice and Reason. In answer to these Proposals the Embassadors put *Benedict* in mind of the Oath he had taken in the Conclave before his Election, binding himself to embrace all possible Means of restoring Peace, *that of Cession not excepted*, if approved and thought expedient. *Benedict* answered, that he entertained not, nor could he entertain, the least Doubt of his being true and lawful Pope, and that he could by no Oath be bound to resign that Dignity. The Embassadors, finding *Benedict* unalterably determined against the Way of Cession, appointed the Cardinals to meet them at *Villeneuve*, in the Neighbourhood of *Avignon*; and at that Meeting, held on the 1st of *June*, the Way of Cession was approved and recommended by all the Cardinals, except the Cardinal of *Pampelona* alone, a Relation of *Benedict*, who protested with great Warmth against it[u].

Appeal of the University of Paris.

The University of *Paris*, hearing from their Deputies, upon their Return, of the ill Success of their Negotiations at *Avignon*, wrote a long Letter, addressed to *Benedict* and all the Faithful, to confute his Reasons and Arguments against the Way of Cession, and prove that to be of all others the most easy, the most expeditious, the most effectual Means of restoring Peace. As they apprehended that *Benedict*, provoked at the Liberty they took in their Letter, might thunder out the Sentence of Excommunication, or proceed to other Censures against them, they publicly appealed from him to the future only true orthodox and universal Pope, and to his Holy and Apostolic See; and sent One of their Members to notify this their Appeal to *Benedict* himself.

Benedict *declares all Appeals from the* Roman *Pontiff to be null.*

Year of Christ 1396.

In Answer to their Appeal *Benedict* published a Constitution, dated the 30th of *May* 1396, declaring all Appeals from the *Roman* Pontiff to be derogatory to the Plenitude of Power with which he is vested, and consequently null. As for the present Appeal, it deserved, he said, no other Name than that of a bold, presumptuous, and rebellious Attempt upon the Authority of the *Roman* Church, which no Man nor Body of Men had it in their Power to controul; and he therefore advised them to revoke it, lest he should be obliged to proceed against them as Rebels to the Church. The University replied, that they were no Rebels to, but zealous Defenders of, the *Roman* Church; that it was for the Peace,

[u] Apud Baluz. vit. Papar. Aven. Spondan. ad ann. 1396.

the

the Honour, and the Dignity of the Church that they had interpoſed in the preſent Controverſy between the Two Competitors, and therefore feared no Cenſures that either might inflict upon them on that Account, but appealed anew from both. Year of Chriſt 1396.

The Way of Ceſſion approved by ſome Princes and diſapproved by others.

In the mean time the *French* Embaſſadors, finding they could by no Means prevail upon *Benedict* to embrace the Way of Ceſſion, but on the contrary that he daily had Recourſe to new Subterfuges and Evaſions to elude their Endeavours, left *Avignon*, and returning to *Paris* gave a minute Account to the King and the Univerſity of what had paſſed in their ſeveral Interviews with *Benedict* and his Cardinals. Upon their Report another grand Council was held, and by all it was agreed, that the Way of Ceſſion ſhould be abſolutely inſiſted on, and the King ſhould write to the other Chriſtian Princes to concur with him in promoting that Meaſure. Embaſſadors were accordingly ſent at the breaking up of the Council to the Emperor, to all the Electors, to the Kings of *England*, *Arragon*, *Caſtile*, *Navarre*, *Portugal*, and *Hungary*. Their Inſtructions were to invite thoſe Princes to join their Maſter in procuring the Peace of the Church, and propoſe to them the Way of Ceſſion as the moſt effectual as well as impartial. That Method had been diſapproved by the Univerſity of *Oxford*, in a Letter dated the 10th of *March* 1395, and addreſſed to the King, *Richard* II. In that Letter they had anſwered the Reaſons alleged by the Univerſity of *Paris* to ſupport the Way of Ceſſion, and propoſed the aſſembling of a General Council, from whoſe Deciſion neither of the Competitors would preſume to appeal. This Method the King had embraced; but the Point being diſputed, in his Preſence, by ſome of the Members of the Univerſity and the *French* King's Envoys, *Peter Regis*, Abbot of *Mount St. Michael* in *Normandy*, *Simon Cramaud*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and the Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, he changed his Opinion, and even wrote both to *Boniface* and *Benedict*, exhorting them to ſacrifice their Dignity to the Peace of the Church. With that Letter he diſpatched the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* to *Avignon* and to *Rome*; but as in the Addreſs he gave to *Benedict* no other Title than that of Cardinal, he would neither receive the Letter nor admit the Abbot to his Preſence, who thereupon returned to *England*. In *Spain* a Council was held at *Salamanca* in *Caſtile*, conſiſting of all the Grandees, Prelates, and learned Men of that and the neighbouring Kingdom of *Arragon*; and by them the Way of Ceſſion, though warmly

Year of Christ 1396.

warmly urged by the Embaſſadors of *France* and *England*, was rejected, and the deciding of the Controverſy left to the Two Competitors themſelves, meeting with their Cardinals in ſome Place choſen by both. Some of the other Princes approved and ſome diſapproved the Method propoſed by the Kings of *England* and *France* [w].

The Way of Ceſſion approved in a Diet at Francfort.

Year of Chriſt 1397.

The following Year 1397 a Diet was held at *Francfort*, at which were preſent all the Electors, all the Princes of *Germany*, and Embaſſadors from the Kings of *France*, of *England*, of *Hungary*, and Deputies from the Univerſity of *Paris*, and moſt other Univerſities, to examine the different Methods that had been hitherto propoſed for the reſtoring of Peace, and cauſe that which ſhould appear to them the moſt effectual to be carried into Execution in their reſpective Dominions and Territories. By that Aſſembly the Way of Ceſſion was judged of all others the moſt eligible, and Embaſſadors were ſent, in the Name of the Princes who compoſed it, to acquaint *Boniface* therewith, and perſuade him to embrace it. They met with a favourable Reception from the Pope, who even beſtowed, at their Requeſt, ſeveral Benefices on their Friends and Relations, but declined with many Shifts and Evaſions returning any poſitive Anſwer with reſpect to the Subject of their Embaſſy [x].

And by the Emperor.

Year of Chriſt 1398.

The Emperor *Wenceſlaus* had neglected to aſſiſt at the Diet of *Francfort*, notwithſtanding the Deſire he expreſſed on all Occaſions of ſeeing an End put to the Schiſm. But, finding that the Way of Ceſſion had been approved by the Princes of the Empire, he reſolved to embrace it, and ſent to acquaint the King of *France*, the chief Promoter of that Meaſure, with this his Reſolution. Several Letters paſſed between him and the King on that Subject; and *Wenceſlaus* in the End reſolved to confer in Perſon with the King, and ſettle the Method of Proceeding with the Two Competitors in the Affair. Purſuant to that Reſolution he left *Bohemia*, where he then was, in *March* 1398, and after a ſhort Stay in *Germany* purſued his Journey to *France*; was met at his entering that Kingdom by a great Number of Perſons of the firſt Diſtinction, ſent by the King to receive him and attend him to *Rheims*, where the King waited for him with his Brother, the Duke of *Orleans*, and his Two Uncles, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*. In the ſeve-

[w] Niem de Schiſm. l. 2. c. 33. Antoninus, tit. 22. c. 3. Spond. ad ann. 1396. Juvenalis Urſin. & Monachus Dionyſ. in Carolo VI. [x] Niem ibid.

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ral Conferences they had the Emperor was gained over to the Opinion of the King and the Univerſity of *Paris*, that both ſhould reſign, that a Third ſhould be elected by the Cardinals of both Parties; and if either refuſed, under any Pretence whatſoever, to conform to ſo ſalutary a Meaſure, he ſhould be looked upon as the Author of the Schiſm, and be no longer obeyed as true and lawful Pope, either by the Emperor or the King. *Peter d'Ailli*, Biſhop of *Cambray*, was diſpatched to *Rome*, with the Character of Embaſſador from both, to acquaint *Boniface* with this their Reſolution, and exhort him to conform to it. The Biſhop was received with particular Marks of Diſtinction both by *Boniface* and the Cardinals; but could not perſuade him or them, in the frequent Conferences he had with them, to agree to the Way of Ceſſion, nor obtain any other Anſwer of *Boniface*, than that he had as much at Heart the Peace of the Church as either the Emperor or the King, and would, as ſoon as they had prevailed upon the Antipope to reſign, leave them no Room to complain of him [y].

Year of Chriſt 1397.

This Anſwer being no-ways ſatisfactory, the King appointed another grand Council to meet on the 22d of *May* of the preſent Year 1398, to deliberate about the Means of obliging both Popes to reſign, ſince it now evidently appeared that, happen to the Church what would, both were obſtinately bent againſt all Reſignation. At this Council were preſent moſt of the Prelates of *France*, no fewer than Eight Archbiſhops, beſides *Simon Cramaud*, Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, and Thirty-two Biſhops, Deputies from all the Univerſities and Chapters in the Kingdom, a great Number of Abbots, all the Members of the King's Council, Embaſſadors from all the Princes who approved of the Reſignation of both Competitors, and *Charles*, King of *Navarre*, in Perſon. The King of *France* could not attend, being ſeized with a Fit of Illneſs, but his Brother, the Duke of *Orleans*, and his Three Uncles, the Dukes of *Berry*, of *Burgundy*, and *Bourbon*, aſſiſted in his Room. By this grand Aſſembly the Way of Ceſſion was preferred to all others; and it was reſolved, that if *Benedict* did not agree to it, all, who had hitherto acknowleged him, ſhould withdraw from his Obedience. Whether this Reſolution ſhould extend only to the Temporalities of the Church, and deprive him of all Power of diſpoſing of them,

Another grand Council held in France.

Year of Chriſt 1398.

[y] Monachus Dionyſ. l. 18. c. 6. Chron. Froiſſard. c. 96. Hiſt. Univerſitat. Paris, tom. 4. p. 800.

Year of Christ 1398.

or to all other Matters, ſo that he ſhould be no more obeyed than if he were no longer Pope, was the Subject of a long and learned Debate; ſome maintaining, that they could not withdraw from the Obedience of *Benedict*; nor controul him in the Diſpoſal of the Temporalities of the Church, ſo long as they acknowleged him for lawful Pope, and others aſſerting, that they could, for the Tranquillity and Peace of the Church. This Point was diſputed Nine whole Days by the ableſt Divines and Canoniſts of the Kingdom of *France*, but carried in the Affirmative, when put to the Vote, by 240 out of 300. This Determination of the Aſſembly being communicated to the King, as ſoon as he returned to himſelf, a Decree was publiſhed by his Order on the 28th of *July*, forbidding his Subjects thenceforth to pay any Obedience whatever to *Benedict*, ſince the preſent unhappy Diviſion was intirely owing to his Obſtinacy in maintaining the Pontifical Dignity, though he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn Oath to reſign it, ſhould it be thought neceſſary or expedient for the Peace of the Church. As for *Benedict*'s Competitor, the King left thoſe who acknowleged him to compel him, by withdrawing from his Obedience, or by what other Means they ſhould think fit, to lay down his uſurped Dignity [z].

Reſolved that no Obedience ſhould be thenceforth paid to Benedict.

Benedict *abandoned by his Cardinals.*

The Decree publiſhed by the King was by his Order immediately communicated to *Benedict*'s Cardinals and the Citizens of *Avignon*; and by a particular Order the Subjects of *France* were all required to quit forthwith the Service of *Benedict* and retire from his Court, which was readily complied with by the Clergy as well as the Laity. As for the Cardinals, they aſſembled at *Villeneuve*, beyond the *Rhone*, and ſubject to the King, and there, after many long and warm Debates, Nineteen out of Twenty-four agreed to renounce all Obedience to *Benedict*, drew up an Act declaring this their Reſolution, and cauſed it to be publiſhed at *Avignon*. Hereupon *Benedict*, provoked beyond all Meaſure at the Conduct of the rebel Cardinals, as he called them, ordered them to be arreſted as guilty of High Treaſon in refuſing to obey him, though by their own Confeſſion their lawful Lord and Maſter. But the Cardinals, leaving *Avignon* before that Order could be put in Execution, retired to *Villeneuve* in the Territory of *France*, and there renewed their former Declaration, appealing at the ſame time from *Benedict* to the Pope,

[z] Monachus Dionyſ. & Juvenalis Urſin. in vit. Caroli VI. Froiſſard, c. 97. Raymund. ad ann. 1398. num. 3. Hiſt. Univerſitat. tom, 4. p. 829.

who ſhould be lawfully elected in his Room by the Cardinals of both Parties[a]. Year of Chriſt 1398.

In the mean time the King of *France*, determined to bring *Benedict* to Terms by Force, ſince all other Means proved ineffectual, ſent Marſhal *de Boucicaut*, a renowned Commander, to lay Siege to *Avignon*, and prevent any Proviſions from being conveyed into that City, in order to ſtarve him and the Inhabitants, who ſteadily adhered to him, into a Compliance with his Decree. As all the Avenues to the Place were ſtrictly guarded, and the Marſhal threatened to burn their Country-houſes and Vineyards if they did not ſubmit, they ſoon opened their Gates and admitted him into the City, declaring to the Pope, when he exhorted them to hold out, that they could not pretend to withſtand alone the whole Power of *France*. Upon the Surrender of the City *Benedict* retired with his Court, and the Cardinals who had not renounced his Obedience, into the Pontifical Palace or Caſtle, where *Boucicaut* was ordered to keep him cloſely confined, and ſuffer nothing to be conveyed into the Palace or out of it till he agreed to gratify the King and reſign.

Benedict beſieged in his Palace.

While theſe Things paſſed at *Avignon*, *Martin*, King of *Arragon*, who had never approved of the Way of Ceſſion, nor could be prevailed upon to withdraw his Obedience to *Benedict*, his Relation and Countryman, hearing that he was beſieged in his Palace at *Avignon*, ſent a Fleet with Orders to ſail up the *Rhone* and attempt his Deliverance. But the Fleet being ſtranded in the River, the Undertaking miſcarried, and the King was obliged to recur to the Way of Negociation. He ſent accordingly by Embaſſadors to *Avignon*, to treat of an Accommodation between *Benedict* and the Princes who had withdrawn from his Obedience, eſpecially the King of *France*. As the Pope was by this time reduced to the utmoſt Extremity for Want of Proviſions, the Palace being kept cloſely blocked up by *Boucicaut*, he received the Embaſſadors with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Joy; and, pretending to have nothing ſo much at Heart as to ſee Peace reſtored to the Church, declared himſelf ready to ſubmit to what Terms their Maſter and the other Princes of his Obedience ſhould think fit to propoſe, eſpecially his beloved Son *Charles*, King of *France*, who had treated him, and continued to treat him,

His Reſcue attempted by the King of Arragon.

[a] Apud Spondan. ad ann. 1398, num. 7.

Year of Christ 1398.

with ſo much Severity and ſo undeſervedly. From *Avignon* the Embaſſadors repaired to *Paris*, to acquaint the King with the preſent Diſpoſition of *Benedict*, and intercede for his Liberty. Upon their Requeſt a Council was held, at which the King aſſiſted in Perſon; and in that Council it was reſolved, that if *Benedict* promiſed to reſign upon the Death or the Reſignation of his Competitor, to aſſiſt in Perſon at the Council that ſhould be aſſembled to put an End to the Schiſm, and not to ſtir in the mean time from his Palace, or what other Place the Two Kings, of *France* and *Arragon*, ſhould aſſign to him, without their Knowlege and Conſent, the King would upon theſe Conditions take him into his Protection, would ſuffer no Violence to be offered him, but would provide him and an Hundred Perſons of his Retinue with all Neceſſaries, and order the Marſhal to withdraw his Troops from before the Pontifical Palace. To theſe Conditions *Benedict* agreed. But the King, knowing by Experience how little his Word or Promiſes were to be relied on, ordered Guards to be placed on all the Roads to prevent his Eſcape, and none to be admitted into the Palace who could not give a ſatisfactory Account of themſelves as well as of the Buſineſs upon which they came. Thus was *Benedict* kept confined in his Palace for the Space of near Five Years, from 1398 to 1403, when he made his Eſcape, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel [b].

The Siege raiſed, and upon what Terms.

Year of Chriſt 1399.

Boniface *makes himſelf abſolute Maſter of* Rome.

While theſe Things paſſed in *France*, *Boniface*, leaving *Rome*, where the Banderefians, or Heads of the People, had engroſſed all Power to themſelves, went to reſide at *Perugia*, and from thence ſoon after removed to *Aſſiſi*. He remained there till the preſent Year 1399, ſparing neither Pains nor Money to ſtrengthen his Party in *Germany* and *Italy*, as he was no leſs averſe to the Way of Ceſſion than his Competitor *Benedict*. As the Jubile was to be celebrated at *Rome* the following Year 1400, according to the Inſtitution of *Boniface* VIII. who ordered it to be obſerved every Hundredth Year, the *Romans*, apprehending that in the Abſence of the Pope it would not be celebrated with the uſual Solemnity, and conſequently that their Gains would be conſiderably leſſened, ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to invite his Holineſs back to *Rome*. *Boniface* received the Embaſſadors with all poſſible Marks of Eſteem for the *Roman* People; but, pretending great Reluctance

[b] Surita Indic. l. 3. ad ann. 1399. Baluz. vit. Papar. Aven. tom. 2. p. 216. & Spond. ad ann. 1398 & 1309.

to

to return to their City, he told them that he could not comply with their Requeſt, nor was it conſiſtent with his Dignity that he ſhould, as they had lodged all the Power in the Hands of their own Magiſtrates and the Bandereſians, and left none to him. With this Anſwer the Embaſſadors returned to *Rome*; and the *Romans*, to ſatisfy the Pope and entice him back to their City, not only ſuppreſſed the Bandereſians, but transferred all their Power upon him, beſtowed, at his Recommendation, the Dignity of Senator upon *Malateſta* of *Peſaro*, a Man of great Probity, in whom he could confide, and ſent a conſiderable Sum of Money to defray the Expences of the Pope's Journey from *Aſſiſi* to *Rome*. *Boniface*, availing himſelf of the preſent Temper of the *Romans*, ſet out as ſoon as he was acquainted with it for *Rome*, and being received with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Joy by all Ranks of People, he cauſed the Walls of the City, the Towers, the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and the Capitol, to be repaired and ſtrongly fortified, placed Garriſons in them, and thus by Degrees made himſelf abſolute Maſter of the City, which many of his Predeceſſors had attempted, but none had ever been able to accompliſh. Thus did the *Romans* ſacrifice their Liberty to their Intereſt, and *Boniface* thenceforth governed the City with an abſolute Sway [c].

Year of Chriſt 1399.

The Jubile was by the Appointment of *Boniface* VIII. to be celebrated every Hundredth Year, but was reduced by *Clement* VI. to every Fiftieth, and by *Urban* VI. to every Thirty-third, and had accordingly been ſolemnized in 1390 by the preſent Pope the Succeſſor of *Urban*. However in 1400 Pilgrims flocked from all Parts to *Rome* for the Indulgences, which they ſuppoſed were to be gained every Hundredth Year; and *Boniface* to gratify their Devotion granted them the ſame Indulgences that were to be obtained in the Jubile Year; which drew ſuch Multitudes of People from all Countries, even from *France*, that the King, to prevent his Kingdom from being unpeopled, and the whole Wealth of the Nation from being conveyed to *Rome*, was obliged to forbid by a public Edict any of his Subjects to go to *Rome* during that Year, and order thoſe who had undertaken that Journey to return. The Reaſons alleged by the King for iſſuing this Edict were, I. Becauſe his Enemies, ſhould they at this Juncture invade his Kingdom, would find it unprovided with Men as well as Money. II. Becauſe moſt of

Jubile ſolemnized at Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1400.

[c] Flavius Blondus Decad. 10. Antonin. tit. 22. c. 3.

the

Year of Chriſt 1400.

The Subjects of France *forbidden to go to* Rome.

the Countries between *France* and *Rome* acknowleged the pretended Pope, who would enrich himſelf with the Money of his Subjects ſpent on the Road as well as at *Rome*, and become by that Means more intractable. III. Becauſe the undertaking of ſo long and ſo expenſive Journey to gain Indulgences granted by him, was tacitly acknowleging him for lawful Pope. The Clergy, who tranſgreſſed this Order, were to forfeit their Temporalities, and the Laity to be fined and impriſoned at the Pleaſure of the King. But notwithſtanding this Prohibition, *Rome*, ſays *de Niem* then upon the Spot, was crowded during the whole Year with Pilgrims from *France* of both Sexes and all Ranks, with ſome even of the higheſt. The Concourſe of People was no leſs numerous from all other Nations. But moſt of them died of the Plague that broke out with great Violence at *Rome*, and carried off, ſays *Boninſegni*, who lived at this Time, Seven or Eight hundred Perſons a Day [d].

The Emperor Wenceſlaus *depoſed.*

As the Emperor *Wenceſlaus* led a moſt debauched Life, and entirely neglected the Affairs of the Empire, Four of the Electors, namely, the Three Archbiſhops of *Cologn*, *Mentz*, and *Treves*, and *Rupert* or *Robert*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavaria*, aſſembling with ſeveral other Princes of the Empire at *Lonſtein* in the Dioceſe of *Treves*, declared him unworthy of the Imperial Dignity, and by a formal Sentence depoſed him on the 20th of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year. In his Room they choſe *Frideric*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, for King of the *Romans*, a Prince of a fair Character and great Experience in War. But he being aſſaſſinated on his Return from the Diet, the above-mentioned Electors met again in the ſame Place, confirmed the Sentence againſt *Wenceſlaus*, and conferred unanimouſly the Dignity of King of the *Romans* upon *Rupert*, Count *Palatine*. As *Boniface* conſented to the Depoſition of *Wenceſlaus*, and was even ſuſpected of having promoted it, being highly offended at his late Connection with the *French* King, the Two Kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* withdrew from his Obedience, the latter being ſubject to *Wenceſlaus*, and the former to his Brother *Sigiſmund*. But the new Emperor, or King of the *Romans*, maintained with great Zeal the Cauſe of *Boniface*, gained over to his Party moſt of the Princes of the Empire,

[d] Niem, c. 28. Boninſegn. l. 4. c. 7.

and

and would consent to no Measures but what were recommended to him by *Boniface* himself [e].

Year of Christ 1400.

The French *divided among themselves with Respect to the Confinement of* Benedict.

The Two following Years, 1401, 1402, warm Debates arose in *France* about the withdrawing of all Obedience to *Benedict*, and his Imprisonment or Detention, some approving of both these Measures as absolutely necessary to bring the Pope to Terms, and others condemning them as quite unprecedented, and highly injurious to the Pontifical Dignity. Among the former were the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, the University of *Paris*, and the far greater Part of the Clergy; and among the latter the Duke of *Orleans*, the Embassadors of the King of *Arragon*, and the University of *Toulouse*. The Duke of *Orleans*, whom *Benedict* had gained, we know not by what Means, frequently declared against his Two Uncles, that though a Schism was a great Evil, yet to have no Pope was still a greater, and that to him it seemed altogether inconsistent with Reason to acknowlege *Benedict* for lawful Pontiff, or Christ's Vicar upon Earth, and yet refuse to obey him. *Peter Ruban*, Bishop of *St. Pons*, a Prelate of great Eloquence and Address, seconding the Duke of *Orleans*, took the Liberty to complain to the King himself of the Imprisonment of *Benedict*, and their forbidding any Obedience to be paid to him, as derogatory, in the highest Degree, to the Authority of the Apostolic See, which his Ancestors had ever made it their Business to reverence and maintain. But the King was inflexible, alleging that *Benedict* had bound himself by a solemn Oath to embrace all Means of restoring Peace to the Church, even by the Way of Cession, if judged necessary or expedient, and that by the Breach of so solemn an Oath he had forfeited the Obedience that was due to him as Pope.

Benedict *makes his Escape.*

Year of Christ 1403.

Benedict had promised, as has been related above, not to depart from his Palace in *Avignon* without the Knowlege and Consent of the Kings of *France* and *Arragon*. But being weary of his Confinement, and as regardless of his Promise as he was of his Oath, he resolved to make his Escape, and began to contrive with some of his most intimate Friends the Means of effecting it. As One of these, *Robert de Braquemond*, a Native of *Normandy*, was frequently admitted to the Pope as a Person no-ways suspected, it was agreed between them that *Braquemond* should One Day, the 12th of *March*, not depart from the Palace till late in

[e] De Niem, ubi supra.

the

Year of Chriſt 1403.

the Evening, and that the Pope ſhould attend him at his Departure in the Diſguiſe of One of his Domeſtics. That Diſguiſe *Benedict* aſſumed, and paſſing through the Guards quite unobſerved, arrived that Night at Caſtle *Raynard*, Four Miles diſtant from *Avignon*, and early next Morning at *Marſeilles*, ſubject to *Lewis*, King of *Naples*, and Count of *Provence*, who went immediately to wait upon him, and lend him all the Aſſiſtance in his Power. Authors obſerve, that *Benedict* was attended in his Eſcape by Three Domeſtics only; that he took nothing with him but the Body of our Lord in a Box, and a Letter from the *French* King; that he had let his Beard grow during the Five Years of his Confinement, but cauſed it to be ſhaved on his Arrival at *Marſeilles*. From Caſtle *Raynard* he wrote to the King to acquaint him with his Eſcape, and aſſure him that, though at Liberty, he was determined faithfully to perform what he had promiſed, and concur in all the Meaſures that his dearly beloved Son ſhould, upon mature Deliberation, ſuggeſt or approve. This Letter is dated at Caſtle *Raynard* the 12th of *March*, the Day on which he made his Eſcape [f].

Obedience reſtored to him;

Some few Days after *Benedict* ſent Cardinal *Maleſicco*, Biſhop of *Paleſtrina*, and Cardinal *Amadeus* of *Saluzzo*, with the Character of his Legates to the King to divert him from purſuing the Way of Ceſſion, and perſuade him to revoke the Decree, forbidding his Subjects to pay him any Obedience as Pope till he had agreed to reſign. The Legates were powerfully ſeconded by the Duke of *Orleans*, and in a Council held on the 28th of *May*, it was reſolved that the Decree ſhould be revoked, and *Benedict* be obeyed as before, but upon the following

and upon what Terms.

Conditions: I. That he promiſed, in Writing, to reſign, in caſe his Competitor reſigned, died, or was expelled. II. That all Offences hitherto given or received ſhould by both Parties be buried in Oblivion. III. That *Benedict* ſhould confirm all Promotions to Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, and Collations to Benefices, that had been made while he was not allowed to diſpoſe of them. IV. That in the Term of One Year he ſhould aſſemble a General Council of his Obedience to deliberate about the Means of reſtoring Peace, and moderating the many heavy Burthens laid by the Popes on the *Gallican* Church. Theſe Terms were no-ways pleaſing to *Benedict*. But the Duke of *Orleans* having with great Difficulty prevailed upon him to agree to them, the Decree,

[f] Monachus Dionyſ. l. 18. p. 461.

forbidding

forbidding any Obedience to be paid to him, was repealed, and the Subjects of *France* were, by a new Decree, enjoined thenceforth to obey *Benedict* XIII. as lawful Pope. The Decree was iſſued in the King's Name, and the following Words: "It was reſolved near Five "Years ago in an Aſſembly of the Clergy of our Kingdom, that no "Obedience ſhould be thenceforth paid to Pope *Benedict* XIII. becauſe "he would not conſent to the Way of Ceſſion, which appeared to "us the moſt expeditious Method of putting an End to the Schiſm. "But as our withdrawing from his Obedience has not had the wiſhed "for Effect, and he has agreed to the Terms that we have lately "propoſed, and think better calculated to reſtore Tranquillity, we "revoke our former Edict, and by the Advice of our Uncles, of our "Brother the Duke of *Orleans*, of the Univerſities of *Toulouſe*, of "*Angiers*, of *Orleans*, of *Montpellier*, and of moſt of the Prelates and "Lords of our Kingdom, we order *Benedict* XIII. to be thenceforth "obeyed by all our Subjects as lawful Pope, and this our Ordinance "to be publiſhed and immediately complied with throughout our "Kingdom g."

Year of Chriſt 1403.

The following Year 1404 *Benedict*, to perſuade the World of the Sincerity of his Intentions, publiſhed a Bull, declaring that he was ready to reſign, provided his Competitor in like Manner agreed to reſign. Not ſatisfied with this Declaration, he ſent *Peter Raban*, Biſhop of *Pons*, and ſome other Biſhops to *Rome*, to treat with *Boniface* of an Accommodation. They were ordered to propoſe a Meeting of the Two Popes and their Cardinals in ſome Place of Safety approved of by both, in order to deliberate jointly about the Means of putting an End to the preſent Diviſion. The Embaſſadors met with a favourable Reception from the Cardinals. But *Boniface* received them with great Haughtineſs, and upon their modeſtly exhorting him to concur with their Maſter in reſtoring Peace to the Church, he told them with no ſmall Emotion, that *Peter de Luna* was an Intruder and Antipope, and himſelf alone true Pope. The Biſhop of *Pons*, piqued at this Anſwer, replied that their Maſter was no Simoniac, thus tacitly reproaching *Boniface* as guilty of that Crime, which ſo provoked him, that he ordered the Embaſſadors to depart the City that Moment. They anſwered, that they had a ſafe Conduct both from him and the

He ſends an Embaſſy to Boniface.

Year of Chriſt 1404.

g Monachus Dionyſ. in Carolo VI.

Year of Chriſt 1404.

Roman People, and therefore would not depart till the Time they were thereby allowed to remain in *Rome* was expired. *Boniface* made no Reply, but fell into a violent Paſſion that brought on a Fit of the Stone, to which he was ſubject, and he died the Third Day, the 1ſt of *October* [h]. He is charged by *de Niem* with the moſt flagrant Simony, with beſtowing all Church Preferments upon the beſt Bidder, without any Regard to Merit or Learning, and making it his Study to enrich his Family and Relations. One of his Brothers he made Marquis of the *March*, now *la Marca*, and another Duke of *Spoleti*. But both were reduced to great Poverty before their Death [i]. *Niem* ſuppoſes the Annates to be the Invention of *Boniface*; but others will have them to have been introduced long before his Time, either by *Clement* V. or *John* XXII. of whom the former was raiſed to the See in 1305, and the latter in 1316. The Author of the Chronicle of *Bourdeaux*, at this Time in *Rome*, tells us, that a Perſon worthy of Credit, who was preſent at *Boniface*'s Death, aſſured him, that ſcarce the Value of One Florin of Gold was found in his Coffers. This Teſtimony is alleged by *Papebroch* and *Pagi*, to ſhew that *Boniface* was not ſo intent upon heaping up Wealth as is generally ſuppoſed. But as he made it his Study, according to all other contemporary Writers, to accumulate, and conſequently muſt have accumulated immenſe Riches, I ſhall leave *Papebroch* and *Pagi* to enquire how he diſpoſed of them, if it be true that he died ſo poor. St. *Antonine* writes, that it was reported that *Boniface* being adviſed by his Phyſicians to redeem himſelf from his Complaint, that of the Stone, at the Expence of his Chaſtity, he rejected that Advice with great Indignation, ſaying, he had rather die chaſte than live unchaſte [k]. His *Love of Chaſtity*, adds Father *Pagi*, *intituled* him (notwithſtanding his Ambition, his Avarice, his unſincere Dealings, his Simony, *&c.*) to a Place amongſt the good Popes [l]. No Writings of *Boniface* have reached our Times, beſides ſome Letters and Ordinances.

Death of Boniface.

Upon the Death of *Boniface*, *Benedict*'s Legates in *Rome* were impriſoned, notwithſtanding their ſafe Conduct, in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, by the Governor of that Caſtle, a Kinſman of the deceaſed Pope, and obliged to purchaſe their Liberty with the Sum of Five thouſand

[h] De Niem, l. 2. c. 23, 24. [i] Apud Pagi, tom. 4. p. 329. [k] Antonin. tit. 22. c. 3. [l] Pagi, tom. 4. p. 324.

Florins

Florins of Gold. Thus *de Niem* and *Surita* [m]. But the Affair is differently related by Pope *Innocent* VII. the immediate Succeſſor of *Boniface*, in a Letter to the Univerſity of *Paris*. For in that Letter he tells them, that the Nuncios were adviſed by the *Romans* to remain in *Rome*, and aſſured of Protection; but chuſing to depart, they fell into the Hands of One, out of whoſe Power neither the *Roman* People, nor the Cardinals, nor he himſelf could deliver them. Year of Chriſt 1404.

MAN. PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the Eaſt.*

INNOCENT VII.

RUPERT or ROBERT of *Bavaria*, *Emperor of the Weſt.*

The Two hundred and Firſt BISHOP *of* Rome.

BONIFACE dying, as has been ſaid, on the 1ſt of *October* 1404, his Cardinals immediately applied to *Benedict*'s Nuncios, to know whether they had been enjoined by their Maſter to propoſe a Reſignation in his Name, provided the deceaſed Pope agreed to reſign, being, they ſaid, in that Caſe determined not to proceed to a new Election, till they had tried all Means in their Power of putting an End to the Schiſm. The Nuncios anſwered, that they were only impowered to propoſe an Interview between their Maſter and his Competitor. The Cardinals, having received this Anſwer, reſolved to provide the Church with a new Paſtor as ſoon as they had performed the Obſequies of the Deceaſed. They entered accordingly into the Conclave on the 12th of *October*, and having all and each of them bound themſelves by a ſolemn Oath, in the Preſence of ſeveral public Notaries and Witneſſes, to uſe all Means in their Power of reſtoring the Peace and Unity of the Church, and even to reſign the Papal Dignity, how canonically ſoever elected to it, ſhould that be judged neceſſary to procure ſo deſirable an End, they unanimouſly elected, on the 17th of the ſame Month, *Coſmato Megliorati*, Cardinal Preſbyter of *the Holy Croſs in Jeruſalem* [n]. The new Pope took the Name of *Innocent* VII. and was crowned, according to ſome, on the 2d, and according to others, on the 11th of *November*. Innocent VII. *elected.*

[m] Niem, c. 24. Surita Indic. l. 3. Pariſ. apud Spondan. ad ann. 1404.

[n] Innocent VII. in Epiſt. ad Univerſitatem

Year of Chriſt 1404.

His Birth, Education, Employments, &c.

Innocent was a Native of *Sulmona*, in the *Hither Abruzzo*, deſcended from a Family of a middling Condition in that City, but had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Learning, eſpecially by his Knowlege of the Civil and Canon Law, and much more by his Virtue and Probity. For he was, according to *de Niem*, who ſpeaks well of very few Popes, a Man of a moſt generous, mild, and beneficent Temper, an Enemy to all Pomp and Shew, free from all Pride and Ambition, an avowed Enemy to Simony, and of great Addreſs and Experience in Negotiations and all State Affairs [o]. He was made Clerk of the Apoſtolic Chamber by *Urban* VI. was afterwards employed by the ſame Pope to collect the Revenues of the Apoſtolic See in *England*, and on his Return from thence preferred firſt to the Archbiſhopric of *Ravenna*, and ſoon after to the Biſhopric of *Bologna*. *Boniface* IX. raiſed him to the Dignity of Cardinal in the Firſt Year of his Pontificate, or in 1389, appointed him Chamberlain of the Holy *Roman* Church, and ſent him with the Character of his Legate to compoſe the Differences of the *Italian* Princes at War with one another. He was Sixty-five Years of Age at the Time of his Election, and was elected without Oppoſition by the Nine Cardinals who were then preſent at *Rome*. For of all the Cardinals created by *Boniface*, Twelve only were then living, and of theſe Three were abſent. The King of *France*, *Charles* VI. who diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all other Princes by his Zeal for the Unity of the Church, no ſooner heard of *Boniface*'s Death than he diſpatched a Meſſenger to *Rome* with Letters to the Cardinals, exhorting and earneſtly intreating them to ſuſpend the Election of a new Pope till the Arrival of a ſolemn Embaſſy, which he intended to ſend to them. But the Election was over before the Meſſenger reached *Rome*.

Upon the Firſt Notice of *Boniface*'s Death *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Naples*, entering unexpectedly the Territories of the Church, advanced to *Rome* at the Head of a numerous and well-appointed Army, with a Deſign, ſays *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, to make himſelf Maſter of that City during the Vacancy of the See. But finding at his Arrival that *Innocent* was already elected, he pretended to have had nothing in his View, but to maintain the Liberty of the Conclave, and ſupport the new Pope againſt all his Enemies [p]. A moſt dreadful Tumult broke out in *Rome* during the King's Stay in that City, ſtirred up, as was ſuppoſed, underhand by him. The *Romans*, to entice *Boniface* back

[o] Niem, c. 34, 36. [p] Leonard. Aretin. Hiſt. ſui temporis.

to

to *Rome*, had ſuppreſſed the *Bandereſians*, as we have ſeen, and lodged all the Power in him. But the *Gibellines*, headed by *John* and *Nicholas Colonna*, were for having that Power reſtored to the People, while the *Guelphs*, ſupported by the *Urſini*, ſtrove to maintain it in the Pope and the Church. Thus was a Civil War kindled in *Rome*, and in the daily Skirmiſhes great Numbers were killed on both Sides. *Innocent*, not thinking himſelf ſafe in *Rome*, left the *Lateran* Palace, and privately retired to the *Tranſtyberine* or *Leonine* City. But *Ladiſlaus* interpoſing, a Peace was concluded between the Two Parties, and it was agreed that the Civil Government of the City ſhould belong to the People, that is, to Ten Men choſen by them; that the *Leonine* City, with the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, ſhould be left to the Pope, and the Senator be appointed by him, but not without the Approbation and Conſent of the People [q]. Thus did the *Roman* People, in great Meaſure, recover the Power which they had given up under *Boniface*.

Year of Chriſt 1404. *Diſturbances in* Rome.

The Roman *People recover their Liberty.*

Matters being thus adjuſted for the preſent, *Innocent* wrote to all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Dignitaries of the Church to acquaint them with his Promotion, and at the ſame time to give them Notice that he intended to aſſemble a General Council in *Rome* before *All Saints* Day of the following Year 1405. He exhorted them to meet in the mean time in their reſpective Provinces, and deliberate among themſelves about the Means of healing the preſent Diviſion of the Church, aſſuring them that he was ready to concur in all the Meaſures that ſhould by them be judged the beſt calculated for procuring the ſo long wiſhed-for Tranquillity. This Letter is dated the 27th of *December* 1404, and was addreſſed to all the Archbiſhops and their Suffragans [r]. The Meeting of this Council was frequently put off, and all Thoughts of it were at laſt laid aſide on Account of the Diſturbances that broke out anew in *Rome*.

Innocent *propoſes to aſſemble a General Council.*

For the new Governors of the City, not ſatisfied with the Power granted them by the late Treaty, encroached daily upon that which by the ſame Treaty had been allowed to the Pope. *Innocent*, to gain them, and prevent any new Commotions, created Eleven Cardinals, of whom Five were Natives of *Rome*, which quieted them for a while. But being ſtirred up by *Ladiſlaus*, who wanted to improve the Diſcontent of the People to his own Advantage, and make himſelf Maſter of *Rome*,

New Diſturbances in Rome.

q Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1404. num. 16.

r Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1404. num. 12.

they

Year of Chriſt 1404.

they ſoon began to inſult the Officers of the Pope, and exerciſe the Authority that they themſelves had veſted in them; which ſo provoked *Innocent*'s Nephew, *Lewis Megliorati*, a bold and enterprizing Youth, that falling upon the Governors as they returned, attended by ſome Citizens of Diſtinction, from a Conference with the Pope, he arreſted them all, carried them Priſoners to his Houſe, and there put Eleven of them to Death, and cauſed their dead Bodies to be thrown out of the Window, ſaying, *Thus popular Seditions are to be appeaſed.* *Platina*, who wrote in this Century, in 1474, tells us, that the *Romans* were ſent by the Pope to his Nephew as to an Executioner, inſinuating thereby that it was by his Order his Nephew put them to Death [s]. But *de Niem*, who was at this very Time upon the Spot, clears *Innocent* from being anyways privy to that barbarous Execution [t]; and ſo does *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, ſaying, the Pontiff was overwhelmed with Grief when he heard of the cruel Slaughter; for the whole Affair had been tranſacted altogether unknown to him: He was a Man of a mild and pacific Diſpoſition, and abhorred above all Things the Effuſion of human Blood; he often bemoaned himſelf, bewailed his hard Lot, and lifting his Eyes up to Heaven, called upon God to witneſs his Innocence [u]. Had he delivered up his Nephew to the *Romans*, as he ought in Juſtice to have done, he would have cleared himſelf effectually from all Suſpicion of being concerned in that Maſſacre; and his not having done ſo, but, on the contrary, his taking his Nephew with him in his Flight, and thus ſcreening him from the deſerved Puniſhment, would incline one to believe what *Platina* ſays to be true.

The Governors maſſacred by the Pope's Nephew.

Year of Chriſt 1405.

Innocent *flies to* Viterbo.

Innocent, hearing of the cruel Maſſacre, left *Rome* that Moment, and in the utmoſt Conſternation fled with his Nephew and all the Cardinals to *Viterbo*. As their Flight happened in the Height of the Summer, on the 5th of *Auguſt*, when the Heats in *Italy* are quite inſufferable, and they ſtopped no-where, apprehending that the *Romans*, breathing Revenge, purſued them cloſe at their Heels: *De Niem* tells us that about Thirty of the Pope's Retinue died of Thirſt on the Road [w]. *Innocent* was ſcarce gone when the Alarm-Bell was rung, and the *Romans* flying to Arms flocked from all Parts to the Pontifical Palace, deſtroyed or carried off all the Furniture, put every Man to the Sword that belonged to the Pope, and would not have ſpared his

[s] Platina in Innocent VII. [t] De Niem, c. 16. 37. [u] Leonard. Aretin. de rebus Ital. p. 254. [w] Niem, c. 36.

Holineſs himſelf had he not ſaved himſelf by a timely and precipitate Flight [x]. In the mean time *John Colonna*, availing himſelf of theſe Diſturbances, entered *Rome* with a Body of Troops, and poſſeſſing himſelf of the Pontifical Palace, he governed the City from thence with all the Authority of a Pope; whence he was ironically ſtiled *John* XXIII. as there had been Twenty-two Popes of that Name. But the *Romans* being, in the Term of Twenty Days, tired of his Government, and revolting againſt him, he invited King *Ladiſlaus* to his Aſſiſtance, promiſing to reſign to him the Sovereignty of the City. The King, who had long aſpired at the Dominion of *Rome*, ſent without Delay an Army under the Command of the Count of *Troia*, with Orders to maintain *Colonna* in Poſſeſſion of *Rome*. *Colonna* admitted the *Neapolitan* Army into the City. But the *Romans*, determined rather to die than to ſubmit to *Ladiſlaus*, exerted themſelves with ſo much Vigour, Reſolution, and Union, as obliged *Colonna* and his Allies to abandon the Undertaking, and retire out of the City. The *Romans*, being now left to themſelves, committed the Government of the City to Three Perſons only, whom they called *The Good Men*; and theſe, finding, ſays *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, upon the ſtricteſt Enquiry, that the Pope was no-ways acceſſary nor privy to the Maſſacre of their Fellow-Citizens, perſuaded the People, tired with inteſtine Diſſenſions, and convinced of his Innocence, to recall him. Embaſſadors were accordingly ſent in the Beginning of the preſent Year 1406 to invite his Holineſs back to his See, to beg Pardon for their paſt Conduct, and offer him the Keys and the Sovereignty of the City. With that unexpected Invitation *Innocent* readily complied, forgave the *Romans* all paſt Injuries, and leaving *Viterbo* in the Month of *March*, entered *Rome* in a Kind of Triumph, being attended by vaſt Crowds of People of all Ranks, and amongſt the Reſt by the *Three Good Men*; who, at his entering the Gate, reſigned all their Power into his Hands [y].

Year of Chriſt 1405. John Colonna *makes himſelf Maſter of* Rome.

But is driven out by the Romans, *and* Innocent *is recalled.*

Year of Chriſt 1406.

In the mean time *Benedict*, to impoſe upon the World, and perſuade them that the Continuance of the Schiſm was not to be imputed to him, undertook this Year a Journey to *Genoa*, in order to confer, as he gave out, with his Competitor, and ſettle by mutual Conſent the Means of reſtoring Peace and Tranquillity, the Object of every good Man's Wiſhes, and of none more than of his. The City of

Benedict *repairs to* Genoa.

[x] Idem ibid. [y] Aretin. Hiſt. ſui temporis, et Antonin. parte 3. tit. 22. c. 4.

Genoa

Year of Christ 1406.

Genoa had hitherto adhered to the Popes of *Rome*, but being lately gained over to the Popes of *Avignon* by their Archbiſhop *Pileus Marinus*, a Prelate held in great Eſteem for his Sanctity, *Benedict* met there with a moſt honourable Reception from Perſons of all Ranks and Conditions. He had not been long in that City, when he cauſed Application to be made in his Name to *Innocent* for a ſafe Conduct, intending, as he pretended, to ſend Nuncios, as ſoon as it could be procured, to treat of an Accommodation. *Innocent* very unadviſedly refuſed the ſafe Conduct, telling thoſe who applied for it, that he queſtioned whether a true and lawful Pope could with a ſafe Conſcience enter into any Treaty with an Antipope and an Intruder. He added, however, that he was willing to hearken to any Terms that Perſons, upon whoſe Sincerity he could depend, ſhould think fit to propoſe. From his Refuſal of a ſafe Conduct, *Benedict* took Occaſion to repreſent him, in the Letters he wrote to all the Chriſtian Princes, as averſe to an Accommodation, as guilty of a Breach of the ſolemn Oath he had taken at his Election, and to charge the Schiſm wholly upon him. In Anſwer to theſe Letters *Innocent* wrote others, accuſing *Benedict* of Inſincerity, and falſe Dealing, as having nothing in his View in ſetting a Negotiation on Foot, but to amuſe the World, and gain Time. Thus both made it their Study, ſays *de Niem*, to keep, with new Subterfuges and Evaſions, thoſe at a Bay, who ſincerely wiſhed to ſee Peace reſtored to the Church [z]. *Benedict*, after a ſhort Stay in *Genoa*, was obliged, by the Plague that broke out there, to quit that City and return to *Provence*.

Demands a ſafe Conduct of Innocent, *which is denied.*

Ladiſlaus *excommunicated by* Innocent.

At *Rome* the Troops of King *Ladiſlaus*, which *Colonna* had admitted into the City, and the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, ſtill held that Fortreſs, and often ſallying from thence committed great Diſorders in *Rome* and the neighbouring Country. *Innocent* therefore, after repeated Admonitions, thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him, the ſame Sentence that his Predeceſſor *Urban* VI. had iſſued againſt his Father *Charles* of *Durazzo*, declaring him an Enemy to the Church, and depriving him as ſuch of his Kingdom, a Fief of the Apoſtolic See. The King, apprehending that the Friends of his Rival *Lewis* of *Anjou* would take Occaſion from thence to riſe up in Arms againſt him, choſe rather to ſatisfy the Pope, than to have his Kingdom in-

The King ſubmits, and is abſolved.

[z] De Niem, l. 2. c. 18.

volved

volved in a Civil War, and all the Calamities attending it. He ſent accordingly Embaſſadors to *Rome* as ſoon as he heard of the Sentence, with Orders to conclude a Peace with *Innocent* upon his own Terms. A Peace was accordingly concluded upon the following Conditions, that *Ladiſlaus* ſhould promiſe ſteadily to adhere to *Innocent* as lawful Pontiff, and aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his Power when required; that the Caſtle of *St. Angelo* ſhould be immediately evacuated and delivered up to the Pope; that the King ſhould publicly own himſelf a Vaſſal of the Church, and as ſuch take an Oath of Allegiance to *Innocent*, and his Succeſſors lawfully elected; that he ſhould promiſe never to make War upon the Vaſſals or Friends of the Church, ſhould forgive and receive into Favour ſuch of his Subjects as had borne Arms againſt him, and repair all Damages done by him or his Men to the Churches and other holy Places. On the other hand, *Innocent* was to recall and receive into Favour ſuch of the *Roman* Nobility as had joined the King in his Attempt upon *Rome*, and on that Account had been driven out of the City, to abſolve him from the Excommunication which he had incurred, to revoke the Sentence iſſued by *Urban* VI. againſt his Father *Charles* of *Durazzo*, and to reinſtate him *(Ladiſlaus)* in the Government of *Campania*, which he had granted him in the Firſt Year of his Pontificate for the Term of Three Years. Theſe Articles being agreed to, *Innocent* not only repealed the Excommunication againſt the King, but appointed him Defender and Standard-Bearer of the Church [a].

Year of Chriſt 1406.

The French *withdraw anew from the Obedience of* Benedict.

In the mean time *Benedict*, finding, on his Return to *France*, the King as eagerly bent as ever upon the Way of Ceſſion, ſent Cardinal *de Chalant*, a Man of great Eloquence and Addreſs, to aſſure him that he was ready to reſign, provided the Princes under the Obedience of his Competitor prevailed upon him in like Manner to reſign, or promiſed to withdraw from his Obedience if he did not. The Cardinal enlarged upon the ſincere Deſire his Maſter had of ſeeing Peace and Unity reſtored to the Church, alleging as an Inſtance of it his late Journey to *Italy*; inveighed with great Bitterneſs againſt *Innocent* for refuſing a ſafe Conduct to the Nuncios of *Benedict*, and left the King and his Council to judge upon which of the Two the Continuance of the Schiſm was to be charged, upon his Maſter, who undertook a

[a] Aretin. et de Niem, ubi ſupra, et apud Raynald. ad ann. 1406. num. 7.

Year of Chriſt 1406.

Journey to *Italy* with no other View but to treat of an Accommodation with his Adverſary, or upon his Adverſary, who would hearken to no Treaty? The Affair was referred by the King to the Prelates of the Kingdom, and by them it was determined, that as *Benedict* had promiſed to reſign when they returned under his Obedience, if that ſhould be thought neceſſary or expedient, they ought to withdraw anew from his Obedience if he did not perform, without any Shifts or Subterfuges, what he had promiſed. As for the Intruder, meaning *Innocent*, they left thoſe to deal with him who acknowleged him for lawful Pope, not doubting but if *Benedict* reſigned, they would oblige their Pope, for the Sake of Peace, to follow his Example. The Univerſity of *Toulouſe* had publiſhed a Writing againſt the Way of Ceſſion, which was read in the preſent Aſſembly, and being referred by the King to the Parliament of *Paris*, it was by their Order publicly torn in Pieces. The Way of Ceſſion being both by the Parliament and the Members of the Aſſembly thus declared the moſt effectual and expeditious Method of reſtoring Peace, the King by an Edict, dated the 18th of *February* 1407, ordered his Subjects to withdraw anew from the Obedience of *Benedict*, and at the ſame time forbad them to receive any Benefices at his Hands, or to pay any Thing into the Apoſtolic Chamber, flattering himſelf that his Neceſſities would in the End oblige him to ſubmit, and reſign a Dignity which he could not ſupport. On the 11th of *November* of the ſame Year the *French* Biſhops met again, and it was reſolved that the King ſhould be applied to, and deſired, in the Name of the whole Body of the Clergy, to procure the Aſſembling of a General Council for the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members [b].

Innocent *dies*.

In the mean time *Innocent* died at *Rome* in the Sixty-ſeventh or Sixty-eighth Year of his Age, having held the See from the 17th of *October* 1404, the Day of his Election, to the 6th of *November* 1406, the Day of his Death. As he died ſuddenly of an Apoplexy, it was reported, and believed by many, that Poiſon had been adminiſtered to him by ſome of his own Court. That Report *Leonardo* of *Arezzo* confutes in a Letter to *Francis*, Lord of *Cortona*, as entirely groundleſs: "I am not at all ſurprized," ſays *Leonardo* in his Letter, "that

[b] Bochel. l. 4. tit. 21. c. 3. Juvenalis Urſin. in Carol. VI. p. 222. Niem, l. 2. c. 39. Vide Spondan. ad ann. 1406.

"the

Year of Chriſt 1406.

" the Report concerning the Death of *Innocent* ſhould have reached " you, ſince various Conjectures and Suſpicions have been whiſpered " about even here in the very Houſe where he died. As this Court " is full of ill-deſigning People, they are but too apt to ſuſpect Crimes " in others, which they themſelves would not ſcruple to commit; " and ſome there are who, out of Love for Calumny, take Delight " in ſpreading Reports, which they themſelves do not credit. As for " myſelf, ſo far as I can judge as an Eye-Witneſs, I can by no Means " doubt of his dying a natural Death. Who can think otherwiſe of " a Man of Seventy Years of Age, and a broken Conſtitution? He " was ſubject to the Gout, had been long liable to violent Pains in " his Side. He had had, to my Knowlege, Two Fits of Apoplexy, " a ſlight one at *Viterbo*, and another at *Rome* ſo violent while he " was giving public Audience, that had we not haſtened to his Aſ- " ſiſtance, and ſupported him, he would have fallen from his Chair " with his Head foremoſt. We carried him half dead to his Bed; " and his Tongue was ſo embarraſſed, that he could not articulate a " ſingle Word, *&c.* Four Days before his Death I introduced to " him the *Florentine* Embaſſadors ſent to acquaint him with the Re- " duction of *Piſa*. At their Coming into his Bed-Chamber he put " out his Foot from under the Coverings of the Bed, and offered it " to them to kiſs, received them with ſo much good Humour, and " heard them with ſo much Patience, that one would have thought " he laboured under no Complaint. He died in the *Vatican* Palace, " and was buried in *St. Peter*'s [c]." *Innocent* is blamed even by thoſe, who commend him the moſt, on Account of his Nepotiſm, or the immoderate Affection he bore to his Nephews and Relations, heaping immenſe Wealth upon them, and preferring them, though not ſo deſerving as many others, to the higheſt Poſts both in State and Church. He is ſaid indeed to have reprimanded his Nephew *Lewis Megliorati* for the Maſſacre ſpoken of above; but it does not appear that he ever inflicted any Puniſhment upon him for ſo enormous a Crime, though it deſerved the ſevereſt. To conclude, *Innocent* for all his good Qualities ſhewed himſelf as little inclined to the Way of Ceſſion as his Competitor, though he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn Oath to embrace it, ſhould it be judged neceſſary or expedient.

[c] Aretin. in Hiſt. ſui temporis.

Year of Chriſt 1406.

No Writings of *Innocent* have reached our Times, beſides a Diſcourſe upon *Church Union*, and ſome Letters.

MAN. PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the Eaſt.* **GREGORY XII.** RUPERT of *Bavaria*, *Emperor of the Weſt.*

The Two-Hundredth and Second BISHOP *of* Rome.

Election of Gregory XII.

UPON the ſudden Death of *Innocent*, his Cardinals, then preſent at *Rome*, and in all Fourteen, were greatly at a Loſs whether they ſhould immediately proceed to a new Election, or ſuſpend it for ſome Time, ſeeing the Antipope had promiſed to reſign upon the Death of *Innocent*, provided his Cardinals elected no other in his Room. But the Cardinals knowing that Promiſe to have been extorted from him by the *French* King much againſt his Will, and conſequently not to be relied on, and at the ſame time apprehending that, if the Election were delayed, great Commotions would thereupon enſue in the City, it was by them unanimouſly reſolved that the See ſhould be filled as ſoon as poſſible, but that the Perſon elected ſhould bind himſelf in the moſt ſolemn Manner to quit his new Dignity, if the Antipope quitted his. Purſuant to this Reſolution the Fourteen Cardinals entered into the Conclave on the 18th of *November*, and on the 23d of the ſame Month each of them promiſed, ſwore, and vowed, and gave it in Writing, that ſhould he be elected he would lay down the Dignity, if his Competitor did ſo too; that he would acquaint him by Letters with the Promiſe he had made, and exhort him to follow his Example; that he would procure Unity *by all Means* without Fraud or Deceit, and would notify this his Promiſe, Oath, and Vow to all the Chriſtian Kings and Princes, as ſoon as he conveniently could, that they might be Witneſſes of the Obligation, which he had voluntarily laid upon himſelf. Thus *Leonardo* of *Arezzo* and *de Niem*, who were both at this Time in *Rome* [d]. The Cardinals, having all taken this Oath upon the Holy Goſpels without any Limitation or Reſtriction whatever, proceeded immediately to the Election, and on the 2d of *December* choſe with one Conſent *Angelus Corarius*, Cardinal

[d] Aretin. in Hiſt. ſui temp. et Epiſt. l. 2. Epiſt. 3. de Niem. de Schiſ. l. 3. c. 1.

Preſbyter

Preſbyter of *St. Mark*, who was crowned on the 19th of the ſame Month, and on that Occaſion took the Name of *Gregory* XII. Year of Chriſt 1406.

His Birth, Education, Employments, &c.

Gregory was a Native of *Venice*, deſcended from a noble and ancient Family of that City. *Urban* VI. preferred him to that Biſhopric, *Boniface* IX. made him titular Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and his immediate Predeceſſor *Innocent* VII. raiſed him to the Dignity of Cardinal. He was not a Man of very ſhining Parts, but of the ſtricteſt Probity; and being greatly advanced in Years, the Cardinals thought that he would rather chuſe to reſign his Dignity, than to hold it, during the ſhort Remainder of his Life, by a Breach of his Oath. He, at firſt, fully anſwered the public Expectation. For he not only renewed and confirmed after his Election the Oath he had taken in the Conclave, but declared over and over again that he was ready to treat with his Competitor about an Union; that what Place ſoever ſhould be appointed for that Purpoſe, he would immediately repair to it, how diſtant ſoever it might be from *Rome*; that were he to go to it by Sea, and could neither be ſupplied with Gallies nor other Veſſels, he would be conveyed to it in a Boat, and were he to go by Land, and wanted Horſes, he would travel to it on Foot, ſupported only by his Staff [e]. At the ſame time he wrote to his Rival *Benedict*, to acquaint him with his Promotion as well as with the Oath he had taken, and let him know that he was ready to lay down his Dignity the Moment he agreed to lay down his, that the See being thus become vacant, the Cardinals of both Parties might meet and chuſe a Third Perſon, whoſe Election would admit of no Diſpute. *Gregory* wrote Letters to the ſame Purpoſe to all Kings, Princes, Republics and Univerſities, expreſſing in them a ſincere Deſire of reſtoring Peace and Unity even at the Expence of his Dignity. Thus *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, who was *Gregory*'s Secretary, and penned, as he informs us, thoſe very Letters [f]. *Benedict* received at *Marſeilles* the Letter directed to him, and immediately anſwered it, congratulating his Competitor upon his good Intentions towards an Union, and aſſuring him that he was ready to concur in all Meaſures to procure it, and to meet him for that Purpoſe at what Time and what Place both Parties ſhould judge the moſt proper. The Direction of *Gregory*'s Letter was, *Gregory, Servant of the Servants of God, to* Peter de Luna, *whom ſome Nations*

Deſirous of putting an End to the Schiſm.

Writes to his Competitor,

who anſwers his Letter.

Year of Chriſt 1407.

[e] Aretin. et Niem, ubi ſupra. [f] Aretin. ubi ſupra, et apud Raynald. num. 14.

call

Year of Chriſt 1407.

call in this deplorable Schiſm Benedict XIII. *wiſhing him the Love of Peace and Unity*; and the Direction of *Benedict*'s, Benedict *Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, to* Angelus *called* Corarius, *whom ſome, adhering to him in this pernicious Schiſm, ſtile* Gregory, *wiſhing him the Love and Effects of true Peace and Unity* g.

The Two Popes agree to meet at Savona.

Gregory, upon the Receipt of *Benedict*'s Letter, ſent his Nephew *Antony de Mota*, Biſhop of *Bologna*, *Guillinus*, Biſhop of *Todi*, his Treaſurer, and *Antony de Brutio*, Doctor of Civil and Canon Law in *Bologna*, with the Character of his Legates to ſettle the Place and Time of the Congreſs, which they had both agreed to. The Legates met with a very favourable Reception from *Benedict*, and all Difficulties being removed, it was agreed that the Two Competitors and their Cardinals ſhould meet at *Savona*, a ſmall Town on the Coaſt of *Genoa*, at next *Michaelmas*, the 29th of *September*, or at *Martlemas*, the 11th of *November*, in caſe *Gregory* could not be ſupplied with Gallies to convey him thither before that Time; if he had not even then got together the neceſſary Shipping, the Congreſs was to be put off till *All Saints* Day, the 1ſt of *November* h.

Benedict *declines conſenting to the Way of Ceſſion.*

As *Gregory* had declared in all his Letters that he was ready to reſign, provided his Competitor did ſo too; the *French* King, to obtain the like Declaration from *Benedict*, ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to him, conſiſting of Two Archbiſhops, Five Biſhops, Five Abbots, Two Secular Lords, and Twenty Doctors, with *Simon de Cramaud*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, at their Head. Theſe were enjoined to inſiſt upon *Benedict*'s declaring, in plain Terms, and without any Ambiguity, that he agreed to the Way of Ceſſion, and would reſign at the ſame time that his Competitor reſigned. If they could not extort from him ſuch a Declaration, they were ordered to let him know, that the King would look upon him as the Author of the Schiſm, and withdraw with his whole Kingdom from his Obedience. The Embaſſadors met with a very favourable Reception from *Benedict*, but could obtain no poſitive and direct Anſwer with Reſpect to his Reſignation. His only Reply was, that he had the Unity of the Church as much at Heart as their Maſter, and that if a Peace was not concluded they ſhould have no Reaſon to complain of him, or to charge the Continuance of the Schiſm to his Account.

g Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1407. num. 1 et 2.

h De Niem in Nemore, c. 10. et apud Raynald. num. 4.

With

With this Anſwer ſome of the Embaſſadors returned to the King, while the Reſt with the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* repaired, purſuant to their Inſtructions, to *Rome* to attend *Gregory* to the Place of the Conference. They arrived at *Rome* in the Beginning of *July*, and being admitted, as ſoon as they arrived, to the Pope, they found him, to their great Surprize, entirely averſe to the intended Interview, though every Thing relating to it had been ſettled not long before by his Legates with his Approbation and Conſent. As the whole State of *Genoa* was then under the Dominion of *France*, where *Benedict* was acknowleged, he excepted on that Account againſt *Savona*, and when the Embaſſadors to remove that Exception offered him a ſafe Conduct both from the King and the *Gallican* Church, he had Recourſe to the Plea of Poverty, pretending not to have wherewithal to defray the Expences of the Journey. But the Embaſſadors, to leave him no Colour or Pretence for declining the Interview, took upon them to promiſe in their Maſter's Name, that out of his great Zeal for the Unity of the Church he would bear all the Charges of his Journey from *Rome* to *Savona*, and from *Savona* back to *Rome*. *Gregory* was ſome Time at a Loſs how to elude that Offer, but at laſt to gain Time he told them, that it was not fit he ſhould enter into any Engagement whatever, or think of reſigning without firſt acquainting therewith the Princes of his Obedience, and obtaining their Conſent [i]. Thus *Gregory*, who *was ready to treat with his Competitor about an Union in any Place whatever, how diſtant ſoever from* Rome, *and to repair to it by Land on Foot if Horſes were wanting, or by Sea in a Boat if he could not be ſupplied with Gallies.* It grieved all, who knew *Gregory*, ſays here *de Niem*, to ſee a Man, who had lived to the Age of Fourſcore with an untainted Character, thus ſacrificing his Reputation as well as his Conſcience to an unſeaſonable Ambition, and recurring, without Shame or Remorſe, to the moſt pitiful Shifts and Subterfuges to hold a Dignity, which he had bound himſelf by the moſt ſolemn Oaths to reſign. This Conduct, ſo contrary to all his Declarations, was entirely owing, if his Secretary *Leonardo* of *Arezzo* may be credited, to his Nephew and Relations, who had a great Influence over him, and left nothing unattempted to divert him from parting with the Power of aggrandizing and enriching them [k].

Year of Chriſt 1407.

Gregory *declines the intended Interview.*

[i] De Niem, ubi ſupra, et Aretin. l. 2. Epiſt. 7.

[k] Aretin, l. 2. Epiſt. 7.

Year of Chriſt 1407.

Various Shifts uſed by Gregory *to avoid it.*

Benedict was no leſs averſe to the propoſed Interview than *Gregory*, and no leſs determined to retain at all Events his Dignity. However, he was no ſooner informed that his Competitor had changed his Mind, and declined meeting him, than he flew to *Savona*, the Place where they had agreed to meet, and wrote from thence to all the Princes of his Obedience to let them know that he was ready to treat with his Competitor about an Union, and was come with that View to the Place, which his Competitor himſelf had choſen for that Purpoſe. But *Gregory*, though moſt earneſtly intreated by all his Cardinals to repair to the ſame Place, could not be prevailed upon to ſtir from *Rome* till the Commotions raiſed there by the Friends of King *Ladiſlaus* obliged him to quit that City; and he then retired firſt to *Viterbo*, and ſoon after to *Siena*. As he ſeemed to have laid aſide all Thoughts of meeting his Adverſary, his Cardinals began, during his Stay in the laſt-mentioned City, to importune him anew to repair, without further Delay, to the Place of the Congreſs, urging that, if he declined it, the World would charge, and not without Reaſon, the Continuance of the Schiſm upon him. *Gregory*, finding himſelf thus preſſed not only by the Cardinals, but by moſt of the Cities of *Italy*, to fulfil his Engagements, in order to redeem himſelf from their Importunities, offered, in a Conſiſtory called for that Purpoſe, to reſign his Dignity upon certain Conditions without going to *Savona*, where, he ſaid, he could not avoid, without a Miracle, the Snares, which he had certain Intelligence his Enemies had laid for him. The Conditions he required were, that he ſhould be reſtored to the Patriarchate of *Conſtantinople*, which he had given up upon his Promotion, and ſhould be allowed to hold ſome Benefices which he was poſſeſſed of in the State of *Venice*; that to them ſhould be added the Archbiſhopric of *York*, or the Biſhopric of *Oxford*, which were both ſaid to be vacant, and that ſome Territories or Lordſhips, belonging to the *Roman* Church, which he ſpecified, ſhould be granted to his Three Nephews *Mark*, *Francis*, and *Paul*, to be held by them and their Heirs for ever. Theſe were pretty extraordinary Demands, and yet when the Cardinals had agreed to them contrary to his Expectation, *Gregory* ſtill put off his Reſignation till a Promiſe in Writing was obtained from his Competitor of reſigning at the Time he ſhould reſign,

ſince

since Peace, he said, could only be restored by the Abdication or Cession of both [l].

Year of Christ 1407.

In the mean time *Benedict*, having waited at *Savona* for the Arrival of *Gregory* till *All Saints Day*, the last Term fixed for their Meeting, went from thence in the Beginning of *January* 1408 on board the Gallies of *Genoa* to *Porto Venere*, in order to be nearer at hand, as he gave out, to treat with *Gregory*. On the other hand *Gregory*, hearing of his Arrival at that Place, left *Siena* in the latter End of *January*, and removed to *Lucca*, less distant from *Porto Venere*. During their Stay in those Two Places many Letters and Embassies passed between them, and Nuncios were daily sent from the one to the other, both pretending great Zeal for the Unity of the Church, while both were equally averse to the Means of procuring it. The anonymous Writer of *Bourdeaux*, who was at this Time with *Gregory*, tells us, that *Benedict* having sent the Two Archbishops of *Rouen* and *Taracon* to propose a Congress between the contending Parties, and settle the Place of their Meeting, some in the Retinue of the latter privately dissuaded *Gregory* from hearkening to any Proposals of that Nature, telling him, that he had better share the Popedom with another than be no Pope [m]. Indeed that both thought so and meant no more than to impose upon the World is but too plain from their whole Conduct. *Benedict* had been always looked upon as a cunning, artful, and deceitful Man, whereas *Gregory* had been universally held in the greatest Esteem, not only for his exemplary Piety, but for the strictest Honour and Honesty, having never been known, says his Secretary *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, to have failed of his Word till he was Pope, but with his Condition he seemed to have changed his Nature, recurring to the most pitiful Shifts to elude the most solemn Engagements, and sticking at nothing to hold a Dignity which he had bound himself by the most awful Oaths to resign [n].

Both equally averse to an Union.

One of the Oaths, taken by all the Cardinals and by each of them in particular at his entering into the Conclave, was, that should he be elected he would create no new Cardinals till an Union was concluded, or nothing had been left unattempted on his Side to conclude it. This Oath *Gregory* took before he was elected, and confirmed it in the first

Gregory *creates Four new Cardinals.*

Year of Christ 1408.

[l] De Niem in Nemore Unionis, tract. 6. c. 31. & de Schism. c. 20. [m] Apud Spond. ad ann. 1408. num. 5. [n] Aretin. l. 2. epist. 7.

Year of Chriſt 1408.

Conſiſtory he held after his Election. However on the 9th of *May* of the preſent Year 1408, when he had not yet taken a ſingle Step towards an Union, but on the contrary excepted againſt every Meaſure tending to promote it, he made a Promotion of Four Cardinals. Theſe were *James* of *Udine*, *John Dominici*, a preaching Friar, Archbiſhop of *Raguſa*, *Anthony Corarius*, Biſhop of *Bologna*, his Brother's Son, and *Gabriel Condulmerius*, his Siſter's Son, who was afterwards raiſed to the Pontificate under the Name of *Eugene* IV. None of the old Cardinals would aſſiſt, though invited by *Gregory*, at their Promotion, leſt they ſhould ſeem to countenance ſo notorious a Breach of his Oath. But *Gregory*, as regardleſs of their Remonſtrances as of his own Oath, promoted them nevertheleſs in a Conſiſtory only compoſed of the Auditors of the Rota and a few Biſhops.

Is forſaken by his Cardinals.

The Cardinals, provoked beyond Meaſure at the Conduct of *Gregory*, after various Conſultations among themſelves reſolved in the End to abandon him, and, leaving him at *Lucca* with his new Cardinals, to retire to ſome other Place. Of this their Deſign *Gregory* was privately informed, and to prevent their carrying it into Execution he forbad them on Pain of forfeiting their Dignity, of Degradation, and other Penalties, to depart without his Leave from *Lucca*, to hold any Conſultations among themſelves, with thoſe of the oppoſite Party, or with the Embaſſadors of the King of *France*, and the Univerſity of *Paris*. But notwithſtanding this Prohibition Cardinal *John Ægidius*, a Man of a moſt unſpotted Character, finding *Gregory* obſtinately bent againſt a Reſignation, and hearkening to none but his Relations, ſecretly withdrew in the Night from *Lucca* to *Piſa*, and was followed the very next Day by moſt of the other Cardinals. Of the whole Conduct of *Gregory* from the Time he left *Rome* to the Flight of the Cardinals we have a very particular and curious Account in the following Letter from *Leonardo* of *Arezzio*, who was upon the Spot, to a Friend of his, named *Petrillus*, who had quitted the Court and retired to *Naples*. " We " have both long foreſeen," ſays that Writer in his Letter, " that the " Clouds, which were daily gathering, would produce in the End a " terrible Storm; and what we have foreſeen has happened at laſt. " The Cardinals, highly diſſatisfied with the Conduct of the Pope, " have loſt all Patience and forſaken him. I commend your Prudence " in not waiting till the Storm overtook you, but retiring to *Naples* to

" avoid

Year of Chriſt 1408

" avoid it. I wiſh I had done ſo too. But I muſt inform you of what
" has happened ſince your Departure. The Pope leaving *Rome* retired
" to *Siena*, and though the Time approached when he was by Agree-
" ment to meet his Competitor at *Savona*, he ſeemed, to the great Scandal
" of all good Men, to think of nothing leſs than to make good his
" Engagements. His Competitor repaired to the appointed Place in
" due Time, and from thence inſulted and reproached him in the
" moſt bitter Terms with his Backwardneſs. O Shame! O Grief!
" We have voluntarily, and upon the moſt mature Deliberation, fixed
" the Time and the Place to treat of an Union, and yet we decline it!
" At ſuch a Conduct I am doubly grieved, as a Chriſtian and as an
" *Italian*. It grieves me as a Chriſtian to ſee the Hopes of a ſpeedy
" Union amongſt all Chriſtians thus ſuddenly vaniſh. I am concerned
" as an *Italian* to find, that my Countrymen are, for the Conduct of
" One, generally looked upon as Men deſtitute of all Honour and
" Honeſty. In ſpeaking thus you will own, that I ſhew myſelf more
" jealous of the Honour of the Pope than they, who by Flattery divert
" him from a Deſign that would acquire him immortal Glory. But to
" return to my Subject, *Gregory* being now univerſally looked upon as
" the Author of the Schiſm on Account of his declining to meet his
" Competitor, and treat in Perſon with him about the Means of re-
" ſtoring Tranquillity, he made a new Propoſal, which was, that he
" ſhould repair to *Lucca* and his Competitor to *Porto Venere*, in order
" to be nearer at hand to confer with one another. *Gregory* therefore
" leaving *Siena* haſtened to *Lucca*, and *Benedict* to *Porto Venere*; and
" being now at no great Diſtance, Letters and Embaſſies paſſed daily
" between them. Both pretended to have nothing ſo much at heart
" as the Unity of the Church, but both were equally averſe to the
" Means of procuring it. They pretended to be deſirous of conferring
" in Perſon, but no Place could be found that the one or the other did
" not object to. *Gregory* excepted againſt all maritime Places, and
" *Benedict* againſt all at a Diſtance from the Sea. You would have
" thought the one a terreſtrial Animal that hated the Water, and the
" other an Aquatic that dreaded the dry Land. This Conduct gave great
" Offence to all ſenſible and well-meaning Men, who could not but ſee
" that their Fears were affected, and Dangers were pretended where
" there was nothing to fear. All loudly complained of ſo palpable

Year of Chriſt 1408.

" and criminal a Colluſion: And how ſhocking was it to ſee Two
" Men, both at the Age of Seventy and upwards, ſacrificing their Re-
" putation, their Conſcience, and the Peace of the Church to their
" Ambition, to the Deſire of reigning but a few Days. As for myſelf,
" I verily believe, that *Gregory* meant well, but was ill adviſed. But,
" behold! a new Storm unexpectedly ariſes. *Gregory* reſolves to
" create new Cardinals, able to ſupport him againſt the old ones, and
" calls with that View a Conſiſtory, commanding all the Cardinals to
" attend. Such a Command alarmed the whole College, ſome ſu-
" ſpecting one Thing and others another. When they were all met
" the Pope comes out of his Chamber, places himſelf in his Throne,
" and after a ſhort Silence addreſſes them thus: *As there is no depend-*
" *ing upon you, I have reſolved to provide the Church with new Cardinals.*
" So manifeſt a Breach of the moſt ſolemn Oath alarmed all the old
" Cardinals, and they left nothing unattempted to divert him from it.
" I myſelf ſaw Cardinal *Colonna* intreating him on his Knees with
" Tears in his Eyes to forbear, or, at leaſt, to ſuſpend for a while the
" Execution of a Deſign ſo prejudicial to his Reputation and Credit.
" But his Obſtinacy was Proof againſt all Remonſtrances. At the
" breaking up of the Conſiſtory the Pope forbad the Cardinals to hold
" any Aſſemblies among themſelves, or to depart from *Lucca* without
" his Leave. But, notwithſtanding this Prohibition, Cardinal *Ægidius*
" privately withdrew from *Lucca*; which the Pope was no ſooner in-
" formed of than he diſpatched ſome of his Men on Horſe-back after
" him, with Orders to bring him back by Force. They overtook him
" at a little Town under the Dominion of the *Florentines*; but in at-
" tempting to ſeize him they were oppoſed by the Garriſon of the Place,
" not without ſome Bloodſhed on both Sides. Upon their Return to
" *Lucca* the Governor ordered them to be all put under an Arreſt for
" committing Hoſtilities in the Territories of *Florence*. The Pope,
" unwilling to diſoblige the *Florentines*, appointed *Marcellus Strozzi*
" and me to excuſe to the Republic, in his Name, the Violence com-
" mitted by his Men in their Territories. But while we were receiving
" our Inſtructions News was brought, that the reſt of the Cardinals,
" not thinking themſelves ſafe at *Lucca*, had fled from thence to *Piſa*.
" Upon that unexpected Intelligence the Pope diſmiſſed us, in order to
" deliberate about other Meaſures. As the Pope's Men had been all
" arreſted,

" arreſted, the Cardinals laid hold of that Opportunity to make their " Eſcape, and they all got ſafe to *Piſa*. Upon their Flight the Pope " created Four new Ones [o]". Year of Chriſt 1408.

The Cardinals, in all Seven, the very next Day after their Arrival at *Piſa*, the 13th of *May*, publiſhed a Manifeſto in Juſtification of their Conduct, and at the ſame time an Appeal from *Gregory* miſinformed and acting contrary to Reaſon, to *Gregory* better informed and acting agreeably to Reaſon, from *Gregory* as the Vicar of Chriſt, to Chriſt himſelf, who is to judge the Quick and the Dead and the World by Fire, to a General Council, in which and by which the Actions of the High Pontiffs themſelves are judged, and approved or condemned, and to the future Pope, it being the Duty of every new Pope to correct what has been done by his Predeceſſor amiſs. In their Manifeſto they ſhewed the Unreaſonableneſs of the Three Commands he had laid upon them not to depart from *Lucca* without his Permiſſion, not to hold any Aſſemblies among themſelves, nor treat with the Embaſſadors of his Competitor, or with thoſe of *France*. Againſt the Firſt they urged the Danger, to which they would have expoſed themſelves by remaining at *Lucca*, having been informed by Perſons worthy of Credit that his Holineſs deſigned to confine them, nay and that ſome of them were to be put to Death by his Order, had they remained but One Day longer at *Lucca*, which, they ſaid, they had Reaſon to believe, it being well known that they who were ſent after Cardinal *Ægidius* had private Orders to kill him, if he refuſed to return, or they were by any unforeſeen Obſtacle prevented from bringing him back. The Second Prohibition, not to meet and conſult among themſelves about the proper Means of reſtoring Tranquillity, they ſhewed to be inconſiſtent with their Duty as Cardinals of the Holy *Roman* Church, it being incumbent upon them, as ſuch, to meet and deliberate about all Matters relating to the Faith, eſpecially to the Schiſms and Hereſies that might ſpring up in the Church. The Third Prohibition, not to treat with the Nuncios of his Competitor or with the Embaſſadors of *France*, was, they ſaid, evidently repugnant to the Oath which they had all taken, to omit nothing in their Power that was any-ways conducive to the Unity and Peace of the Church, which it was impoſſible to procure without treating and conferring with the adverſe Party. Upon the whole, they concluded thoſe Prohibitions to be no-ways binding, but in themſelves null, and *The Cardinals appeal from* Gregory.

[o] Aretin. lib. 2. ep. 28.

cloſed

Year of Chriſt 1408.

cloſed their Appeal with intreating his Holineſs, as he tendered the Good of the Church and his own Reputation, to revoke them. This Appeal the Cardinals publiſhed in *Piſa*; and it was preſented to the Pope, we are not told by whom, in a full Conſiſtory, while he was delivering to the new Cardinals their Rings and the other Badges of their Dignity. *Gregory* in peruſing it ſaid no more than that it was not worthy of his Notice. But the next Day his Nephew, Cardinal *Antony Corarius*, Chamberlain and Judge in Ordinary of the Apoſtolic See, declared the Cardinals, and thoſe who had fled with them, deprived of all their Benefices, and of all Places of Honour or Profit [p].

And ſend Copies of their Appeal to all the Princes.

The Cardinals ſent Copies of their Appeal to all the Chriſtian Princes, and cauſed them to be diſperſed all over *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, the *Empire*, and *England*, repreſenting, in the Letters they wrote on that Occaſion, both Popes as equally averſe to an Union, as daily inventing new Pretences to impoſe upon the World, and ſtarting new Difficulties againſt the only Means of redeeming the Church from its preſent unhappy Situation. They therefore exhort the Princes as well as the Prelates of the Church to withdraw from the Obedience of both, to appeal to a General Council or to the future Pope, and in the mean time to proteſt againſt the Bulls, Monitories, and Ordinances, that either might iſſue [q].

Benedict *excommunicates all who withdraw from his Obedience.*

In *France* the King had already determined, with the Advice of his Council, of the Biſhops, and the Univerſity of *Paris*, to renounce, with his whole Kingdom, all Obedience to *Benedict*, and embrace a Neutrality, that is, to pay no Obedience to the one or the other, if by the Feaſt of the *Aſcenſion*, which in 1408 fell on the 14th of *May*, an End was not put to the Schiſm, and Tranquillity reſtored to the Church. This Determination the King cauſed to be immediately notified in due Form to *Benedict*, by *John de Chateaumomorant* and *John de Tourſay*, whom he ſent for that Purpoſe with the Character of his Embaſſadors to *Porto Venere*. *Benedict* returned no other Anſwer to the Embaſſadors, than that he would write to the King and ſend his Letters by his own Meſſengers. He accordingly diſpatched a few Days after Two Meſſengers with a Bull, dated the 19th of *May* of the preceding Year, by which all who ſhould withdraw from the Obedience of the *Roman*

[p] Niem de Nemore Unionis, tract. 6. c. 10. & de Schiſ. l. 3. c. 32. [q] Idem ibid.

Pontiff, by what Dignity ſoever diſtinguiſhed, were declared excommunicated if they did not return in the Term of Twenty Days under his Obedience. To that Bull *Benedict* added a Brief, forbidding, on Pain of Excommunication, any who had ever acknowleged him to withdraw their Obedience from him, and anathematizing all who ſhould countenance, or promote, or approve a Neutrality. He was well apprized that the Bull as well as the Brief would highly provoke both the King and his Council, and therefore ordered his Meſſengers to withdraw as ſoon as they had delivered them, and make the beſt of their Way out of the Kingdom. The King cauſed both Pieces to be read in a full Council, at which were preſent all the Princes of the Blood, moſt of the Biſhops, and ſeveral Members of the Univerſity, and it was by all agreed, that the Bull and the Brief ſhould be publicly torn, as highly derogatory to the Royal Prerogative, as tending to eſtrange the Minds of the Subjects from their lawful Sovereign, and to raiſe Diſturbances in the Kingdom. They were accordingly torn in Pieces the next Day in the Council; and Meſſengers being diſpatched after thoſe who had brought them, they were both apprehended and conducted under a ſtrong Guard to *Paris*. Being there convicted of bringing ſeditious Papers into the Kingdom, they were cooveyed in a Dung-cart from the Priſon to the Square before the Royal Palace in Black Tunics, with Paper Mitres on their Heads. Upon their Tunics were painted the Arms of *Benedict* reverſed, with a Placard affixed to them, importing, that they were Impoſtors and Traitors, ſent into the Kingdom by a Traitor. When they had been thus twice expoſed to the Inſults and Fury of the Populace, the one was condemned to perpetual Impriſonment, and the other for Three Years only, it appearing that the one knew what was contained in the Diſpatches they had brought, and that the other, a common Courier, was quite ignorant of the Contents [r]. On that Occaſion a Monk of the Order of the *Trinity* pronounced a Speech fraught with moſt furious Invectives againſt *Benedict*, charging him not only with the Continuance of the Schiſm but with Hereſy and Treaſon.

Year of Chriſt 1408.

His Bull torn in Pieces in France.

What Puniſhment inflicted on the Meſſengers who brought it.

In the mean time the King, paying no Regard to the Menaces of *Benedict*, cauſed the Decree of Neutrality to be publiſhed throughout the Kingdom at the appointed Time, the Day after the Feſtival of

Decree of Neutrality publiſhed in France.

[r] Monachus Dionyſ. lib. 28. c. 7.

the

Year of Christ 1408.

the *Aſcenſion*, that is, on the 25th of *May*. By that Edict all were forbidden, on Pain of incurring the King's high Diſpleaſure, to obey thenceforth either of the Pretenders to the Papal Chair till an End was put, by ſome Means or other, to the preſent Schiſm. This Decree the King cauſed to be communicated by his Embaſſadors to all the Chriſtian Princes; and it was readily received, publiſhed, and ordered to be obſerved by the Kings of *Hungary*, of *Bohemia*, and by moſt of the *German* Princes. At the ſame time the King wrote to the Cardinals of both Parties, exhorting and entreating them, as they tendered the Welfare of the Church and their own Reputation, to join and concur jointly with him in reſtoring the ſo long wiſhed-for Unity without any Regard to the pretended Right of either of the Competitors. In his Letter he charges both Popes with a Breach of the moſt ſolemn Oaths, with privately acting in concert, and impoſing, by a tacit Agreement, upon the Reſt of the World. He tells the Cardinals, that he has left nothing in his Power unattempted to bring the Two Pretenders together, but that they have baffled, by a criminal Colluſion, all his Endeavours, the one objecting to all maritime and the other to all inland Places, as if no Place could be found upon Earth for them to meet in, and conſider of the diſtracted State of the Church. He cloſes his Letter with declaring both Popes unworthy of that Title, and aſſuring the Cardinals of his Protection, and all the Aſſiſtance he has it in his Power to afford them in carrying into Execution the ſalutary Meaſures that they ſhall agree to.

The King writes to the Cardinals of both Parties.

Benedict *retires to* Spain.

Benedict was ſtill at *Porto Venere*, carrying on a mock Treaty of Union with *Gregory*; but being privately informed, that the King had ordered Marſhal *Boucicaut*, Governor of *Genoa*, to arreſt him, if he could by any Means get him into his Power, he embarked in great Haſte on board the Gallies of *Genoa* that attended him, and ſteering for *Spain*, where he thought himſelf ſafe, landed in *Catalonia*, and went to reſide at *Perpignan*, on the Borders of *Narbonne Gaul*. At his Departure from *Porto Venere* he wrote to *Gregory*, who was ſtill at *Lucca*, to let him know, that, being no longer ſafe in the Place where he then was, he was upon the Point of removing from thence to another; but that no Diſtance, however great, ſhould prevent him from completing the Work they had begun, that of reſtoring Peace to the Church. *Benedict*'s Cardinals, who had retired for the Sake of the Air into the Country,

try, and had been long diſſatisfied with his Conduct, finding themſelves abandoned by their Pope, reſolved to abandon him in their Turn. Having accordingly agreed among themſelves to renounce all Obedience to *Benedict*, they reſolved in the next Place to repair to *Leghorn*, whither the Cardinals of *Gregory* had retired, and there to deliberate jointly with them about the moſt effectual Means of obliging both Popes to reſign, as there was no Hopes of their doing it voluntarily, and an End could no otherwiſe be put to the preſent Diviſions. The Cardinals of *Benedict* were received by thoſe of *Gregory* with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Joy; and after ſome Conferences it was agreed by the Cardinals of both Parties, that a General Council ſhould be aſſembled at *Piſa* on the Day of the Annunciation of the Virgin *Mary*, that is, on the 25th of *March*, of the following Year 1409; that the Cardinals of *Gregory*'s Obedience ſhould ſummon to it all who acknowleged *Gregory*, and thoſe of *Benedict*'s Obedience all who had acknowleged *Benedict*; and that the Cardinals of both Parties ſhould make it known to the World, that a perfect Harmony reigned between them, and exhort thoſe, to whom they wrote, to withdraw from the Obedience of both, as the only Means of eſtabliſhing a laſting Peace in the Church [s].

Year of Chriſt 1408.

Is abandoned by his Cardinals;

who join thoſe of Gregory, *and appoint a Council to meet at* Piſa.

This Reſolution was immediately communicated to all the Biſhops and Princes of the one and the other Obedience, and by moſt of them highly applauded, eſpecially by the Kings of *France* and *England*, the Cardinals having ſent One of their own Body to acquaint them with their Deſign of aſſembling a General Council, and to beg they would oblige the Biſhops of their reſpective Kingdoms to aſſiſt at it in Perſon if they conveniently could. Both Princes expreſſed great Satisfaction at the Coalition of the Two Colleges of Cardinals, and aſſured the Legate, that they ſhould cauſe the Decrees iſſued by them or by the General Council, which they intended to aſſemble, to be complied with throughout their Dominions. The Cardinals took Care to invite both Popes to the Council, and to let them know, that if they did not aſſiſt at it, nor ſend proper Perſons to repreſent them, they would proceed againſt them according to the Canons [t].

The Meeting of the Council is approved by the Kings of France *and* England.

[s] Niem in Nemore, c. 13. [t] Concil, tom. 11. p. 2146.

Year of Chriſt 1408.

Benedict *creates new Cardinals*;

Benedict, inſtead of anſwering the Summons of the Cardinals, appointed a Council to meet at *Perpignan* on the 1ſt of *November* of the preſent Year; and in the mean time, to ſupply the Room of the old Cardinals who had left him, he made a Promotion of new Ones; of Five, according to ſome, of Twelve or Sixteen, according to others, who are all named by *de Niem*, *Ciaconius*, and *Onuphrius*; but moſt of them are generally ſuppoſed to have been created afterwards and at different Times.

and aſſembles a Council at Perpignan.

Benedict, attended by his new Cardinals, opened on the 1ſt of *November*, the appointed Time, his Council at *Perpignan*, conſiſting of about 120 Biſhops, from the Kingdoms of *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, and *Navarre*, and ſome even from *France*, though the King had forbidden any of his Subjects to aſſiſt at it, and even placed Guards upon all the public Roads, with Orders to ſtop all Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtics travelling into *Spain* while the Council was ſitting.

What paſſed in that Council.

As the Aſſembly was intirely compoſed of the Biſhops of *Benedict*'s Obedience, his Conduct, as repreſented by him, was univerſally approved, and the Continuance of the Schiſm charged upon *Gregory*. Thus far they were all of one Mind. But in the Sixth Seſſion, held on the 5th of *December*, being deſired by *Benedict* to ſuggeſt what further Meaſures they thought it expedient or neceſſary for him to purſue, in order to put an effectual Stop to the Evils, attending the preſent Diviſion, and re-eſtabliſh Peace and Unity in the Church, great Diſputes aroſe among them. Some were for his reſigning immediately, and ſending Legates to make a Reſignation in due Form in the Preſence of both the Colleges of Cardinals at *Piſa*. Others declared againſt an immediate Reſignation, and, though they approved of that Meaſure, they were nevertheleſs for its being put off till the Antipope, as they ſtiled *Gregory*, had agreed to reſign at the ſame Time. Many other Expedients were propoſed, all as warmly oppoſed by the one Party as ſupported by the other. During theſe Diſputes the Biſhops, finding that nothing was likely to be determined, began daily to retire from the Council and return to their Sees, inſomuch that they were at laſt reduced to Eighteen. Theſe in the Seſſion that was held on the 1ſt of *February* 1409 returned at laſt the following Anſwer to the Queſtion *Benedict* had propoſed in the Sixth Seſſion, That they acknowleged him for lawful Pope, and the only true Vicar of *Chriſt* upon Earth; that they believed him to be no Heretic nor Schiſmatic, nor Favourer of Heretics or Schiſmatics; that

that they returned him their moſt ſincere Thanks for the Steps he had already taken towards an Union, but at the ſame time moſt earneſtly entreated his Holineſs to purſue, in Spite of all Oppoſition, the Work he had begun, to prefer the Way of Ceſſion to all others, to extend the Promiſe he had made to reſign (provided his Competitor reſigned) to the Caſe of his Competitor's being depoſed by thoſe of his own Obedience; to take ſuch Meaſures as ſhould effectually prevent the Continuance of the Schiſm, in caſe he died before the Union was concluded; and, laſtly, to ſend Nuncios to the Cardinals aſſembled at *Piſa*, to let them know, that he agreed to theſe Articles, and was ready to fulfil them. Such was the Anſwer the few Biſhops ſtill remaining at *Perpignan* returned to *Benedict*, deſirous to know what further Meaſures he ſhould purſue to put an End to the Schiſm. He thanked the Biſhops for the Zeal they had ſhewn in his Cauſe, the Cauſe of the Church; and, not ſatisfied with promiſing to comply in every Particular with the Advice they had given him, he cauſed a public Inſtrument to be drawn up, containing that Promiſe, which he ſigned, and cauſed all the Biſhops who were preſent to ſign after him[u]. But it ſoon appeared, that he never intended to obſerve this Promiſe. no more than the Oath he had taken at his Election, which gave great Offence to thoſe Biſhops, and eſtranged the Minds of moſt of them from him.

Year of Chriſt 1409.

On the other Hand, *Gregory*, being ſtill at *Lucca*, appointed a Council to meet about the Feſtival of *Whitſunday*, at ſome Place to be afterwards named, in the Province of *Aquileia* or the Exarchate of *Ravenna*; and by circular Letters, dated the 2d of *July*, invited to it all the Biſhops of his Obedience, in order to deliberate with them about the Means of healing the preſent Diviſions. He removed ſoon after from *Lucca* to *Siena*, and there on the 19th of *September* created Nine new Cardinals, of different Nations, to aſſiſt and ſupport him againſt thoſe lately promoted by his Competitor. From *Siena* he went to *Rimini*, being invited thither by *Charles Malateſta*, Lord of that City, and One of his moſt zealous Friends. During his Stay there he choſe the City of *Udine*, in the Territories of *Venice* and the Dioceſe of *Aquileia*, for the Meeting of his Council; and acquainted therewith the Biſhops of his Obedience by Letters bearing Date the 19th of *December* in the Third

Gregory *appoints a Council to meet at* Udine.

[u] Niem de Schiſ. l. 3. c. 67. Surita Indic. Arragon. l. 3. ad ann. 1408.

Year of Christ 1409. Year of his Pontificate; for he had been crowned on that very Day Two Years before [w].

Council at Pisa. In the mean time the Cardinals of the one and the other Obedience repairing to *Pisa*, the Council, which they had appointed to meet there, was opened in the Cathedral Church of that City on the 25th of *March* 1409. It was not very numerous at first, but the Number of the Fathers increasing daily, there were found to be present after the First Sessions 22 Cardinals, 180 Archbishops and Bishops, 300 Abbots, 282 Doctors in Divinity, the 3 *Latin* Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, and the Embassadors of the Kings of *France*, *England*, *Sicily*, and

First Session. most other Princes. In the First Session, held on the 25th of *March*, the Mass of the Holy Ghost being celebrated with great Solemnity by One of the Cardinals, a Doctor of Divinity laid before them, in a learned Speech, the distracted State of the Church, pointed out the Means of removing the Evils arising from thence,[1] and exhorted the Fathers unanimously to concur in employing them.

Second, Third, and Fourth Sessions. The next Day, the 26th of *March*, Two Cardinals, One Archbishop, and One Bishop, attended by the Advocate for the Council and some Notaries, proceded by Order of the Council to the Church-gate, and there summoned aloud *Peter de Luna* and *Angelus Corarius* to appear. At the same time were summoned the Cardinals *de Flisco*, *de Chalant*, and of *Osimo*, who still remained with *Benedict*, and the Cardinal of *Todi*, who had not yet left *Gregory*. As no-body appeared to answer the Summons, the Deputies of the Council, returning to their Seats, made their Report, and it was thereupon resolved, that the Council should proceed against the Two Pretenders to the Pontificate as well as the Cardinals who still adhered to them, as obstinately refusing to appear when lawfully summoned. However all further Proceedings against them were put off till the next Session, to that which was to be held on the 30th of *March*. In the mean time arrived the Cardinals of *Milan* and *Bar*, who had been sent into *Germany* to invite the Emperor and the *German* Princes to the Council, and brought with them 90 Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Doctors, who had not been

Sentence pronounced against the Two Competitors. present at the preceding Sessions. As in the Fourth Session, on the 30th of *March*, neither of the Competitors had yet appeared, nor any body to represent them, they were declared guilty of disobeying a just

[w] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1408. num. 67.

and

and lawful Summons; and the Sentence was read aloud and ſet up at the Church Door by the Cardinal of *Poitiers* Biſhop of *Paleſtrina*. Year of Chriſt 1409.

The Fifth Seſſion was put off till *Monday* after the Octave of *Eaſter*, that is, till the 15th of *April*, and in the mean time arrived at *Piſa* Embaſſadors from the Emperor *Rupert*, whom they ſtiled King of the *Romans*, as he had not yet been crowned at *Rome*. He ſtill adhered to *Gregory*, had refuſed to renounce his Obedience on account of his having approved of his Election to the Empire and the Depoſition of the Emperor *Winceſlaus*, and had therefore ſent Embaſſadors, *viz.* One Archbiſhop, Two Biſhops, and a Canon of *Spire*, not to aſſiſt, in his Name, at the Council, but to ſtart Difficulties againſt it. Being accordingly introduced to the Council at the Fifth Seſſion, on the 15th of *April*, they deſired to know by whoſe Authority the Council was aſſembled, whether the Cardinals could withdraw from the Obedience of the Pope, could convene a General Council, or ſummon the Pope to it? They aſſured the Fathers, that *Gregory* was ready to aſſiſt at the Council, and make good all his Engagements, provided his Competitor promiſed to do ſo too, and the Council were transferred to ſome other Place. The Fathers deſired the Embaſſadors to produce their Credentials, and deliver in Writing what they had propoſed by Word of Mouth. They complied, not without great Reluctance; but inſtead of waiting for an Anſwer to their Queſtions, which the Council had promiſed to return at the next Seſſion, they left *Piſa*, without taking Leave, and returned to *Germany*, having firſt appealed from that Aſſembly in their Maſter's Name, and declared, that it belonged to him to convene a General Council, and that no General Council could be lawfully aſſembled but by his Authority. The Embaſſadors withdrew from *Piſa* on the 20th of *April*, and the Council meeting on the 24th, it was by the whole Aſſembly unanimouſly declared, that the College of Cardinals had a Power in the preſent critical Juncture to convene a General Council; that a General Council was the Church Univerſal, and could proceed to a definitive Sentence; that the Number of Prelates then preſent was ſufficient to form a General Council; that the City of *Piſa* was as proper a Place as any for them to meet at; and that the Two Pretenders to the Pontificate had been ſufficiently ſummoned to it. The Day after the Departure of the Embaſſadors *Charles Malateſta*, Lord of *Rimini*, where

The Fifth and Sixth Seſſions.

Embaſſadors from the Emperor to the Council.

Gregory

Year of Chriſt 1409.

Gregory ſtill was, came to *Piſa*, to beg the Cardinals would transfer the Council to ſome other Place. But the Four Cardinals, Two of *Benedict*'s Obedience, and Two of *Gregory*'s, appointed by the Council to receive and to hear him, told him, that notwithſtanding the great Regard they had for him, they could not grant to him what, for weighty Reaſons, they had refuſed to the King of the *Romans*.

Seventh Seſſion.

The Seventh Seſſion was held on the 24th of *April*, when the Advocate for the Council read aloud from the Pulpit an Account of the Schiſm from its firſt Riſe up to that Time, of the Meaſures that had been purſued to remove it, and of the Obſtacles they had met with from both Pretenders, chuſing rather to leave the Church involved in the utmoſt Confuſion, than to part with their Dignity. When he had done reading, he addreſſed himſelf to the Fathers of the Council, begging they would cauſe the Facts, which he had alleged, to be inquired into, and, if found to be true, to depoſe both Pretenders as alike guilty, to deprive thoſe, who ſtill adhered to either, of their Offices, Benefices, and Dignities, and abſolve all from their Obedience. In the mean time arrived at *Piſa Simon de Cremaut*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, the Embaſſadors of the Dukes of *Brabant*, of *Holland*, of the City and Church of *Liege*, the Deputies of the Univerſity of *Paris*, and ſoon after them the Embaſſadors of the King of *England*, and thoſe of the Archbiſhops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*.

Eighth Seſſion.

In the Eighth Seſſion, held on the laſt of *April*, the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, *Robert Alan*, One of the Embaſſadors from the King of *England*, *Henry* IV. preached before the Council, taking for his Text the Words of the Eighty-ninth Pſalm, *Righteouſneſs and Mercy are the Habitation of thy Seat*. He exhorted the Fathers to complete the great and neceſſary Work which they had begun, which his Maſter, he ſaid, had above all Things at Heart, and had therefore ſent him and his Colleagues with full Powers to condemn or approve in his Name, and in that of the Clergy of his Kingdom, what ſhould be condemned or approved by ſo venerable an Aſſembly. *Walſingham* adds, in the Life of *Henry* IV. that Embaſſadors were ſent by that Prince to perſuade *Gregory*, if by any Means they could, to ſacrifice his Dignity to the Welfare of the Church, after the Example of the true Mother, who choſe rather to yield her Child to the pretended Mother, than ſuffer it to be divided between them.

The Council met again on the 4th of *May*, when *Peter de Ancharano*, One of the moſt learned Doctors of *Bologna*, riſing up, anſwered the Queſtions that had been propoſed to the Council by the Embaſſadors of *Rupert*, ſtiling him only Duke of *Bavaria*, ſhewed that the Two Pretenders had been ſufficiently ſummoned, and that as neither of them had appeared in Compliance with their repeated Summons, the Council might now proceed againſt them, though abſent. Commiſſioners were accordingly named to hear and examine the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes that were ready to appear, and atteſt the Facts that the Advocate for the Council had alleged againſt both the Competitors. The Commiſſioners were Two Cardinals for the Two Colleges of Cardinals, the Biſhop of *Liſieux*, and Three Doctors for the Kingdom of *France*, for *England* One Doctor, One for *Provence*, and Two for *Germany*. In this Seſſion it was ordained that Deputies ſhould be ſent to appeaſe *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Naples*; but we are not told what had provoked him. He was at this Time moſt zealouſly attached to *Gregory*, and, perhaps, offended at the Proceedings of the Council againſt him. The Tenth Seſſion, on the 8th of *May*, was not held in the Cathedral, but in the Church of *St. Michael*, the Feſtival of his Apparition on Mount *Gargano* being ſolemnized on that Day. In this Seſſion the Patriarch of *Alexandria* undertook to prove, in Anſwer to the Queſtions of the Emperor's Embaſſadors, that, in the preſent diſtracted State of the Church, the Cardinals not only had a Power to aſſemble a General Council, but were bound by their Office to convene one. In a Congregation that was held after the Seſſion, *Nicholas*, Biſhop of *Albano*, told the Fathers that Nuncios from *Peter de Luna* were on the Road, and would, as he was informed, arrivein a ſhort Time at *Piſa*, and he therefore deſired that it might be previouſly ſettled how they ſhould be received, and what Regard ſhould be had to them, or whether any. The Affair was left that Day undetermined, but on the next, the 9th of *May*, the Day of the Eleventh Seſſion, it was determined that the Nuncios ſhould be received without any the leaſt Mark of Diſtinction, but ſhould be civilly treated and heard in full Council.

Year of Chriſt 1409. *The Ninth and Tenth Seſſions.*

In the Eleventh Seſſion the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* obſerved that ſome of *Benedict*'s Cardinals there preſent had not yet renounced his Obedience, whereas all of the oppoſite Party had withdrawn from the Obedience

The Eleventh and Twelfth Seſſions.

Year of Christ 1409.

Obedience of *Gregory*; and he was therefore of Opinion that they ſhould all join and jointly renounce, by a ſolemn Act, all Obedience to both. He was therein ſeconded by the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, by the Biſhop of *Cracow*, Nuncio from the King of *Poland*, and by the Nuncios of *Cologne* and *Mentz*. But the Cardinals, who had not yet withdrawn from the Obedience of *Benedict*, deſired Time to deliberate, which was granted them only till the next Day; when the whole Council, Two Biſhops only excepted, the one an *Engliſhman*, the other a *German*, agreed to the Motion of the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*. A Decree was therefore drawn up and read aloud by the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, importing that the Cardinals, and with them the other Members of the preſent General Council, renounced all Obedience to both the Pretenders to the Pontifical Dignity, as the Authors of the Continuance of the Schiſm, and the inexpreſſible Evils attending it, which they had it in their Power, and were bound by the moſt ſolemn Oaths, to remove.

The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Seſſions.

In the mean time the Witneſſes againſt both being examined by the Commiſſioners, and their Depoſitions laid before the Council, in the following Seſſions, by the Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, with the Name and Character of each Witneſs. As the Facts were all notorious, and, beſides, atteſted by Perſons of unexceptionable Characters, the Advocate for the Council deſired the Fathers would declare them fully proved, and proceed, without further Delay, to the definitive Sentence. The Fathers, however, cauſed the Two Pretenders to be ſummoned anew at the Church-Door, and on the 28th of *May* put off the pronouncing of the definitive Sentence till the 5th of *June*. The next Day *Peter Plaon*, Doctor in Divinity, reputed one of the moſt learned Men in the Univerſity of *Paris*, preaching before the Council, alleged a great many Reaſons to prove the Superiority of the Church, or a General Council, to the Pope, ſhewed the Conduct of *Peter de Luna* to be not only that of an obſtinate Schiſmatic, but an incorrigible Heretic, altogether unworthy of holding any Dignity in the Church, much more the higheſt, and cloſed his Speech with aſſuring the Fathers, that ſuch was the Opinion not only of the Univerſity of *Paris*, but of *Angers*, of *Orleans*, of *Toulouſe*. When he had done, the Biſhop of *Novara* read from the Pulpit the Opinions of One hundred and Three

Three Profeſſors of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Bologna*, all entirely agreeing with thoſe of the *French* Univerſities. Year of Chriſt 1409.

As every Article of the Charge, brought againſt both Competitors, was now fully proved; and neither appeared, though ſo often ſummoned, nor any body for them, the Council proceeded at laſt, in the Fifteenth Seſſion, held on the 5th of *June*, to the definitive Sentence. At that Seſſion were preſent One hundred and Seventy Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and mitred Abbots, One hundred and Twenty Doctors in Divinity, Three hundred Doctors in Civil and Canon Law, and the Embaſſadors of almoſt all the Chriſtian Princes. When they had all taken their Places, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, attended by the Two Patriarchs of *Antioch* and *Jeruſalem*, read aloud from the Pulpit the definitive Sentence in the Hearing of an immenſe Multitude, the Church-Doors being all opened on that Occaſion. The Sentence was as follows: *The Fifteenth Seſſion.*

Both Popes depoſed.

" The holy General Council, repreſenting the Church
" univerſal, and therefore veſted with the neceſſary Power finally to
" determine the preſent Cauſe, having examined all that has been
" produced relative to the Union of the Church, and the Schiſm be-
" tween *Peter de Luna*, heretofore called *Benedict* XIII. and *Angelus*
" *Corarius*, ſtiled *Gregory* XII. pronounce, declare, and define, upon
" the moſt mature Deliberation, all the Facts alleged againſt both
" Pretenders to the Papal Dignity to be true, and both to have for-
" feited, as Schiſmatics and Heretics, as guilty of Perjury and a Breach
" of the moſt ſolemn Vow, all Right and Title to that Dignity. But
" though they have, by their Obſtinacy in fomenting ſo long a Schiſm,
" forfeited the Pontifical and every other Dignity, and *ipſo facto* in-
" curred the Sentence of Excommunication and the other Cenſures
" of the Church, the Council nevertheleſs excommunicates, rejects,
" and depoſes them, and pronounces them excommunicated, rejected,
" and depoſed by the preſent definitive Sentence; forbids them hence-
" forth to aſſume the Name of High Pontiffs, and all Chriſtians, on
" Pain of Excommunication, to obey them, or lend them any Aſ-
" ſiſtance whatever; annuls all the Judgments they have hitherto
" given, or may henceforth give, as well as the Promotion of Car-
" dinals made lately by either, by *Angelus Corarius* ſince the 3d of
" *May* of the preceding Year, and by *Peter de Luna* ſince the 15th
" of *June* of the ſame Year; and laſtly declares upon the Whole the

Year of Chriſt 1409.

"Apoſtolic See to be at preſent vacant, and the Cardinals at Liberty "to proceed to a new Election."

Promiſe made by the Cardinals.

In the following Seſſion, held on the 10th of *June*, a Paper was read from the Pulpit by the Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, containing a Promiſe made and ſigned by all the Cardinals who were preſent, that if any of them ſhould be elected to fill the vacant See, he would not diſmiſs the Council, nor ſuffer the Fathers to ſeparate till a Reformation was made of the Church univerſal in its Head as well as its Members, and that if any then abſent, or not of their College, ſhould be elected, the Election ſhould not be publiſhed till he had made the ſame Promiſe. In the Seventeenth Seſſion, held on the 13th of *June*, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, attended by the Patriarchs of *Antioch* and *Jeruſalem*, read a Paper from the Pulpit, impowering the Cardinals to proceed to the Election of One lawful and undoubted Pope. The Fathers met again the next Day, when Embaſſadors appeared before them from the King of *Arragon*, deſiring to be informed of what had paſſed in the Council. They were received with all the Reſpect due to their Character, and told, that in Compliance with their Demand proper Perſons ſhould be appointed to give them the neceſſary Information. But when they acquainted the Council with the Arrival of the Nuncios of Pope *Benedict* XIII. and deſired they might be heard, they were hiſſed by the whole Aſſembly for ſtiling him Pope, but at the ſame time told, that out of the Regard they had for their Maſter, the Meſſengers of *Peter de Luna* ſhould be heard out of the Council, though by the Canons nothing ought to be heard in Favour of a condemned Heretic. Some Cardinals being therefore appointed to hear them in the Church of *St. Martin*, they deſired, in the Firſt Place, to know whether they might ſpeak freely, having a great deal to object to ſome of the Determinations of the Council. The Cardinals returned Anſwer, that they might ſpeak as freely as they pleaſed, provided they ſaid nothing that was injurious to, or reflected on the Council; but the Fathers would ſuffer no Reflections upon ſo auguſt an Aſſembly to paſs with Impunity. Being intimidated with this Anſwer, they demanded Time to deliberate, which was granted them; but the very next Day, the 15th of *June*, they privately withdrew from *Piſa*, and appeared no more. And now the Cardinals who were preſent, in all Twenty-four, being impowered by the Council to elect

The Nuncios of Benedict *how received.*

One

One true and lawful Pope in the Room of the Two whom they had depoſed, reſolved to proceed without Delay to the Election. Year of Chriſt 1409.

MA. PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the Eaſt.* **ALEXANDER V.** RUPERT of *Bavaria*, *Emperor of the Weſt.*

The Two-Hundred and Third BISHOP *of* Rome.

THE Nuncios of *Peter de Luna* having left *Piſa* early in the Morning of the 15th of *June*, the Nineteenth Seſſion, as it is called in the Acts of the Council, was held on the ſame Day. In that Seſſion the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt being celebrated by the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, and a Sermon preached by the Biſhop of *Novara*, who took for his Text the Words of the Second Book of *Kings*, Chap. x. Ver. 3. *Look even out the beſt, and ſet him on the Throne*, the Council was adjourned, and the Cardinals, entering in the Evening into the Conclave in the Palace of the Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, remained there till the 26th of *June*, when they unanimouſly elected *Peter* of *Candia*, Cardinal-Preſbyter of the Twelve Apoſtles, a Friar *Minorite*, at the Time of his Election about Seventy Years of Age. He took the Name of *Alexander* V. and immediately after his Election appointed the Council to meet on the 1ſt of the following *July*. Alexander V. *elected.*

Alexander was come of an obſcure Family in the Iſle of *Candia*, ſo obſcure that he never knew, as he himſelf owned, Father, Mother, Brothers, Siſters, or any of his Kindred, but being by no body owned begged his Bread in the Streets of *Candia*, the Metropolis of the Iſland, which from thence took its Name. In that Condition he was met by a Friar *Minorite*, who, judging from his Countenance of the good Diſpoſition of his Mind, took him with him to his Convent, and taught him the Rudiments of the *Latin* Tongue. As he ſhewed a great Inclination to learn, and a very uncommon Capacity, he was, after the uſual Trials, admitted into the Order. In the mean time the Friar, returning to *Italy* (for he was a Native of that Country) carried his Pupil with him, and repreſenting him to the Superiors of the Order as a very promiſing Youth, prevailed upon them to ſend him to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, at this Time One of the chief Seats, if not the Firſt, of Learning. Having ended his Studies there with the Repu- *His Birth, Education, Preferments, &c.*

Year of Chriſt 1409.

tation of a very extraordinary Genius, he went to *Paris*, and diſtinguiſhing himſelf in that Univerſity no leſs than he had done at *Oxford*, he was honoured there with the Degree of Doctor in Divinity. He then returned to *Italy*, where *John Galeazzi Viſconti*, Lord of *Milan*, hearing of his Adventures, and being thereupon deſirous to know him, was ſo pleaſed with his Converſation, that he took him into his Protection, and by his Intereſt got him preferred, firſt to the Biſhopric of *Vicenza*, afterwards to that of *Novara*, and laſtly to the Archbiſhopric of *Milan*, from which he was raiſed by *Innocent* VII. to the Dignity of Cardinal, and was therefore commonly called the Cardinal of *Milan* [a]. Such is the Account *Theodoric de Niem* has given us of the Riſe of *Alexander* V.; and his Account, as he not only lived at this Time, but belonged to *Alexander*'s Court, I have preferred to thoſe of others who wrote after him, and differ from him. The *Greek* Name of *Philargus* or *Philaretus*, given to this Pope by ſome Hiſtorians, he muſt have aſſumed, as he knew nothing of his Family or Relations.

Confirms all the Acts of the Council.

Alexander immediately after his Election had, as has been ſaid, appointed the Council to meet on *Monday* the 1ſt of *July*, and they met accordingly on that Day, when Cardinal *de Challant* read a Paper ſigned by all the Cardinals, declaring that they had elected the Cardinal of *Milan* to fill the vacant See, and recommending him and the Church to the Prayers of the Council. The Pope then preached a Sermon, taking for his Text the Words of the Goſpel, *There ſhall be One Fold, and One Paſtor*. When he had done, the Cardinal of *St. Euſtachius*, *Belthaſar Coſſa*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Bologna*, from his having been Archdeacon of that Church, read a Decree of the new Pope, confirming all that had been done by the Council, or by the Cardinals from the 3d of *May* 1408 to the preſent Time. In this Seſſion, the Twentieth according to the Acts, the Pope gave Notice to the Cardinals and the Council, that he intended to be crowned on the following *Sunday* the 7th of *July*, and appointed them to meet again on the enſuing *Wedneſday*, the 10th of the ſame Month. The Ceremony of the Coronation was performed in the Cathedral of *Piſa* with the uſual Solemnity, and the Pope rode, according to Cuſtom, through the City in his Pontificals, attended not only by the Cardinals, but by all the Biſhops of the Council on Horſeback, clad in White, with their Capariſons of the ſame Colour [b].

[a] De Niem, de Schiſ. c. 5. [b] Idem ibid.

In the Twenty-firſt Seſſion, held at the appointed Time, the 10th of *July*, the Pope declared null and revoked all Sentences pronounced by either of the Competitors againſt thoſe who were not of their Obedience, or had embraced the Neutrality. Nothing elſe was done in this Seſſion, but the Fathers were required to aſſemble again the following *Wedneſday* the 17th of *July*. But that Seſſion was afterwards put off to the 27th of the ſame Month on account of the Arrival of *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who was acknowleged King of *Naples* by *Alexander* and all the Cardinals, but had been driven out by his Competitor *Ladiſlaus*. He was received by the Cardinals with extraordinary Marks of Honour, was declared by the Pope the only lawful King of *Sicily*, that is, of *Naples*, and made the Standard-Bearer of the Church.

Year of Chriſt 1409.

Revokes all Sentences pronounced by either of the Competitors.

In the Twenty-ſecond Seſſion, held on the 27th of *July*, the Pope confirmed all Collations of Benefices, Ordinations, Conſecrations, Tranſlations, *&c.* made by either of the Competitors, provided they were, in other Reſpects, canonical. In this Seſſion it was ordained, that in the Term of Three Years another General Council ſhould be convened, that is, in *April* 1412, at ſome Place to be named One Year before that Time. At the ſame time the Pope generouſly remitted all that was due from the Churches to the Apoſtolic Chamber till the Time of his Election, and exhorted the Cardinals to follow therein his Example, which they all very readily did, except the Cardinal of *Albano*. He likewiſe declared, that he did not intend to reſerve to himſelf the Spoils of deceaſed Biſhops, nor the Revenues of vacant Benefices.

Confirms all Collations of Benefices, &c. made by either.

The Twenty-third and Laſt Seſſion was held on the 7th of *Auguſt*, when it was decreed, that no Goods, Lands, or Eſtates, belonging to the *Roman* or to any other Church, ſhould be ſold or mortgaged before the Meeting of the next General Council; that in the mean time the Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſhould convene Provincial Synods, the Monks and regular Canons ſhould hold General and Provincial Chapters, in order to inform themſelves of the prevailing Abuſes, and lay them before the future General Council; that Embaſſadors ſhould be immediately diſpatched to all the Chriſtian Princes to acquaint them with the Determinations of the Council, and exhort them to ſee what they had determined carried into Execution; and laſtly, that the Council, which was to meet in the Term of Three Years, ſhould be reputed a Continuation of the preſent, and ſhould purſue the Work happily begun,

Laſt Seſſion of the Council of Piſa.

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begun, the Reformation of the Church in its Head as well as its Members. After theſe Regulations Leave was granted to the Biſhops to return to their Sees; but they were at the ſame time required readily to obey the Summons that ſhould be ſent them, after a Three Years Receſs, to meet again and reſume the Work of the ſo much wanted Reformation. And now the Church had in Effect Three Heads. For *Gregory* was ſtill acknowleged by King *Ladiſlaus*, by ſome Cities of *Italy*, and by *Rupert*, King of the *Romans*, provoked at *Alexander*'s giving that Title to *Winceſlaus*, King of *Bohemia*. *Benedict* was ſtill obeyed as lawful Pope by the Kings of *Arragon*, of *Caſtile*, of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Armagnac*, and *Alexander* by all the other Chriſtian Princes.

Council held by Gregory *at* Udine.

In the mean time *Gregory*, on *Corpus Chriſti* Day, the 6th of *June*, opened the Council which he had appointed to meet at *Udine*. But in the Firſt Seſſion nothing was tranſacted on account of the very ſmall Number of Biſhops preſent at it. The Second Seſſion was put off for a conſiderable Time, and in the mean while the Biſhops of *Malta* and *Ferentino* were ſent by *Gregory* to order, on Pain of Excommunication, all the Biſhops in the Territories of *Venice* to repair, without Delay, to *Udine* and attend the Council: But the Two Nuncios were every where received with the utmoſt Contempt, the *Venetians* having already declared, though *Gregory* was a Native of *Venice*, for the Council of *Piſa* and *Alexander*. However in the Second Seſſion held, on what Day we know not, nor in what Month, the Sentence of Excommunication was thundered out by *Gregory* againſt *Peter de Luna* and *Peter de Candia*, the Election of the one and the other was declared uncanonical and ſacrilegious, both were pronounced Shiſmatics and Heretics, their Acts were all annulled, and all were forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to obey the one or the other. In the Third Seſſion, held on the 5th of *September*, *Gregory*, pretending to have of all Things at Heart, the Tranquillity and Peace of the Church, cauſed a Paper to be read by one of the very few Biſhops who were preſent, wherein he declared, calling God to witneſs the Sincerity of his Intentions, that he was ready to reſign, provided *Peter de Luna* and *Peter de Candia* would do ſo too perſonally, at the ſame Time, and in the ſame Place; that he left the ſettling of the Time and the Place to *Rupert*, King of the *Romans*, to *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Sicily*, and to *Sigiſmund*, King of *Hungary*.

Hungary. He added, that if the Two Intruders did not agree to these Terms, he granted them Leave to assemble a General Council of the Three Obediences, at which, he said, he was ready to assist in Person, and to acquiese in their Decrees, provided his Two Competitors engaged to assist at it in Person as well as he, and to stand to the Determination of that Assembly c. But he had given too many glaring Instances of his Insincerity to be thought now sincere; and all he said, promised, or vowed, was looked upon as only calculated to gain Time. Year of Christ 1409.

As the *Venetians* had received the Council of *Pisa*, and all secular Princes were required by that Council to afford no Retreat in their Dominions to either of the Pretenders to the Apostolic See, but on the contrary, to treat them as Schismatics, as Heretics, as Rebels to the Church, *Gregory* thinking himself no longer safe at *Udine*, subject to the *Venetians*, resolved to leave that Place and return to his Friend *Charles Malatesta*, Lord of *Rimini*. But *Anthony*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, whom he had deposed the Year before, and very unjustly, had placed Guards on all the Roads, with Orders to arrest him and keep him strictly guarded till further Orders. Upon this Intelligence *Gregory*, laying aside all Thoughts of returning to *Rimini*, wrote to King *Ladislaus* to acquaint him with his unhappy Situation, and beg he would send him Two Gallies to convey him out of the *Venetian* Territories. The Gallies were immediately sent, and with them Fifty Men to protect him against any sudden Attack in his Way from *Udine* to the Sea Side. But *Gregory*, not thinking Fifty Men a sufficient Guard, resolved to make Use of them only to deceive those who lay in wait for him; he set out accordingly from *Udine* on Horse-back in the Disguise of a Merchant, with only Two Men on Foot, having first ordered his Confessor to follow him at some Distance in the pontifical Habit with the Guards, and the Rest of his Court. They who guarded the Road, being told that the Pope was coming, put themselves in a Posture to receive him and his Guards, and in that Hurry let the pretended Merchant pass unmolested. But the poor Confessor paid dear for personating the Pope; for the Guards, sallying out of their Ambuscade, as he approached, seized him, stript him of his pontifical Habit, plundered his Baggage, &c. But while they were thus employed, *Gregory*, making the best of his Way to the Sea Side, got safe on board his Gallies. When the Guards found *His Flight from* Udine.

c Raynald. ad ann. 1409. num. 82. Concil. tom. 41. col. 3004.

out

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out their Miſtake they fell upon the Confeſſor, beat him moſt unmercifully, and having diſcovered in beating him, that he had Money concealed in his pontifical Habit, they ſtript him naked, and found 500 Florins of Gold ſewed up in his Robes, which they divided among themſelves. The next Day one of the Guards attiring himſelf with all the pontifical Ornaments taken from the Confeſſor, rid up and down the Streets of *Udine*, affecting all the Gravity of the High Pontiff, and giving his Benediction to immenſe Crowds of People, preſenting themſelves, by way of Diverſion, or Deriſion, on their Knees before him [d]. Thus ended *Gregory*'s Council. As for himſelf, he arrived ſafe on board the Gallies at *Gaeta*, and was there entertained as lawful Pope by King *Ladiſlaus*.

Alexander's *Bull in Favour of the Mendicants.*

To return to *Alexander*; while he was ſtill at *Piſa* he iſſued a Bull in Favour of the Mendicant Orders, eſpecially the *Minorites*, confirming all the Privileges that his Predeceſſors, namely, *Boniface* VIII. and *John* XXII. had granted them, and condemning ſome Propoſitions calculated to deprive them of thoſe Privileges. The Propoſitions were: I. That the Validity of Confeſſions made to the Mendicants is, at leaſt, doubtful, and conſequently that all ought to confeſs to their Pariſh-Prieſts, as the Validity of ſuch Confeſſions has never been queſtioned. II. That ſhould it even be allowed that the Mendicants really have the Power of hearing Confeſſions and abſolving, yet they are guilty of a deadly Sin who apply to them without previouſly obtaining Leave of their Pariſh-Prieſt. III. That the Mendicants are equally guilty in hearing the Confeſſions of thoſe who apply to them without the Knowlege and Conſent of their Pariſh-Prieſts. Theſe Propoſitions, and ſome others of the ſame Tendency, *Alexander* condemned as erroneous, and repugnant to the Canons, ordered thoſe who ſhould thenceforth preſume to aſſert, teach, or maintain them, to be reputed and proceeded againſt as Heretics, declared them excommunicated *ipſo facto*, and reſerved to himſelf and his Succeſſors the Power of abſolving them, except at the Point of Death [e]. The Bull is dated at *Piſa*, the 12th of *October* 1409. But the Univerſity of *Paris* proteſted againſt it as ſurreptitious, and derogatory to the undoubted Rights of the Biſhops as well as the Pariſh-Prieſts; and it was not received there till long after *Alexander*'s Time.

[d] Niem, l. 3. c. 45. [e] Monachus Dionyſ. l. 29. c. 10.

As

As the Doctrine of *Wickliffe* began at this Time to take deep Root in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and *John Huſs* was, among the reſt, accuſed to the Pope of holding and propagating that Doctrine, *Alexander* wrote to the Archbiſhop of *Prague*, *Alexander Stinko*, ſtrictly enjoining him to proceed againſt all, who ſhould preſume to defend thoſe impious Tenets, as Heretics, and at the ſame time ſummoned *John Huſs* to *Rome*, to anſwer at the Tribunal of the Apoſtolic See the Charge brought againſt him. The Archbiſhop, in Compliance with the Pope's Order, forbad the Doctrine of *Wickliffe* to be taught by any under his Juriſdiction on Pain of incurring the Cenſures of the Church, and other Puniſhments inflicted by the Canons upon Heretics; ordered all, who had any of that Arch-Heretic's Books in their Poſſeſſion, to deliver them up to him, and having thus got Two hundred Copies of them, he cauſed them to be publicly burnt by the Hand of the common Hangman. *John Huſs* received the Summons, but inſtead of obeying it, and appearing perſonally at the Pope's Tribunal, he ſent Two of his Friends to plead his Cauſe for him, and in the mean time appealed from *Alexander ill-informed to Alexander well-informed* [f]. As I ſhall have frequent Occaſion to ſpeak of *John Huſs* in the Sequel, it will not, I hope, be thought foreign to my Subject to give here ſome Account of a Man, who, in the Times which I am now writing of, became ſo famous in the Hiſtory of the Church.

Year of Chriſt 1409.

The Doctrine of Wickliffe *propagated in* Bohemia.

John Huſs then was a Native of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, being born in a ſmall Town of that Kingdom named *Huſſinetz*; and from thence he was called *John of Huſſinetz*, or *John Huſs*. He ſtudied at the Univerſity of *Prague*, and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all his Fellow-Students by the wonderful Progreſs he made in every Branch of Literature. Having ended his Studies, he was appointed Preacher at the famous Chapel of *Bethlehem* in *Prague*, and he there preached with ſuch Zeal againſt the reigning Vices of the Age, that *Sophia* of *Bavaria*, Second Wife of *Wenceſlaus*, King of *Bohemia*, choſe him for her Confeſſor. He was in Proceſs of Time elected Rector of the Univerſity; and that Office he diſcharged to the entire Satisfaction of moſt of the Members of that learned Body. *Trithemius* ſpeaks of him *as a Man of very great Note for his Judgment, Subtlety, Eloquence, and Knowlege of the Scriptures* [g]; and the Jeſuit *Balbinus*, who cer-

[f] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1409. num. 89.

[g] Trithem. in Chron. Hirſaug. tom. 2. p. 315.

Year of Chriſt 1409

tainly was not prejudiced in his Favour, gives him the following Character in his Epitome of the Hiſtory of *Bohemia*: *John Huſs*, ſays that Jeſuit, *was more ſubtle than eloquent; but the Modeſty and Severity of his Manners, his unpoliſhed, auſtere, and entirely blameleſs Life, his pale thin Viſage, his Good-nature, and his Affability to all, even to the meaneſt Perſons, were more perſuaſive than the greateſt Eloquence* [h]. But his *blameleſs Life* could afford him no Protection againſt the Malice and Malevolence of the Clergy. For as he inveighed in all his Sermons, perhaps, with too much Acrimony againſt their Irregularities, they took Occaſion, from ſome Expreſſions he let drop, favourable to *Wickliffe*, to accuſe him to the Pope of holding and propagating the ſame Doctrines that *Wickliffe* had held, and the Church had condemned. But that he was no Heretic, that he taught no Doctrines but what could bear a favourable Conſtruction, even according to the Principles of the Church of *Rome*, ſhall be ſhewn in the Sequel.

The Pope obliged by the Plague to leave Piſa.

In the latter End of the preſent Year 1409 the Pope was obliged, by the Plague that broke out at *Piſa*, to quit that City, and retire firſt to *Prato*, and from thence to *Piſtoia*, Two Cities in the Territories of *Florence*, at a ſmall Diſtance from each other. *Alexander* intended to have gone from *Piſtoia* to *Rome*, King *Ladiſlaus*, who had made himſelf Maſter of that City, having been lately driven out of it by *Paul Urſini*, aſſiſted by the *Florentines*, the *Seneſe*, the *Bologneſe*, and other States of *Italy*, jealous of the Power of that warlike Prince. But *Balthaſar Coſſa*, Cardinal Legate of *Bologna*, perſuaded him, contrary to the Opinion of all the other Cardinals, to go firſt to that City; and that with a Deſign, as ſome Writers ſuppoſe, of getting the Cardinals into his Power, and obliging them, ſhould the Pope, who was grown very infirm, die there, to elect him in his Room. He had been but a very ſhort Time at *Bologna*, when the *Romans* invited him, by a very ſolemn Embaſſy, to come and reſide at *Rome*; and delivered to him the Keys of the City as well as of the Caſtle *St. Angelo*. The Pope ſeemed inclined to gratify the *Romans*, but Cardinal *Coſſa*, who governed him as he pleaſed, diverted him from it, and kept him under various Pretences at *Bologna*, till he was no longer able to undertake the Journey to *Rome*. His Complaints increaſed daily, and at laſt put an End to his Life in the Night between the 3d and 4th of *May* 1410, in

Goes to Bologna.

Dies there. Year of Chriſt 1410.

[h] Balbin. l. 4. p. 431.

the

the Seventy-firſt Year of his Age, when he had governed the Church Ten Months and Eight Days. St. *Antonine* writes, that it was ſaid he had been poiſoned *clyſtere venenato* [g]; and with him *Monſtreletus* agrees as to the Report of Poiſon having been adminiſtered to him. Neither indeed tell us by whom; but One of the Articles of the complicated Charge brought in the Council of *Conſtance* againſt *John* XXIII. the Name Cardinal *Coſſa* aſſumed when raiſed to the Pontificate, was, that aſpiring at the Pontificate he had conſpired againſt Pope *Alexander* of holy Memory, and cauſed him to be poiſoned by *Daniel* of *St. Sophia* his Phyſician. Year of Chriſt 1410.

Alexander is repreſented by moſt Authors, who ſpeak of him, as a Man of a remarkably mild Diſpoſition, as one who made it his Buſineſs to oblige all, and never was known to have refuſed any Favour, which he had it in his Power and thought it lawful to grant. His Generoſity bounded upon Prodigality; for being unwilling to diſmiſs any diſſatisfied who applied to him, he gave to all ſo liberally, that he left nothing for himſelf, and uſed therefore to ſay, that he was rich when a Biſhop, was poor when a Cardinal, and a Beggar when Pope. He was a Man ſtrictly religious, ſays the anonymous Monk of *St. Denys*, a contemporary Writer, and led a moſt holy Life without affecting any extraordinary Sanctity [h]. As to his Learning, he is called by *Platina* a great Orator, and by Cardinal *Ægidius* of *Viterbo* One of the beſt Philoſophers and ableſt Divines of his Time [i]. He wrote Commentaries upon the Four Books of Sentences, ſeveral Philoſophical Pieces, Sermons, Letters, and a Treatiſe on the Immaculate Conception of the *Virgin Mary*, not defining it, but only ſhewing that it is not repugnant to the Faith [k]. *His Character and Writings.*

[g] Antonin. tit. 22. c. 5. [h] Monach. Dionyſ. l. 29. c. 3. [i] Platina in vit. Ægidius in ſecul. 20. [k] Ludvic. Jacob. in Bibliothec. Pontific.

MA. PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East.* **JOHN XXIII.** SIGISMUND of *Luxemburg*, *Emperor of the West.*

The Two-Hundred and Fourth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1410. John XXIII. *elected.*

ALEXANDER dying, as has been ſaid, in the Night between the 3d and 4th of *May*, his Exequies were performed in the Church of the *Minorites*, where he had choſen to be buried, on the 5th of the ſame Month, and Nine Days after the Cardinals, who were preſent, in all Seventeen, entering, according to Cuſtom, into the Conclave, elected on the 17th Cardinal *Balthaſar Coſſa*, or *Coxa*, then Legate of *Bologna*, who took the Name of *John* XXIII. His Election was at firſt oppoſed by the Three *Roman* Cardinals, and by Cardinal *Francis*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Bourdeaux*. The *Roman* Cardinals were prevailed upon to concur with the Reſt. But the Cardinal of *Bourdeaux* proteſted to the laſt againſt the Election, ſaying, that if Cardinal *Coſſa* were to be elected King or Emperor, he might depend upon his Vote and Intereſt, but that he never would conſent to his being elected Pope [k]. *Philip* of *Bergamo* tells us, that as the Cardinals could not agree, they applied to Cardinal *Coſſa*, deſiring him to name the Perſon who ſhould be Pope; that he, after ſome affected Reluctance, deſired them to deliver up to him the Mantle of St. *Peter*, promiſing to give it to the Perſon who ſhould be Pope; and that upon the Cardinals complying with his Requeſt, he threw the Mantle round his Shoulders, ſaying, *I am Pope* [l]. The Hiſtorian adds, that *Coſſa* having, as Legate, many armed Men under his Command, the Cardinals thought it adviſeable to diſſemble. *Platina* writes, that *Coſſa* was ſaid to have kept a great Number of Troops in *Bologna*, and the neighbouring Country, to oblige the Cardinals to elect him, if they did not do it of their own Accord [m]. *De Niem* reproaches him with bribing the poor Cardinals, thoſe eſpecially of *Gregory*, and purchaſing their Suffrages with large Sums of Money [n]. With him moſt other Authors agree, ſo that according to them the Election of *John* XXIII. if he did not elect himſelf, was owing either to Fear or

[k] Antoninus, tit. 22. c. 6. [l] Philip. de Bergamo, l. 14. [m] Platina, in ejus vita. [n] Niem, de Schiſ. l. 3. c. 53.

to

to Bribery; and he had no better Right to that Dignity than either of the other Two Competitors.

Year of Chriſt 1410.

His Birth, Education, Employments, &c.

John was a Native of *Naples*, come of a noble and wealthy Family of that City. He ſtudied the Civil and Canon Law at *Bologna*, and having obtained there the Degree of Doctor, he went from thence to *Rome*, aſpiring even then at the Pontificate. For *Platina* tells us, that being aſked by his Friends whither he was going, he anſwered, *To the Popedom*. *Boniface* IX. then Pope, his Countryman, and well acquainted with his Family, admitted him ſoon after his Arrival among his *Cubicularii*, or Waiters at his Chamber-Door, and in Proceſs of Time made him Apoſtolic Protonotary, Archdeacon of *Bologna*, and Cardinal of *St. Eutachius*. He was promoted to the Dignity of Cardinal in 1402, and, being ſoon after his Promotion appointed Legate of the Province of *Flaminia*, he recovered the City of *Bologna* from *John Galeazzo*, Lord of *Milan*, and, reſiding there, continued to govern and plunder that Province to the Time of his Election. He quarrelled with Pope *Gregory* about the Revenues of that Biſhopric, of which he kept the greater Part for himſelf; and being ordered by that Pope to refund, he became one of his moſt inveterate Enemies; and it was chiefly at his Inſtigation that the other Cardinals forſook him. He was one of the chief Promoters of the Council of *Piſa*, and obtained Leave of the *Florentines* for the Council to meet in that City then ſubject to them. In the Conclave, that was held upon the Depoſition of the Two Competitors, he exerted all his Intereſt in Favour of *Alexander*, as a Man of great Learning, of an exemplary Life, and one who had no Relations to enrich at the Expence of the Church. As *Alexander*, while Cardinal, placed an entire Confidence in him, was himſelf but very little acquainted with temporal Affairs, and far advanced in Years, *Coſſa* knew that the Government, with reſpect to Temporals, would be left wholly to him, and did not at all doubt but he ſhould be able to diſpoſe Matters ſo as to be elected upon his Death, which might be daily expected, in his Room. He therefore ſpared no Pains, nor Money, if ſome of the contemporary Writers are to be credited, to ſecure the Election of *Alexander*, worthy, ſays *Gobelinus*, in every Reſpect of the Pontifical Dignity, except the Confidence he blindly repoſed in Cardinal *Coſſa* [n].

[n] Niem vit. Joan. XXIII. in Gobelin. Perſona ætate 6. c. 90. Leonardus Aretin. p. 257.

John,

Year of Christ 1410.

Is inthroned, ordained, crowned, &c.

John, thus elected, was inthroned on the Day of his Election, *Saturday* the 17th of *May*; assisted on *Sunday* the 18th in his Pontificals at High Mass in the Chapel of the Apostolic Palace in *Bologna*; was ordained Priest, being only Cardinal Deacon, on the following *Saturday* the 24th, and on *Sunday* the 25th consecrated in the Church of St. *Petronius*, the tutelary Saint of *Bologna*, and then crowned with the usual Solemnity. *Gobelinus Persona* writes, that many were scandalized, seeing him ride, according to Custom after his Coronation, in the Attire of High Pontiff through the City, which he had governed as a complete Tyrant, and where he was known to have led a worldly Life [o].

Writes to all the Bishops.

The new Pope the Day after his Coronation wrote to all the Bishops and Christian Princes to acquaint them with his Promotion, and exhort them to support him against the Two Pretenders to the Pontifical Dignity condemned and deposed by the Church universal; at the same Time he revoked all the Censures, pronounced by either, annulled all their Decrees, and confirmed those of *Alexander* and the Council of *Pisa* [p].

Death of the Emperor Rupert.

The Emperor *Rupert* still adhered to *Gregory*, and had gained over some of the *German* Princes to his Party, but fortunately for the new Pope he died at *Oppenheim* soon after his Election. The News of his Death was received with great Joy by the Pope; and he immediately dispatched Nuncios with most pressing Letters to all the Electors in Favour of *Sigismund* of *Luxembourg*, the Son of the Emperor *Charles* IV. Margrave of *Brandenbourg*, and King of *Hungary*. However, the Electors were divided between *Sigismund* and his Cousin *Jodocus*, Marquis of *Moravia*; and some Writers tell us, that the latter was actually elected, but as he died before he was crowned, even with the Silver Crown at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, he has not been reckoned amongst the Emperors or Kings of the *Romans*. Upon his Death the Electors met again, and unanimously elected *Sigismund*. In the History of *Bohemia*, by *Dubravius*, we are told that *Sigismund*, who was one of the Electors as Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, being asked the first whom he elected? answered, *Myself, for I know myself to be equal to the Empire of the World, which is more than I know or can say of any body else*. The Historian adds, that the Electors, taken with his Frankness, all unanimously

And Election of Sigismund.

[o] Gobelinus, ubi supra.

[p] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1410.

concurred in his Election q. Thus *Dubravius*, Biſhop of *Olmutz*. But *Eberhard Windec*, who was Counſellor to *Sigiſmund*, and preſent at his Election, tells us, that upon the Death of *Jodocus* he was, *though abſent*, unanimouſly elected King of the *Romans*. The Biſhop therefore muſt have been miſled by falſe Memoirs, when he wrote that *Sigiſmund* nominated himſelf. However that be, the Part the Pope acted on this Occaſion gained him the Protection and Good-will of the new Emperor, and they reciprocally engaged to ſupport, protect, and defend one another againſt all their Enemies. Year of Chriſt 1410.

As the late Pope had, by an unbounded, and, as ſome thought, an ill-underſtood Generoſity, left nothing for himſelf or his Succeſſor, and *John* ſtood in great Want of Money to ſupport his Friend *Lewis* of *Anjou* againſt *Ladiſlaus* his moſt inveterate Enemy, he ſent the Archbiſhop of *Piſa* into *France*, to collect the Tenths of all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, the Revenues of the vacant Churches, and the Spoils of the deceaſed Clergy. The Archbiſhop would, probably, have met with no Oppoſition in the Execution of his Commiſſion, had he not very unadviſedly pretended all thoſe Branches of the Papal Revenue to be due to the Apoſtolic Chamber by Civil, Canonical, Natural, and Divine Right. That Claim or Pretenſion was ſtrongly oppoſed by the Univerſity as well as the Parliament of *Paris*, and by them a Royal Mandate was obtained, forbidding all Eccleſiaſtics to pay the demanded Subſidies on Pain of forfeiting their Benefices, of Impriſonment, and other Penalties. It was further reſolved, in a numerous Aſſembly of the Clergy, that if the Legate ſhould employ the Cenſures of the Church againſt any who refuſed to comply with his Demands, an Appeal ſhould be made in the Name of the whole *Gallican* Church to the future Council r. However, upon the Pope's repreſenting in a Letter to the Legate, that King *Ladiſlaus* was making great military Preparations with a Deſign of reducing the City of *Rome*, and placing *Gregory* anew in the Pontifical Chair, and that without an immediate Supply of Money he could not pretend to oppoſe him, it was agreed, in an Aſſembly of the Clergy, that to defeat the wicked Deſigns of *Ladiſlaus*, and prevent the reviving of the Schiſm, a charitable Supply (*Charitativum Subſidium*) ſhould be granted to his Holineſs; that is, a Supply by way of Charity, and not out of any Obligation: And *The Claims of the Pope oppoſed in* France.

q Dubravius Hiſt. Bohemiæ, l. 23. r Monſtrelet. l. 1. c. 67.

thus

Year of Chriſt 1410.

thus One Half of the Tenths of Benefices was allowed him, but his Collectors were not ſuffered to meddle either with the Revenues of vavant Churches or the Spoils of the deceaſed Clergy[s].

Pope John *returns to* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1411.

Pope *John*, having now remained near a whole Year at *Bologna*, reſolved to leave that City, and, in Compliance with the preſſing Inſtances of the *Romans*, go to *Rome*, the Partizans of King *Ladiſlaus* and Pope *Gregory* being all driven from thence by *Paul Urſini*, and *Malateſta*, who commanded the Troops of the Republic of *Florence*, ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the Pope. He ſet out accordingly for *Rome* in *April* 1411, and on the 11th of that Month, *Holy Saturday*, he made his public Entry into that City, being attended by *Lewis* of *Anjou* King of *Naples*, by the College of Cardinals, by a great Number of Prelates, and the Flower of the *Italian* Nobility. He was received with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy, and the next Day, the Feſtival of *Eaſter*, he celebrated Maſs with great Solemnity in the Church of *St. Peter*. Being determined to drive *Ladiſlaus* from the Throne, and place *Lewis* of *Anjou* on it in his Room, on the 23d of *April*, *St. George's Day*, after ſolemn Maſs ſaid by himſelf, he bleſſed with the uſual Ceremonies the great Standard of the Church, and the military Standards of the Senate and People of *Rome*. On the 28th of the ſame Month he delivered the Standard of the Church to *Lewis* of *Anjou*, appointing him Commander in Chief againſt *Ladiſlaus*, a declared Enemy of the Church, and *Angelus Curarius*, called heretofore *Gregory* XII. Under him commanded *Paul Urſini*, and *James Sforza*, who had ſerved ſeveral Princes with great Reputation, and was reputed One of the beſt Commanders of his Time. The Pope, who had more of the military Man than the Eccleſiaſtic, was for commanding the Army in Perſon, but being diverted from it by the Cardinals he contented himſelf with reviewing them, and giving them his Bleſſing at their Departure from *Rome*. Upon their entering *Campania* they found *Ladiſlaus* ready to receive them, and an Engagement thereupon enſuing, on the 19th of *May*, that laſted, with great Slaughter on both Sides, from Noon till Night, *Ladiſlaus* was in the End put to Flight, and obliged to take Shelter in the ſtrong Hold of *Rocca Secca*, and from thence to retire with the few Troops, that had the good Luck to eſcape, to *St. Germano*. In this Battle fell the Flower of the Nobility of *Naples*,

And gains a compleat Victory over Ladiſlaus.

[s] Monſtrelet. l. 1. c. 62.

and

and Ten Counts with many other Lords of Distinction were taken Prisoners. Year of Christ 1411.

This Victory would have proved decisive had the Conquerors pursued it. But *Paul Ursini*, sensible that his Pay and the many Advantages, accruing to him from the War, would end with it, declined, under various Pretences, penetrating farther into the Kingdom while the Passes were all open, and gave *Ladislaus* Time to recover from the Consternation he was in, and to recruit his Army quite undisturbed. *Lewis*, finding that the Officers, who commanded under him, had combined to cross all his Designs in order to prolong the War, and therefore despairing of being able to pursue it with Success, resigned the Command, and returned to his own Dominions in *France*, declaring to the Pope, whom he acquainted with the Whole, that he would never more concern himself with the Affairs of *Italy*. King *Lewis* brought with him to *Rome* the Military Ensigns taken from the Enemy in the Battle, which the Pope caused to be displayed on the Top of the Tower of *St. Peter*'s Church, and afterwards to be dragged along the Streets in the Dirt, on Occasion of a public Procession he made by way of Thanksgiving for so signal, and so useless a Victory. *Peter de Umile*, who was present at this Battle, writes, that King *Ladislaus* used often to say, that he was on the First Day in imminent Danger of losing both his Life and his Kingdom, on the Second in Danger of only losing his Kingdom, and on the Third in no Danger of losing the one or the other.

The Pope betrayed by his Generals.

The Pope, satisfied that his Commanders were not to be relied on, that being Soldiers of Fortune they made it their Study, for the Sake of Pay, to husband the War, dismissed them all, disbanded his Army, and, recurring to his Spiritual Weapons, he first excommunicated *Ladislaus*, and then ordered a Crusade to be preached against him all over *Christendom*. The Bull, issued by the Pope on this Occasion, was One of the most dreadful and furious recorded in History. For all Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops were thereby required, on Pain of Excommunication, on all *Sundays* and Festivals to excommunicate and anathematize *Ladislaus*, with the ringing of Bells and burning of Torches, as guilty of Perjury and Blasphemy, as a relapsed Heretic, as an Abetter of the Schism, as guilty of High Treason against the Church and *Christ*'s Vicar upon Earth. All who adhered to him, who any ways

Excommunicates Ladislaus. Year of Christ 1412.

Year of Christ 1412.

ways assisted or favoured him, were declared to incur, *ipso facto*, the Sentence of Excommunication, from which they could only be absolved at the Pointof Death, and though then absolved were to be deprived of a Christian Burial. Of this no Instance has hitherto occurred. Besides, all were excommunicated, who should presume to bury the Body of *Ladislaus*, or of any of his Partizans, and could only be absolved from that Excommunication by digging up those Bodies, and removing them out of consecrated Ground. All were exhorted to take the Cross and engage in this Holy War, and to all, who served in it, the same Indulgences were granted as to those who went to the Conquest of the Holy Land; and besides, Heaven was promised as a certain Reward to such as should die in fighting for *Christ* and his Church, as if the Cause of the Pope, striving to pull down One Kingand set up another, as it best suited his Temporal Interest, were the Cause of *Christ* and his Church [r].

John Huss *excommunicated.*

When this Bull was published in *Prague*, *John Huss*, who was then in that City, could not forbear preaching publicly against it, as repugnant to the Spirit of the *Christian* Religion, in promising the Remission of Sins and the Kingdom of Heaven as a Reward for the shedding of *Christian* Blood. The Pope therefore summoned him to *Rome*, and, upon his refusing to comply with the Summons, he not only excommunicated him, but forbad Divine Service to be performed in any of the Churches of *Prague*, except One, so long as *John Huss*, an excommunicated and condemned Heretic, remained there. *Huss* wanted not Friends to support him; but, to prevent all Disturbances, he chose to withdraw from *Prague* to *Hussinetz*, the Place of his Nativity, and there he appealed from the Pope to *Jesus Christ* [s].

Peace concluded between the Pope and Ladislaus, *and upon what Terms.*

In the mean time *Ladislaus*, not a little alarmed at the Pope's Bull, arming all *Christendom* against him, thought it adviseable to conclude, for the present, a Peace with him upon the best Terms he could obtain, and indeed upon any, as he intended to keep them no longer than he could break them with Safety. As the King had already raised a new and numerous Army, and was upon the Point of invading the Territories of the Church, the Pope, upon the first Notice of his pretended pacific Disposition, dispatched *Nicholas Brancacius*, Cardinal Bishop of *Albano*, to treat with him. As both were alike desirous of

[r] Poggius, l. 4. Monachus Dionys. ann. 1412. [s] Cochleus Hist. Hussit.

Peace,

Peace, a Treaty was ſoon concluded upon Terms equally diſhonourable to both. For the Pope, on his Side, agreed not only to abſolve the King from the Excommunication iſſued out againſt him a few Months before, and to revoke the Bull for the Cruſade, but to acknowlege him for lawful King of *Naples*, though he had hitherto maintained *Lewis* of *Anjou* to have an undoubted Right to that Crown. On the other Hand *Ladiſlaus* engaged to abandon *Gregory*, whom he had hitherto acknowleged for lawful Pope; and he ordered him accordingly to quit his Dominions, allowing him but a few Days to make the neceſſary Preparations for his Journey. *Gregory*, thus forſaken by ſo powerful a Protector, left *Gaeta*, where he had reſided ever ſince his Flight from *Udine*, and embarking with his ſmall Retinue on board Two trading Veſſels, arrived ſafe at *Rimini*, and met there with a moſt friendly and honourable Reception from *Charles Malateſta*, who alone adhered to him, as lawful Pope, to the laſt [t].

Year of Chriſt 1412.

As many of the Cardinals created by *Gregory* and *Benedict* were dead, and none had been created by *Alexander*, *John*, on the 6th of *June*, promoted Fourteen, all ſaid to have been Men of great Merit, to that Dignity. Amongſt theſe are reckoned by *Panvinius*, and after him by *Ciaconius*, *Thomas Langley*, Biſhop of *Durham*, and *Robert Alun*, Biſhop of *Saliſbury*. But in the Acts of the Council of *Conſtance*, at which the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* was preſent, he is conſtantly ſtiled Biſhop and never Cardinal. Beſides, *Walſingham*, who lived at this Time, takes no Notice of the Promotion of either of theſe Biſhops; and he ſcarce ever paſſes any Thing over in Silence, that redounds to the Honour of his Countrymen. The anonymous Writer of *Bourdeaux*, a contemporary Hiſtorian, ſays, that both thoſe Prelates were nominated to the Dignity of Cardinal, but that neither would accept of it. What induced them to decline a Dignity, by all others ſo ambitiouſly ſought for, he has not informed us. Be that as it may, *Godwin*, in his Account of the *Engliſh* Prelates, has made them both Cardinals.

Promotion of Fourteen Cardinals.

As the late Pope and the Council of *Piſa* had ordered a General Council to be aſſembled, in the Term of Three Years, as a Continuation of that of *Piſa*, *John*, being under no Apprehenſion of any Diſturbance from King *Ladiſlaus* after the late Peace, ſummoned, by his circulatory Letters, all the Prelates of the Church to attend the General

Council of Rome.

[t] Raynald. ad ann. 1412.

Year of Chriſt 1412.

Council, that he had appointed to meet at *Rome*, in Compliance with the Order of his Predeceſſor and the General Council of *Piſa*. At this Council few Biſhops were preſent; and all we know of it is, that it met on the 1ſt of *April* 1412, that it was ſtill ſitting in the Beginning of *February* 1413, that it condemned to the Flames the *Dialogue Trialogue*, and all the other Works of *John Wickliffe*, as containing many Errors and Hereſies, and ſummoned thoſe, who had any Thing to offer in Defence of his Memory, to appear in the Term of Nine Months, at the Tribunal of the Apoſtolic See and offer it freely, leſt he ſhould be condemned as a Heretic, even after his Death. In the mean time all were forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to read, explain, or keep by them any Book or Books bearing the Name of *John Wickliffe*, or to quote any Thing out of them in public or private, but in order to expoſe and confute the Errors and Hereſies, with which they were fraught [u]. This Decree is dated at *Rome* the 6th of *January* 1413, and is ſaid to have been iſſued by the *General Council* aſſembled in that City, though the Number of Biſhops there preſent ſcarce intitled it to the Name of a Council.

Wickliffe's *Doctrine condemned.*

Year of Chriſt 1413.

Rome *taken and ranſacked by King* Ladiſlaus.

Ladiſlaus had concluded a Peace with the Pope, as has been ſaid; but it was only with a Deſign to renew the War when he was no longer on his Guard, nor in a Condition to oppoſe him. Finding therefore that he had diſmiſſed his Generals, had diſbanded his Army, and depending upon the late Treaty, thought he had no Enemy to contend with, he drew his Army together in great Haſte on the Borders of the Eccleſiaſtical Territories, and reaching *Rome* by a forced March in the Night between the 7th and 8th of *June* broke down the Wall at an uninhabited Part of the City, and entered with his whole Army before the Citizens knew of his Approach. The Pope however and the Cardinals had the good Luck to make their Eſcape, firſt to *Sutri*, from thence to *Viterbo*, and laſtly to *Florence*, though cloſely purſued by the Army, with Orders to bring them back and deliver them up to the King. The Cruelties practiſed upon ſuch as were known to adhere to the Pope, would exceed all Belief, were they not atteſted by the contemporary Writers, ſome of them Eye-witneſſes of what they relate. Several Prelates were by the King's Order inhumanly maſſacred in their Houſes; ſome of the prime Nobility were

[u] Cochleus Hiſt. Huſſit. l. 1. Concil. Labbei, tom. 11. col. 2322.

either

either publicly executed or condemned to the Gallies; the Churches, even the *Lateran* and *Vatican*, were ſtripped of all their rich Ornaments, and turned into Stables. The Caſtle of *St. Angelo* held out ſome Days, but being vigorouſly attacked by the King in Perſon and obliged to ſubmit, the Garriſon was put to the Sword, and all who had ſerved in the late War againſt the King, and fell into his Hands, underwent the ſame Fate. *Ladiſlaus* had nothing leſs in his View than to make himſelf Maſter of all *Italy*, and it was, as we are told, to ſtrike Terror into the other Cities and States, that he treated the *Romans* with ſo much Severity [w]. The Pope never halted till he reached *Viterbo*, Twenty-five Miles diſtant from *Rome*; and *De Niem*, who fled with him, writes, that ſeveral of his Retinue, overcome with the Heat of the Seaſon and the Fatigue of ſo precipitate a Flight, died on the Road, while others were overtaken by the Enemy and moſt barbarouſly uſed. The Pope, having reſted a few Days at *Viterbo*, continued his Flight through the Territories of *Siena* to *Florence*, and there remained under the Protection of that Republic till the latter End of the Year. In the mean time *Ladiſlaus*, having made himſelf Maſter of moſt of the Cities belonging to the Church, encamped with his whole Army at *Perugia*, threatening to invade from thence the neighbouring Territories of the Republic of *Florence*, if they did not oblige the Pope to quit their Dominions. The *Florentines* were, not a little, at a Loſs what Part to act on ſo critical an Occaſion, or what Anſwer to return to the King. But the Pope, unwilling to draw his Friends into a War with ſo powerful and victorious an Enemy, left their City of his own Accord, and went to reſide at *Bologna*. From thence he wrote to all the *Chriſtian* Princes, to acquaint them with the cruel and unjuſt Perſecution he ſuffered from King *Ladiſlaus*, and implore their Protection againſt an Enemy, whom no Favour could ſoften or gain, no Treaties could bind, no Religion could awe [x].

Year of Chriſt 1413.

The Pope flies to Florence,

and from thence retires to Bologna.

To *Sigiſmund* (whom I ſhall call Emperor, though he received not the Imperial Crown at *Rome* till the Year 1433) were ſent the Two Cardinals *Antony de Chalant*, a Native of *Saxony* and Cardinal Preſbyter of *St. Cæcilia*, and *Francis Zabarella* of *Padua*, Cardinal Deacon of the Saints *Coſmus* and *Damianus*. To the Two Cardinals was added *Ema-*

The Pope treats with the Emperor about aſſembling a General Council.

[w] Niem in vita Joan. XXIII. & apud Bzovium ad ann. 1413.

[x] Scipio Amirat. Hiſt. Flor. i. 18. Poggius Hiſt. Flor. l. 4. & apud Bzovium ubi ſupra.

nuel

Year of Chriſt 1413.

nuel Chryſolora, a Nobleman of the Firſt Rank in *Conſtantinople*, and One of the Firſt Revivers of Learning in the Weſt. They were ordered to repreſent to the Emperor the deplorable State of *Italy*, eſpecially of the Dominions of the Church, moſt miſerably oppreſſed by *Ladiſlaus*, to engage his Protection againſt that lawleſs Tyrant, aiming at nothing leſs than the Empire of all *Italy*, and to ſettle the Time and Place for aſſembling of a General Council, which alone could put a Stop to the reigning Evils, and unite the whole Church under One Head. The Pope had reſolved at firſt to leave the naming of the Place to the Emperor, in the public Inſtructions he was to give to his Legates, but at the ſame time to order them privately to agree to no Place, where the Emperor had more Power or a greater Influence than himſelf: *Ubi Imperator plus poſſit*. He had even marked in a Paper, to be delivered to them, the Names of the Places, which alone he allowed them to agree to, thinking that the Succeſs of the Council in his Favour or againſt him wholly depended upon the Place, where it ſhould meet, *in loco Concilii totum eſt*. This his Deſign he communicated to none but his Secretary *Leonardo* of *Arezzo* till the Day, when the Legates came to receive their laſt Inſtructions at their Departure. The Pope admitted them holding the above-mentioned Paper in his Hand, in order to deliver it to them, and confine them to the Places named therein. But changing, all on a ſudden, his Mind, he acquainted them firſt with the Deſign he had formed, and then tearing the Paper in their Preſence, told them, that as to the Place and every Thing elſe, he intirely relied on their Diſcretion and Prudence. Thus does Divine Providence, concludes the Hiſtorian, often defeat the beſt laid Deſigns of Human Prudence to ſecure the Succeſs of its own [x].

The City of Conſtance *choſen for the Place of the Council.*

The Legates met with a moſt favourable Reception from the Emperor, who was then in *Lombardy*, and in the ſeveral Conferences they had with him, the Time and the Place of the Meeting of the Council were ſettled. As they were, purſuant to their Inſtructions, to leave the Place to the Choice of the Emperor, he named the City of *Conſtance*, of the Province of *Mentz*, as the moſt convenient, being, in a Manner, ſituated in the Midſt of the Nations that were to aſſiſt at the Council, and ſpacious enough to receive and to lodge great Numbers of People. The Time was likewiſe fixed, *All Saints Day*, or the 1ſt

[x] Leonard. Aretin. de Rebus Ital. p. 288.

of

of *November* of the following Year 1414. The Choice of the Place, when communicated to the Pope, threw him into a Kind of Deſpair. He knew that at *Conſtance* he ſhould be intirely in the Power of the Emperor, who would oblige him to acquieſce in the Decrees iſſued by the Council, however inconſiſtent with his Dignity or Intereſt; and therefore approving anew his former Reſolution of confining his Legates to certain Places, he loudly condemned his own Imprudence and Want of Foreſight in departing ſo inconſiderately from it. However, as he ſtood at this Time in great Need of the Emperor's Protection and Favour, he thought it adviſeable to acquieſce [y]. Year of Chriſt 1413.

The Time and the Place of the Meeting of the Council being thus fixed, the Emperor by an Edict, dated the 30th of *October*, at a Place in the Dioceſe of *Como* which he calls *Viglud*, acquainted all Chriſtians therewith, promiſing to all, without Exception, who ſhould repair to it, a ſafe Conduct in coming to it, during their Stay at it, and in their Return from it. He wrote ſoon after from *Lodi* to Pope *Gregory*, who was ſtill at *Rimini* under the Protection of *Charles Malateſta*, exhorting him to concur with the other Prelates of the Church in removing the Diviſions, that, to the Diſgrace of the Chriſtian Name, had ſo long reigned amongſt Chriſtians, and engaging his royal Word that he ſhould come, remain, and return, when he pleaſed, with all Safety [z]. It does not appear that he wrote to *Benedict*, who was ſtill acknowledged in moſt of the Kingdoms of *Spain*. *All invited by the Emperor to the Council.*

In the mean time the Emperor advanced to *Placentia*, and the Pope, being deſirous of conferring with him in Perſon, left *Bologna*, where he had remained ſince the Beginning of *November*, and repaired with his whole Court to *Placentia*. He was there received by *Sigiſmund* with the greateſt Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem; but, after a very ſhort Stay in that City, they both removed to *Lodi*, and there continued conferring frequently together for almoſt the Space of a Month [a]. What was the Subject of their Conferences Hiſtory has not informed us. But we may well ſuppoſe that they chiefly related to the future Council, to the Matters that were to be tranſacted in it, and the Ravages committed in the Dominions of the Church by King *Ladiſlaus*. *Conferences between the Pope and the Emperor.*

[y] Leonard. Aretin. de Rebus Ital. p. 288. [z] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1413. num. 22. [a] Anton. l. 22. c. 6.

The

Year of Christ 1413.

The Pope confirms the Choice of the Emperor with respect to the Place and Time of the Council.

The Pope, during his Stay at *Lodi*, confirmed the Choice of the Emperor with respect to the Time and the Place of the Meeting of the Council, and issued accordingly, on the 9th of *December*, a Bull appointing a General Council to meet in the City of *Constance* by the 1st of *November*, and requiring all Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, &c. to assist at it in Person or by Deputies, Men of Learning and Probity. The Substance of the Bull was, that the Affair of the intended Reformation not being completed by the Council of *Pisa*, as it was not thought expedient to keep the Bishops any longer from their Sees, his Predecessor, *Alexander* V. had referred it to a Council to be assembled in the Term of Three Years; that *Alexander* dying in the mean time, he, his Successor, had convened a Council at *Rome* within the limited Time, but the Number of Bishops that attended it being too small to undertake so great and so important a Work, he had resolved, with the Advice of the Cardinals, to assemble another; that this Resolution being approved by his beloved Son *Sigismund*, King of the *Romans*, they had chosen the City of *Constance* for the Place, and the First of *November* of the following Year for the Time of their Meeting; he concluded with confirming that Choice, and promising to leave nothing in his Power unattempted to banish all Divisions from the Church, and restore the so long wished for Peace and Tranquillity [b].

The Pope passes the Winter at Mantua.

From *Lodi* the Pope and the Emperor removed to *Cremona*, and there every thing relating to the Council being now settled, they took Leave of each other till their meeting again at *Constance*. The Pope went to *Mantua* to visit his Friend and Protector *John Gonzaga* Lord of that City, and passed with him the whole Winter. Early in the Spring he returned to *Bologna*, and on the First of *April* 1414 dispatched from thence *Bartholomew*, Bishop of *Pesaro*, into *England*, to procure a Subsidy for the Defence of the Church against *Ladislaus*, who having reduced all St. *Peter*'s Patrimony, all *Umbria*, and great Part of *Flaminia*, was preparing, as the Pope was informed, to lay Siege to *Bologna*. What Success attended the Legate in *England* we know not.

Death of King Ladislaus. Year of Christ 1414.

But before his Return the Pope was delivered from his Fears by the unexpected Death of King *Ladislaus*. That Prince was taken dangerously ill at *Perugia* when upon the Point of setting out at the Head of his victorious Army for *Bologna*, and being conveyed, as his Ma-

[b] Concil. Labbei. tom. 12. col. 232.

lady

lady daily increaſed from *Perugia* to *Oſtia*, and from thence by Sea to *Naples*, he died there on the 6th of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year 1414. As he died under the Sentence of Excommunication, his Siſter *Joan* II. who ſucceeded him, ordered him to be privately buried in the Church of St. *John*, but a few Years after ſhe cauſed a ſtately Tomb to be erected in the Place where his Remains lay interred, which is to be ſeen to this Day [c]. *Monſtrelet* and after him *Mezeray* tell us that the *Florentines*, apprehending that *Ladiſlaus* intended to fall upon them, bribed a Phyſician of *Perugia* to diſpatch him with Poiſon, and that the Phyſician, with whoſe Daughter the King had a criminal Converſation, firſt poiſoned her, and by her Means conveyed the Poiſon to him [d]. But *Poggius*, *Leonard* of *Arezzo*, and *Antonine*, all Three contemporary Authors, take no Notice of Poiſon being adminiſtered to him, and *Collenius* in his Hiſtory of *Naples* ſpeaks of it doubtfully [e]. Year of Chriſt 1414.

The Pope being now delivered from ſo implacable and powerful an Enemy, and ſtanding no longer in Need of the Emperor's Protection, as the Cities, moſt grievouſly oppreſſed by the Conquerors, were all ready to return under his Obedience, he heartily repented his having conſented to the aſſembling of a Council, eſpecially at a Place, where he ſhould be entirely in the Power of the Emperor, whom he begun to diſtruſt, and indeed not without Reaſon. For *Sigiſmund* had declared in ſome of his Letters to the other Princes, particularly in his Letter to *Charles* of *France*, that his Intention in aſſembling a General Council was to have it determined by the Church, which of the Three, ſtiling themſelves Popes, or whether any of them, had a juſt Title and Right to that Dignity. *John* was therefore ſtrongly inclined to return to *Rome*, not doubting but the *Romans* would receive him with open Arms, and to ſend a Legate to aſſiſt at the Council in his Room. To this he was adviſed by many of his Friends, ſays St. *Antonine*, *eum temporaliter diligentes*, who preferred their own Intereſt to the Reputation of the Pope and the good of the Church. But the Cardinals repreſenting to him that his Honour was at Stake, that he was under an Engagement with the Emperor to meet him at *Conſtance*; that by ſo manifeſt a Breach of his Word he would incur his high Diſpleaſure,

The Pope repents his having conſented to the aſſembling of a Council;

[c] Leonard. Aretin. Poggius, Antoninus. [d] Mezeray Abregé, chron. tom. 3. p. 328. [e] Hiſt. Neapol. l. 4. p. 387.

Year of Chriſt 1414.

and of a Friend make him his ſworn Enemy; that he had nothing to fear, being lawful Succeſſor to *Alexander* V. whom the Council of *Piſa* had acknowleged for lawful Pope; that his failing of his Word on ſo important an Occaſion would eſtrange from him the Minds of all the Chriſtian Princes, and by them all he would be looked upon as one, more concerned for his own private Intereſt than for the public Welfare of the Church, &c. Upon thoſe Repreſentations he reſolved, at all Adventures, to aſſiſt at the Council in Perſon. However before his Departure from *Bologna* he inſiſted upon the Magiſtrates of *Conſtance* taking the following Oath, that he ſhould be acknowleged by them for the only true and lawful Pope, and received with all the Honours due to that Dignity; that he ſhould be under no Kind of Reſtraint, but be allowed full Liberty to ſtay and depart at his Pleaſure; that during his Stay he ſhould be on all Occaſions treated as true Pope; that his Juriſdiction ſhould be freely exerciſed by him and his Officers, both in Spirituals and Temporals; that if any Attempt ſhould be made upon his Courtiers by any Perſon, belonging to the City of *Conſtance*, or upon any come to aſſiſt at the Council, the Magiſtrates ſhould do immediate Juſtice upon him, as he ſhould do upon his Officers, if they ſhould attempt any Thing upon any of the Citizens; that an inviolable Regard ſhould be paid to every Safe Conduct granted by him or his Chamberlain to any Perſon whatever, provided he be not a rebellious Subject, or an Enemy of the City; that the Magiſtrates ſhould take care that all the Places of their Territory be free and open, ſo that all Perſons may paſs and repaſs unmoleſted. Theſe Articles being, by the Emperor's Order, all ſworn to by the Magiſtrates of *Conſtance*, and a Copy of them, ſigned by them all, ſent to the Pope, he ſet out as ſoon as he received them for *Conſtance*, attended by moſt of the Cardinals, and a great Number of Prelates and other Perſons of Diſtinction. He left *Bologna* on the Firſt of *October*, but as he travelled very ſlow, and in great State, he did not reach *Conſtance* till the 29th of that Month. On that Day he made his public Entry in the Attire of High Pontiff, was received at the Gate, and attended by the Magiſtrates and the Clergy in a Body to the Palace prepared for his Reception [f]. It is remarkable that on this Occaſion

but is perſuaded by the Cardinals to ſtand to his former Reſolution.

Oath taken by the Magiſtrates of Conſtance.

[f] Bzovius ad ann. 1714. Nauclerus Generatione 28.

the Hoſt was carried before the Pope upon a white Pad, with a little Bell at its Neck. Year of Chriſt 1414.

The Council was appointed by the Pope and the Emperor to meet on the Firſt of *November* of the preſent Year 1414. The Pope therefore, having celebrated Maſs with great Solemnity on that Day, ordered the Firſt Seſſion to be held on *Saturday* the Third of that Month. On that Day it was held accordingly, but the Number of Prelates being yet very ſmall, and the Emperor not yet arrived, nothing of Moment was tranſacted; and the Second Seſſion was put off, firſt to the 27th of *December*, and afterwards to the Month of *March* of the following Year 1415. In the mean time arrived *John Dominic*, Cardinal of *Raguſa*, with the Character of Legate from Pope *Gregory* XII. who, being lodged by the Magiſtrates in the Convent of the *Auguſtinians*, cauſed the Arms of *Gregory* to be ſet up there. But *John* ordered them to be pulled down the following Night; which being looked upon by the Legate and the Partizans of *Gregory* as a Breach of the Peace, a Quarrel would have enſued between them and the Partizans of Pope *John*, had not the Fathers of the Council interpoſed; and by them it was determined, after many long and warm Debates, that the Arms of *Gregory* ought not to be ſet up where *John* was acknowleged [s].

The Council meets.

First Seſſion.

John Huſs of whom I have ſpoken above, having obtained a Safe Conduct from the Emperor, *commanding all his loving Subjects to let him paſs, ſtop, ſtay, and return freely without any Hindrance whatever*; reſolved to attend the Council, which he thought he might do with all Safety, and give them an Account of his real Doctrine, ſeeing many Tenets were aſcribed to him by his Enemies, which he had never held, but abhorred and deteſted as much as they. Of this his Reſolution he gave publick Notice at *Prague* before he left that City, cauſing Papers to be put up at the Doors of all the Churches to invite thoſe, who charged him with Hereſy, to *Conſtance*, to be there Witneſſes of his Innocence or his Conviction: The like Papers he cauſed to be fixed up in all the Places on the Road, through which he paſſed, that they, who ſuſpected him of Hereſy, might repair to *Conſtance*, and there make it appear before the Pope and the Council that he had taught any thing repugnant to the Catholic Faith. The Safe

John Huſs *arrives at* Conſtance.

[s] Cerretanus apud Bzovium, ad ann. 1414.

Year of Chriſt 1414.

Conduct granted to him by the Emperor was dated the 18th of *October*, and he arrived at *Conſtance* on the 3d of *November* [h].

But as he continued even at *Conſtance* not only to ſay Maſs daily, though he had been excommunicated by the Pope, but to maintain his Doctrine in private Converſation, and exclaim, perhaps with too much Acrimony, againſt the Irregularities of the Clergy, his Two ſworn Enemies, *Stephen Paletz*, Profeſſor of Divinity in *Prague*, and *Michael de Cauſis*, Pariſh-Prieſt in that City, took Occaſion from thence to inſinuate to the Cardinals, that they would do well to confine him, and prevent him by that Means from propagating his impious Doctrine. A Summons was therefore ſent to him, at their Inſtigation, to appear forthwith before the Pope and the Cardinals, in order to give an Account of his Faith. When he received the Summons, he told thoſe, who brought it, with great Compoſure, that he was come to *Conſtance* to give an Account of his Faith in full Council, and not barely in a private Congregation of the Pope and the Cardinals, but would nevertheleſs comply with the Summons, and retract, if convicted of any the leaſt Error. The Pope and the Cardinals, after a ſhort Examination, diſmiſſed him, entirely ſatisfied, ſo far as appeared, with his Anſwers. However, in a Congregation held the ſame Day in the Afternoon, it was reſolved that he ſhould be committed to Priſon, and he was, purſuant to that Reſolution, carried the ſame Evening, the 28th of *November*, or, as others will have it, the 3d of *December*, to the Houſe of the Chaunter of *Conſtance*, and there confined under a ſtrong Guard. *John de Chlum*, a *Bohemian* Lord, who had accompanied *John Huſs*, being one of his moſt zealous Friends, from *Bohemia* to *Conſtance*, complained, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, to the Pope and the Cardinals of his Impriſonment as an open Violation of the public Faith, and the Emperor's Safe Conduct. As they gave no Ear to his Complaints, only alleging that *Huſs* had no Safe Conduct from the Council, he wrote the ſame Day to the Emperor, to acquaint him with what had paſſed, and beg that, his Authority as well as his Reputation being at Stake, he would order his Safe Conduct to be ſtrictly obſerved, and the Priſoner releaſed. *Sigiſmund*, upon the Receipt of that Letter, diſpatched immediately an Order to his Embaſſadors at *Conſtance* to cauſe *J. Huſs* to be ſet at Liberty, and even to

Is impriſoned in Defiance of his Safe Conduct.

[h] Cerretan. apud Bzovium ad hunc ann. et Cochleus Hiſt. Huſſit. l. 2. c. 48.

employ

employ Force, and break open the Doors of the Priſon, if his Order was not complied with. But the Pope and the Cardinals prevailed upon the Embaſſadors to ſuſpend the Execution of that Order till the Arrival of the Emperor, and in the mean time *Huſs* was removed from the Chaunter's Houſe to a Priſon in the Convent of the Preaching Friars, and Four Cardinals, Six Archbiſhops, and ſeveral Biſhops, with the Generals of the Preaching Friars and the *Minorites*, were appointed to examine him concerning his Doctrine [i].

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The *Roman* Catholic Writers, to juſtify the impriſoning of *J. Huſs*, notwithſtanding his Safe Conduct, pretend that by maintaining his impious Doctrines, as they call them, even at *Conſtance*, he rendered himſelf unworthy of the Protection, to which his Safe Conduct would have otherwiſe juſtly intitled him. They add, that he attempted to make his Eſcape out of *Conſtance* upon the Arrival of *Paletz* and *de Cauſis*, who, he knew, could bear Witneſs to the many Errors, with which he had infected moſt of the Members of the Univerſity of *Prague*. The Pope and the Cardinals would therefore, ſay they, have been greatly to blame, had they not confined him for all his Safe Conduct, and thus prevented his Return to *Bohemia*, where he had many powerful Friends, and might, with Impunity, have propagated his Errors under their Protection. Thus *Pagi*, *Maimbourg*, and others. But, I. *Huſs*'s Doctrine, whatever it was, had not yet been condemned by the Council, and conſequently it could be no Crime in him to maintain it at *Conſtance*, or any-where elſe; the rather, as he declared himſelf ready to retract, if convinced of holding any the leaſt Error. II. As he came to *Conſtance* to give an Account of his Doctrine to the Council, and the Emperor had granted him a Safe Conduct for that Purpoſe, the Pope and the Cardinals were evidently guilty of a Breach of the Safe Conduct, as well as of the public Faith, in committing him to Priſon before he had an Opportunity of giving an Account of his Doctrine to the Council. III. Had his Opinions been ever ſo erroneous, he could not yet be reputed a Heretic, nor be impriſoned, or any otherwiſe treated as ſuch, as he declared himſelf ready, if convinced of any Error, to abjure it without Heſitation, and it is not an erroneous Opinion, but Obſtinacy in maintaining it, that makes a Heretic. We ſhall ſee in the Sequel that *Huſs* maintained no Opinions,

[i] Cochlæus, ubi ſupra.

that

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that were either *impious* or *heretical*, even according to the Principles of the Church of *Rome*, but would have triumphed over all his Enemies, had the Council been diſpoſed to hear him.——As for his attempting to make his Eſcape out of *Conſtance*, the Two contemporary Writers, *Riechental*, Canon of *Conſtance*, and *Dacherius*, Counſellor to the Elector of *Saxony*, both upon the Spot at the Time, relate it as happening after his Impriſonment [k]. Indeed, had it happened before, the Pope, we may be ſure, would not have failed to allege it; and he could not have alleged a more plauſible Reaſon to juſtify ſuch a Step. Yet when *John de Chlum*, and other *Bohemian* Lords, urged the Safe Conduct for the Releaſe of the Priſoner, the Pope, taking no Notice of ſuch an Attempt, returned no other Anſwer, than that the Safe Conduct was not granted by him nor the Council, but only by the Emperor, who could grant no Safe Conduct to the Prejudice of the Faith or the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; that *Huſs*, abuſing his Safe Conduct, had maintained his impious Doctrines even at *Conſtance*, and thereby rendered himſelf unworthy of the Emperor's Protection. Who can ſuppoſe, that if *Huſs* had attempted his Eſcape before his Impriſonment, the Pope would not have urged it to juſtify what he had done, and at the ſame Time to excuſe ſo bare-faced a Violation of the Emperor's Safe Conduct?——Some have pretended, that the Emperor granted a Safe Conduct to *Huſs*, upon Condition he ſubmitted his Doctrine to the Judgment of the Council. But the Words of the Safe Conduct were, *You ſhall let* John Huſs *paſs*, *ſtop*, *ſtay*, *and return freely*, *without any Hindrance whatever*; where no Condition is expreſſed; and beſides, he was arreſted and impriſoned before he had an Opportunity of ſubmitting his Doctrine to the Judgment of the Council.

The Emperor arrives at Conſtance.

During theſe Tranſactions the Emperor, who had gone to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, to be crowned there with the Silver Crown, in order to make a more auguſt Appearance at the Council, arrived on *Chriſtmas-Eve* with the Empreſs, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Queen of *Boſnia*, at a Place on the Lake of *Conſtance* called *Uberlinga*, and embarking there, landed a little before Midnight at *Conſtance*. As the Pope was then celebrating his Firſt Maſs (for all Prieſts are allowed to ſay Three Maſſes on *Chriſtmas-Eve*) the Emperor haſtened from the Shore to the Cathedral, and there not only aſſiſted at Divine Service, but ſung the

[m] Apud Lenfant. Hiſt. du Concile de Conſtance, l. 1. p. 58.

Goſpel

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Goſpel in the Habit of a Deacon, a Privilege enjoyed by no Layman but the Emperor. When or by whom this Privilege was granted, we know not; but *Charles* IV. the Father of the preſent Emperor, is the Firſt whom we find upon Record to have uſed it, and that on Occaſion of a General Diet of the Empire held at *Mentz* in 1356. The Emperor was applied to ſoon after his Arrival by ſeveral Lords of *Bohemia* in Favour of *John Huſs*, impriſoned in open Defiance of his Safe Conduct. But the Pope and the Cardinals, pretending that in Matters of Faith the Emperor had no Authority to grant a Safe Conduct, had already obtained Leave to proceed, according to the Canons, againſt ſuch as were tainted with Hereſy, notwithſtanding their Safe Conduct.

Number and Quality of the Perſons preſent at the Council.

Of the Number and Quality of the Perſons, who aſſiſted at this Council, we have Liſts made at the Time, and by Perſons upon the Spot, namely, by *Riechental* and *Dacherius*; and according to thoſe Liſts, there were preſent about Thirty Cardinals, Three or Four Patriarchs, Twenty Archbiſhops, One hundred and Fifty Biſhops, One hundred Abbots, One hundred and Fifty other Prelates, ſuch as Priors and Generals of Religious Orders, above Two hundred Doctors of Divinity, as well as of Civil and Canon Law, Four Electors, *viz.* the Elector *Palatine*, and the Electors of *Mentz*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenbourg*, Nineteen Dukes, Eighty-three Counts, and prodigious Numbers of other Perſons of Rank, of Eccleſiaſtics of all Conditions, of Embaſſadors from Princes, and Deputies from Cities, Chapters, and Communities, there being ſcarce any Church, City, State, or Community in *Europe* that had not its Embaſſadors or Deputies at this Council. As the Pope, the Emperor, the Cardinals, and the other dignified Eccleſiaſtics, as well as the ſecular Princes, had all numerous Retinues, their Number, in all, amounted, if *Blondus* is to be credited, to Forty thouſand Perſons and upwards, and their Horſes, according to *Antonine* of *Florence*, to Thirty thouſand [m]; inſomuch, that to prevent the total Want of Fodder, that ſoon became very ſcarce, a Decree was iſſued by the Council, allowing to the Pope and the ſovereign Princes Twenty Horſes each, and no more, to the Cardinals Ten, to the Biſhops Five, and Three to the Abbots [n].

[m] Blond. Decad. 2. l. 1. Antonin. tit. 22. c. 6. num. 13.

[n] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1414.

Gregory

Year of Chriſt 1414.

Both Gregory *and* Benedict *ſend Deputies to the Council.*

Gregory and *Benedict* were both invited by the Emperor to aſſiſt at the Council, and both ſent Deputies to aſſiſt in their Room. The Deputies or Nuncios of *Gregory* declared upon their Arrival, that their Maſter was ready to reſign, upon Condition that both his Competitors reſigned; and all of his Obedience, among whom was the Duke of *Bavaria*, ſolemnly engaged to renounce his Obedience, if, in that Caſe, he did not reſign. At the ſame time all of *Gregory*'s Party joined in petitioning the Emperor and the Fathers of the Council, that *Balthaſar Coſſa*, ſtiling himſelf *John* XXIII. might not be allowed to preſide at the Council, nor even be preſent when the Manner of removing the Schiſm came under Deliberation, as it was not to be doubted but he would oppoſe the moſt effectual of all, the Way of Ceſſion. This gave Occaſion to ſeveral private Conferences, at which the leading Men among the Biſhops were preſent, with ſome of the Cardinals; and by them it was agreed, that a Renunciation was the only Method of reſtoring Tranquillity; that it ſhould be propoſed to the Pope, and all ſhould join in exhorting him to embrace it. In theſe Conferences Two other Points were ſettled of no ſmall Importance; *viz.* I. That not only Biſhops, Abbots, and the Deputies of the abſent Biſhops, ſhould be allowed the Privilege of voting, but that the ſame Privilege ſhould be granted to all Doctors, whether in Divinity, or in Civil and Canon Law, and even to the Embaſſadors of Princes, of States and Communities, in what related to the extinguiſhing of the Schiſm, ſince by them the Decrees relating thereunto were to be carried into Execution. II. That all preſent at the Council ſhould be comprized under the Four principal Nations, namely, the *Italian*, the *Engliſh*, the *French*, and the *German*; that all Points under Debate ſhould be decided by the Majority, not of ſingle Votes, but of Nations, and that the Majority of Votes in each Nation ſhould be reputed the Vote of that Nation. As the *Italian* Biſhops, depending entirely upon the Pope, exceeded in Number thoſe of all the other Nations together, this Method of voting was contrived to prevent the Pope from becoming, by their Means, abſolute Maſter of the Council. Each Nation had, purſuant to this Regulation, a particular Aſſembly to conſider of the Matters that were to be laid before the Council; in theſe Aſſemblies every Member was at full Liberty to propoſe by Word of Mouth, or in Writing, what he thought expedient

Some material Points ſettled in private Congregations.

pedient for the Good of the Church; they communicated their Reſolutions to each other, and when they had all agreed upon any Article, it was carried, ſigned and ſealed, to the next Seſſion, to be approved by the Council; ſo that the Council only confirmed what had been previouſly determined firſt in the Particular, and afterwards in the General Aſſemblies of the Nations. Year of Chriſt 1414.

Theſe Points being ſettled in private Congregations, at which were preſent moſt of the leading Men of the Four Nations, it was thought expedient that they ſhould be notified to the Pope, and that a General Aſſembly of the Nations ſhould be convened for that Purpoſe. A General Aſſembly was accordingly ſummoned to meet in the Pope's Palace, and the 1ſt of *March* was the Day fixed for their Meeting, that what was there determined might the next Day be laid before the Council, which after ſeveral Prorogations was then to meet the Second Time. As it had been concluded by the Nations in their reſpective Aſſemblies, that an End could by no other Means be put to the Schiſm, but by the voluntary Reſignation of the Three Competitors, *John*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, a *Frenchman*, and Preſident of the *French* Nation, propoſed that Method to the Pope, earneſtly intreating him, in the Name of the other Nations, to agree to it, as the only Means of reſtoring a laſting Peace to the Church. The Pope, to the great Surprize of the whole Aſſembly, conſented to it at once, nay, he drew up himſelf a Form of Reſignation, and finding that the Members of the Aſſembly were not ſatisfied with it, he left the Affair to their Wiſdom and Diſcretion, only begging that they would not forget the Regard that was due to his Rank and Dignity. The Deputies of the Nations, availing themſelves of his preſent Diſpoſition, whether real or pretended, drew up and preſented to him another Form, which he read firſt to himſelf, and then publicly, without complaining in the leaſt of, or objecting to, any of the Articles it contained. It was drawn up in the following Terms: *I Pope* John XXIII. *for the Peace of the whole Chriſtian World, declare, promiſe, vow, and ſwear to God, to his Holy Church, and to this Holy Council, to give Peace to the Church by the way of Ceſſion, or Reſignation of the Pontificate, and to execute freely and ſpontaneouſly what I now promiſe, in caſe* Peter de Luna, *and* Angelus Corarius, *called in their Obediences,* Benedict XIII. *and* Gregory XII. *in like Manner reſign their pretended Dignity, and alſo in caſe either of*

The Method of Reſignation propoſed to the Pope, Year of Chriſt 1415.

who agrees to it.

Form of Reſignation drawn up by the Deputies of the Nations.

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Reſignation, of Death, or in any other, when my Reſignation may give Peace to the Church of God, and extirpate the preſent Schiſm. This Form the Pope read the next Day in full Council, and at theſe Words *I vow and ſwear*, he roſe from his Seat, kneeled before the Altar, and laying his Hand upon his Breaſt, ſaid, *I promiſe thus to obſerve it*, then ſitting down again, he finiſhed the reading of it with the ſame Promiſe. When he had done, the Emperor, laying down his Crown, and proſtrating himſelf before him, kiſſed his Foot, and thanked him, in the Name of the whole Council, for his good Reſolution. At the ſame time the Council, the Princes who were preſent, and the Embaſſadors of thoſe who were abſent, engaged to ſupport him, to the utmoſt of their Power, againſt his Two Competitors, if they followed not his Example [o].

Memorial preſented againſt the Pope.

The ready Compliance of the Pope with every Thing the Council required of him, was chiefly owing to a Memorial, that had been preſented, a few Days before, to the Aſſembly of the Nations againſt him, and contained a long Liſt of moſt atrocious Crimes, which the Author of the Memorial ſaid could be proved by unexceptionable Witneſſes, if the Council would be pleaſed to hear them. As moſt of thoſe Crimes were notorious, the Pope, to prevent a more ſtrict Enquiry into his paſt Life, was for pleading guilty before the Council, and putting them, at the ſame time, in Mind of the generally received Maxim, that *a Pope could not be depoſed for any Crime, except that of Hereſy*. But from that Reſolution he was diverted by his Friends; and the greater Part of the Deputies of the Nations, not thinking it decent that Crimes of ſo heinous a Nature ſhould be laid before the Public, and narrowly enquired into, they reſolved to ſuppreſs the Memorial, and, taking Advantage of the Pope's preſent Fright, to extort from him his Conſent to a Reſignation; and they ſucceeded therein, as we have ſeen. But the Council was ſoon convinced that he never intended to obſerve what he had ſo ſolemnly promiſed, ſworn, and vowed. For, finding that the Emperor, as well as the Deputies of the Nations, inſiſted upon his actually reſigning, he put it off for ſome Time with fair Words and Promiſes, and in the mean while applying to his Friend *Frideric*, Duke of *Auſtria*, he eſcaped by his Means from *Conſtance*, and fled to *Schaffauſen*, a ſtrong Hold belonging to the Duke,

The Pope eſcapes from Conſtance *to* Schaffauſen.

[o] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1415. Acta Concil. col. 184.

and

and distant but Four *German* Miles from *Constance*. As *Frideric* held many strong Places in the Neighbourhood of *Constance*, and was besides Lord of *Tirol*, the Pope, in passing through that Province, in his Way to the Council, had made a secret Treaty with him, and appointed him Captain-General of all the Troops of the *Roman* Church, with a Salary of Six thousand Florins of Gold, to be paid yearly out of the Apostolic Chamber; and the Duke, on his Side, had engaged to bring his Holiness off, if he liked not the Proceedings of the Council, and offered him a safe Retreat in his Dominions. To him therefore the Pope had Recourse, when pressed by the Emperor and the Deputies of the Nations to perform his Promise and resign. The Duke thereupon immediately repaired to *Constance*, and in a private Conference with the Pope by Night it was agreed, that the Duke should give a Turnament, and his Holiness should make his Escape in Disguise while all were at the Show. The Duke gave accordingly, on the 20th of *March*, that Entertainment then in Vogue above all others, and while the whole City was taken up with it, the Pope, in the Disguise of a Groom, rode through the Crowd upon a shabby Horse in the Dusk of the Evening, and got undiscovered to *Schaffausen*. The same Evening he wrote, and sent the next Morning the following Letter to the Emperor to excuse his Flight, and at the same time to prevent him from suspecting the Duke of *Austria* of having been privy to it. " My dear Son, by the Grace of Almighty God, I am arrived " at *Schaffausen*, where I enjoy my Liberty, and Air that agrees with " my Constitution. I came hither, unknown to my Son the Duke " of *Austria*, not to be exempted from keeping the Promise I have " made to abdicate for the Peace of the holy Church of God, but " on the contrary to do it freely and without endangering my Health." The Direction was, *To my most dear Son* Sigismund, *King of the* Romans.

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He writes from thence to the Emperor.

The Pope flattered himself that by his Absence the Council would be dissolved, and the Bishops would all return to their respective Sees. But the Emperor, riding through the City, attended by the Elector *Palatine*, Marshal of the Empire, with Trumpets sounding before him, declared that the Council was not dissolved by the Flight of the Pope, but that he would defend it to the last Drop of his Blood; and the celebrated *John Gerson*, Chancellor of the University of *Paris*,

The Emperor resolves to support the Council.

Year of Christ 1415.

made an Oration before the Emperor and the Deputies of the Nations, to prove that a General Council was ſuperior to the Pope, and that its Determinations held good, whether the Pope was preſent or abſent, whether he approved or diſapproved of them [p].

Articles approved by the Council in the Third Seſſion.

The Third Seſſion was held, notwithſtanding the Abſence of the Pope, on the 25th of *March*, at which were preſent only Fifty-ſix Archbiſhops and Biſhops, Twenty-five Abbots, and Two Cardinals, *Peter d'Ailly*, Cardinal of *Cambray*, and *Francis Zabarella*, Cardinal of *Florence*, the Reſt being gone, or having been ſent by the Council to perſuade the Pope to return, or pretending to be indiſpoſed. At this Seſſion the Cardinal of *Cambray* preſided, and the Emperor aſſiſted in Perſon, attended by the Princes of the Empire, and the Embaſſadors of all the other Princes. In this Seſſion the following Articles were read by the Cardinal of *Florence*, and approved by all who were preſent; I. That the Council had been lawfully aſſembled in the City of *Conſtance*. II. That it was not diſſolved by the withdrawing of the Pope and the Cardinals. III. That it ſhould not be diſſolved till the Schiſm was removed, and the Church reformed in its Head and Members. IV. That the Biſhops ſhould not depart, without a juſt Cauſe approved by the Deputies of the Nations, till the Council was ended; and laſtly, if they obtained Leave of the Council to depart, they ſhould appoint others to vote for them as their Deputies or Proxies [q].

The Pope's Letter to the French *Nation.*

In the mean time moſt of the Cardinals, who had been ſent to the Pope, or had followed him of their own Accord, returned to *Conſtance*, and with them the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, whom the Pope had charged with a Letter to the *French* Nation, to aſſure them that it was not out of Fear, or any Apprehenſion of Danger from his Son the King of the *Romans*, that he had left *Conſtance*, but merely for the Sake of the Air, and that being but at a ſmall Diſtance from the Council, he would readily concur with them in all their Reſolutions as ſoon as communicated to him. But his Stay at *Schaffauſen* was very ſhort; for the Emperor, being certainly informed that the Duke of *Auſtria* had been acceſſary to his Flight, had put that Prince under the Ban of the Empire, and was preparing to invade his Dominions. Upon that Intelligence the Pope, thinking himſelf no longer ſafe at *Schaffauſen*,

Flies from Schaffauſen.

[p] Acta Concil. apud Labbeum. Concil. tom. 12. col. 1464. Naucler. p. 1046. et Theſaur. novus Anecdot. col. 1684. [q] Acta Concil. ibid.

removed

removed from thence in great Haſte to *Lauffenberg*, a ſtrong Place on the *Rhine* belonging likewiſe to the Duke. He had writ, as has been ſaid, but a few Days before, that it was not out of Fear he had left *Conſtance*. But as ſoon as he got out of *Schaffauſen*, he ſent for a Notary and Witneſſes, and in their Preſence declared, that every Thing he had ſworn at *Conſtance* was the Effect of Fear, and that he was not therefore obliged to keep his Oath [h].

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The Fourth Seſſion was held on *Eaſter-Eve*, the 30th of *March*, and the Cardinals were all preſent at it, except thoſe who were indiſpoſed, with about Two hundred Biſhops, a great Number of Abbots, and the Embaſſadors of *France*, *England*, *Poland*, *Cyprus*, and *Navarre*. The Emperor aſſiſted in his royal Robes, and the following Articles, drawn up the Day before in a General Aſſembly of the Nations, were read by the Cardinal of *Florence*, and approved by the Council: *That the preſent Council lawfully aſſembled in the City of* Conſtance, *and repreſenting the whole Church militant, holds its Power immediately of Jeſus Chriſt, and all Perſons of whatever State or Dignity (the Papal not excepted) are bound to obey it in what concerns the Faith, the Extirpation of the Schiſm, and the Reformation of the Church in its Head and Members.* Thus we have the Superiority of a General Council to the Pope eſtabliſhed and defined by a General Council lawfully aſſembled. What *Sckelſtrate* ſays may be true, *viz.* that the Words *concerning the Faith* are not to be found in ſome of the Manuſcripts of the *Vatican* Library. But he owns that they are to be met with in moſt other Manuſcripts as ancient as the Council itſelf, and that in the next Seſſion this very Article was confirmed with the Addition of thoſe Words. The other Articles, approved and confirmed in this Seſſion, were, that none of the Officers of the Pope's Court ſhould withdraw from *Conſtance* without the Permiſſion of the Council, and that his Proceedings againſt them ſhould be all reputed null; that Three Deputies ſhould be appointed out of each Nation to examine the Reaſons that they, who wanted to leave the Council, ſhould allege for leaving it; that no new Cardinals ſhould be created, and that thoſe alone ſhould be reputed true Cardinals, who had been publicly owned as ſuch before the Pope's Flight from *Conſtance*.

Articles eſtabliſhed by the Council in the Fourth Seſſion.

The Superiority of a General Council to the Pope defined.

[h] Niem. apud Wender. Hardt. tom. 3. p. 403.

In

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The Pope notifies his Second Flight.

In the mean time the Pope notified his Second Flight by a Bull dated the 4th of *April*, and addreſſed to all the Faithful; and in that Bull, openly contradicting again what he writ upon his Firſt Flight to the Emperor, he declares, that he had left *Schaffauſen* from a juſt Apprehenſion of being put under an Arreſt, and thus diſabled from executing what he had promiſed, and that the ſame Reaſon had obliged him to retire from *Schaffauſen* to *Lauffenberg*. But the Emperor, highly provoked againſt the Duke of *Auſtria* for favouring his Eſcape, and affording him an Aſylum in his Dominions, having in the mean time ſent an Army of Forty thouſand Men to invade his Territories, the Pope, alarmed at the Progreſs they made, ſoon left *Lauffenberg*, and fled firſt to *Friburg*, and after a ſhort Stay there, to *Briſac*, a very ſtrong Place belonging to the Duke his Protector, and diſtant Three Days Journey from *Conſtance*. The Council had ſent, upon the Firſt Notice they had of his Flight from *Schaffauſen*, a ſolemn Embaſſy, at the Head of which were the Two Cardinals of *St. Mark* and of *Florence*, to invite him back to *Conſtance*, and aſſure him, in their Name and the Emperor's, that no Violence ſhould be offered him. If he refuſed to return, or to appoint Deputies to reſign, in due Form, in his Name, they were to let him know that the Council would proceed againſt him as guilty of Perjury, and the Author of the Schiſm. The Embaſſadors found him at *Briſac*; and he promiſed to grant them an Audience the next Day. But early in the Morning he left the Place, and went to *Neuenberg*, diſtant Two Leagues from *Briſac*. From thence he returned to *Friburg*, and was met there by the Embaſſadors, who apprehending that he might eſcape early from thence the next Day, as he had done from *Briſac*, went to wait upon him while he was yet in Bed. He received them in a very indecent Poſture, *Scalpendo ſe inferius inverecunde*, heard their Meſſage, and returned to it the following Anſwer; that he was ready to perform his Promiſe, though extorted from him by Fear, and reſign the Dignity to which he had an undoubted Right, upon the following Conditions and no other. I. That the Emperor ſhould grant him a ſafe Conduct in due Form, ſuch as he himſelf ſhould dictate. II. That a Decree ſhould be iſſued by the Council, granting him entire Freedom and Security, and exempting him from being moleſted upon any Account whatever. III. That a Stop ſhould be put to the War againſt the Duke of *Auſtria*. IV. That after

A ſolemn Embaſſy ſent to the Pope by the Council.

His Demands.

after his Reſignation he ſhould be appointed perpetual Legate over all *Italy*, or enjoy, during Life, the *Bologneſe* and the County of *Avignon*, with a yearly Penſion of Thirty thouſand Florins of Gold; and laſtly, that he ſhould hold of no Perſon whatever, nor be obliged to give an Account to any Perſon of what he had done, or might thenceforth do [l]. Year of Chriſt 1415.

In the mean time the Fifth Seſſion was held at *Conſtance* on *Saturday* the 6th of *April*, at which preſided Cardinal *Urſini*, Biſhop of *Albano*, and the Emperor aſſiſted in his Imperial Robes with the Electors and other Princes of the Empire. In this Seſſion the Determinations of the Fourth were all confirmed, thoſe eſpecially that related to the Superiority of the Council to the Pope; and it was further declared, that the Pope was obliged to obey the Decrees of the Council, and ſtand to its Deciſions; that if he refuſed to reſign, the Faithful ſhould all withdraw their Obedience from him, and he ſhould be looked upon as actually depoſed; that his Flight from *Conſtance* was unlawful, and prejudicial to the Unity of the Church; that if he would return, a moſt ample ſafe Conduct ſhould be granted to him, and if he performed his Promiſe and reſigned, he ſhould be provided for, during Life, as ſhould be judged proper by Four Perſons named by him, and Four named by the Council [m]. *Decrees of the Fifth Seſſion.*

As it was defined in the preceding and confirmed in the preſent Seſſion, *that Perſons of what Rank and Dignity ſoever (the Papal not excepted) are bound to obey the preſent Council in what concerns the Faith, the Extirpation of the Schiſm, and the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members*, the Sticklers for the Papal Supremacy confine that Definition to the preſent Time, the Time of Schiſm, when it is not known which of the Pretenders to the Papal Dignity is true and lawful Pope. But in Anſwer to that it muſt be obſerved, I. That the preſent Council acknowleged *John* XXIII. for lawful Pope; and yet declared him bound to obey the Council in what concerned the Faith, *&c.* which was, in Effect, declaring every Pope, how canonically ſoever elected, bound to obey a General Council. II. That they actually depoſed him at the ſame time that they owned him for true and lawful Pope, and conſequently believed themſelves to be veſted with a Power ſuperior to that of a true and lawful Pope. III. That they claimed that *The Superiority of a General Council to the Pope defined.*

[l] Niem. apud Wender. Hardt. tom. 3. p. 403.

[m] Idem ibid.

Power

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Power as repreſenting the whole Church militant, which was declaring the ſame Power to be veſted in every other General Council, as every General Council repreſents the whole Church militant. IV. That the Decrees and Definitions of the preſent Council, and this amongſt the Reſt ſubjecting the Pope to a General Council, had ſuch Approbation and Confirmation as has ever been thought ſufficient to make the Decrees of a General Council of unqueſtionable Authority in the Church; and no ſatisfactory Reaſon can be aſſigned why the other Decrees ſhould be received, if this be rejected. In the ſame Seſſion, *Peter d'Ailly*, Cardinal of *Cambray*, *William Philaſterius*, Cardinal of *St. Mark*, *Stephen Coëvret*, Biſhop of *Dol*, *John de Martiniaco*, Abbot of *Citeaux*, and ſeveral Doctors in Divinity and Canon Law were named by the Council to examine the Doctrine of *John Wickliffe*, and *John Huſs*, who was ſtill kept cloſely confined, and not yet allowed to appear before the Council, to which he had appealed.

The Sixth Seſſion. The Deputies of the Nations draw up a Form of Renunciation to be ſent to the Pope.

The Sixth Seſſion was held on *Wedneſday* the 17th of *April*, at which preſided *John de Brogni*, as he did at all the Reſt till the Election of a new Pope, being the oldeſt Cardinal and Dean of the College; for he had been preferred to that Dignity by *Clement* VII. in 1385. He was at this Time Biſhop of *Oſtia*, and Vice-Chancellor of the Holy *Roman* Church, but from his Firſt Biſhopric he is commonly called the Cardinal of *Viviers*. In this Seſſion the Form of Renunciation, which the Preſidents of the Four Nations had drawn up, in order to its being ſent to the Pope, was read and approved by the Emperor and the whole Council; and it was declared that he was bound by his ſolemn Oath and Vow to receive it, and that the Council would admit of no other Form.

Seventh Seſſion. The Pope ſummoned to appear.

In the Seventh Seſſion, held on *Thurſday* the 2d of *May*, the Pope was ſummoned to appear and anſwer the many Accuſations brought againſt him, and a ſafe Conduct was offered him, in the Name of the Council and likewiſe of the Emperor, *to come, to ſtay, and to depart with all Safety and Freedom.* The Summons was read at the Church-Door, and Pope *John* XXIII. was called upon to juſtify his Flight from *Conſtance*, and to clear himſelf from the Crimes of Hereſy, of Schiſm, of Simony, and from many others laid to his Charge.

The principal Buſineſs of the Eighth Seſſion, held on *Saturday* the 4th of *May*, was the condemning of *Wickliffe*'s Doctrine, Books, and Memory.

Memory. Three hundred Propoſitions and upwards advanced by him in different Books and at different Times were read in full Council by the Archbiſhop of *Genoa*, and condemned with one Conſent. The principal and moſt offenſive Articles were; The Subſtance of material Bread, and the Subſtance of material Wine, remain in the Sacrament of the Altar; the Accidents of the Bread do not remain without a Subject in the Sacrament of the Altar; *Chriſt* is not himſelf identically and really in his proper corporeal Preſence in the Sacrament; a Biſhop or Prieſt in mortal Sin cannot ordain, nor conſecrate, nor baptize; it cannot be proved from the Goſpel that *Chriſt* inſtituted the Maſs; God is obliged to obey the Devil; if a Man be truly contrite external Confeſſion is ſuperfluous; if a Pope is a Reprobate, and conſequently a Member of the Devil, he has received no Power over Believers; it is contrary to the Holy Scripture for Eccleſiaſtics to have any temporal Poſſeſſions; no Prelate ought to excommunicate a Perſon, unleſs he knows him to be excommunicated by God, and whoever excommunicates in any other Caſe excommunicates himſelf; he who excommunicates a Clergyman becauſe he has appealed to the King, or his Council, is guilty of High Treaſon; ſuch as ceaſe to preach or to hear God's Word becauſe they are excommunicated by Men, are truly excommunicated, and will be looked upon as Traitors to *Jeſus Chriſt* at the Day of Judgment; all the Mendicant Friars are Heretics, and they who give them Alms are excommunicated; during all the Time that a temporal Lord, or Prelate, or Biſhop, is in mortal Sin, he is neither Lord, nor Prelate, nor Biſhop; the Tithes are mere Alms, and it is lawful for the People to retrench them for the Sins of their Prelates; the Prayers of a reprobate Perſon avail nothing; all Things happen from abſolute Neceſſity; it is contrary to the Inſtitution of *Jeſus Chriſt* to enrich the Clergy; the Church of *Rome* is the Synagogue of Satan; it is lawful for a Prieſt or a Deacon to preach the Word of God without the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, or of any Biſhop; the Election of the Pope by the Cardinals is an Invention of the Devil; all Religious Orders were introduced by the Devil, *&c.* As no Notice is taken of the ſhocking Blaſphemy, *God is obliged to obey the Devil*, either by *Thomas* of *Walden*, or by *William Wildford*, who made it their Study to collect and confute all the *Errors*, *Hereſies*, *and Blaſphemies of the Arch-heretic* John Wickliffe, we may well ſuppoſe

Year of Chriſt 1414. *The Doctrine of* Wickliffe *condemned in the Eighth Seſſion.*

Chief Articles of his Doctrine.

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poſe, with the learned *Lenfant*, that Propoſition to have been falſly aſcribed to him, or to be but a wretched Inference from ſome of his Principles. The above Articles, and many others, were all condemned, ſome of them as notoriouſly heretical, and others as raſh, erroneous, ſeditious, and offenſive to pious Ears; *John Wickliffe* was declared a notorious, obſtinate, and impenitent Heretic, his Books were forbidden, his Memory was anathematized, and his Bones were ordered to be dug up, if they could be diſtinguiſhed from the Bones of the Faithful, and to be thrown upon a Dunghill.

Some Account of John Wickliffe.

John Wickliffe, ſo called from the Place of his Nativity, a Village of that Name near *Richmond* in *Yorkſhire*, was Doctor and Profeſſor of Divinity in *Oxford*, and Head of a College founded in that Univerſity for the Education of the Youth of *Canterbury*. But the Secular Clergy being in 1370 driven from that College by Cardinal *de Langham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Pope *Urban* V. and the Religious introduced in their Room, *Wickliffe* was obliged to yield his Place to one of them. Whether he was prompted by a true Chriſtian Zeal and the Love of Truth, or inſtigated by the Spirit of Revenge, as the *Roman* Catholic Writers would make us believe, to advance the above-mentioned Opinions, it matters little to know. However that be, his Doctrine met with a very uncommon Reception, ſo far, at leaſt, as it tended to confine the Power of the Pope, and the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops, both become quite inſupportable to the People of *England*. The Biſhops were for proceeding to the Cenſures of the Church againſt him. But the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who governed the Kingdom with an abſolute Sway, the King, *Edward* III. being very infirm and near his End, having taken *Wickliffe* into his Protection, they were obliged to content themſelves with enjoining him Silence, in a Council held at *London* in 1377, though they had received Letters from the Pope, *Gregory* XI. commanding them privately to enquire into the Doctrine ſaid to be taught by *John Wickliffe*, of which he ſent them Nineteen Articles, with a Mandate to arreſt him and keep him cloſely confined till further Orders, if convicted of holding and teaching ſuch Opinions. *Wickliffe*, depending upon the Protection of his powerful Friend, paid no Regard to the Injunction of the Biſhops, but continued openly to maintain the ſame Opinions both in his Sermons and Writings. However, finding in 1382 that the Biſhops were determined to proceed

proceed againſt him as a Heretic, and had gained over the young King, *Richard* II. to their Side, he retracted in a Council held that Year in *London*, at which preſided *William de Courtenay* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and were preſent the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Norwich*, *Worceſter*, *Saliſbury*, *Hereford*, and *London* [n]. But ſoon after he taught the ſame Doctrines again, and retiring, as he could not live peaceably at *Oxford*, to *Lutterworth* in *Leiceſterſhire*, of which Place he was Rector, he finiſhed there his *Dialogue*, *Trialogue*, and ſome other Pieces moſtly calculated to confirm the Doctrines he had taught. He died at his Rectory on the laſt Day of *December* 1384, and was buried there. As the Number of his Followers increaſed daily, even after his Death, *Thomas Arundel*, the Succeſſor of *William de Courtenay* in the See of *Canterbury*, condemned anew the chief Articles of his Doctrine in Two Councils, the one held at *London* in 1396, and the other at *Oxford* in 1408. In a General Council held at *Rome* in 1413, under the preſent Pope *John* XXIII. the *Trialogue*, *Dialogue*, and all other Books, Treatiſes, and Opuſcles or ſmall Pieces, bearing the Name of *John Wickliffe*, were ordered to be publickly burnt, and Nine Months were allowed for his Followers or Diſciples to appear at the Tribunal of the Apoſtolic See, and freely to offer whatever they could in Defence of his Memory, leſt he ſhould be condemned as a Heretic after his Death [o]. But all the Endeavours of the Popes, Biſhops, and Councils to ſuppreſs the new Doctrine proved ineffectual in this, as well as in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, where it took ſoon deep Root, till Recourſe was had to the unanſwerable Argument of Fire and Faggot. To return now to the Council.

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In the ſame Eighth Seſſion the Pope was ſummoned a Second Time to appear; and the Summons ſet up at all the Gates and Churches of *Conſtance*. At the ſame Time his Flight from *Conſtance* was again declared prejudicial to the Peace and Unity of the Church, ſhameful, ſcandalous, tending to keep up the Schiſm, and contrary to his Oath and Promiſe.

The Pope ſummoned the Second Time.

The Day after this Seſſion, *Sunday* the 5th of *May*, a general Congregation of the Nations was held, at which the Emperor aſſiſted in order to acquaint them with the Submiſſion of the Duke of *Auſtria*. For the Imperial Troops, and at the ſame Time the *Swiſs* having in-

The Emperor reconciled to the Duke of Auſtria;

[n] Concil. Labbei, tom. 11. & Walſingham in Richard. II. [o] Concil. Labbei, tom. 11. col. 2322. Cochlæus Hiſt. Huſſit. l. 1.

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vaded his Dominions, and made themſelves Maſters of many of his ſtrong Holds, he had no other Reſource to ſave the Reſt, but to recur to the Emperor, and throw himſelf upon his Mercy. Accordingly he came to *Conſtance*, having firſt obtained a Safe Conduct from the Emperor. But *Sigiſmund* would not ſee him till he had conſulted the Nations about the Manner in which he ſhould treat him. The Four Nations being therefore aſſembled, at his Requeſt, in the Place where the *German* Nation uſually met, he laid before them the paſt Conduct of the Duke, who, he ſaid, had contrived the Manner of the Pope's Flight, had encouraged him to it, had aſſiſted him in it, and in open Defiance both of the Church and the Empire, taken him into his Protection. He added, that the ſaid Duke, a Rebel to God as well as to the Empire, had driven out ſeveral Biſhops and Abbots, had ſeized on their Temporalities, had oppreſſed the Widows and Orphans, that for theſe Reaſons he had not only made War upon him, but ſworn that he would never make Peace with him, and he therefore deſired to know of them whether he might grant him the Peace he now ſued for, and receive him into Favour without a Breach of his Oath. They anſwered all with One Voice, that he might; and Four Biſhops with the Duke of *Bavaria* and the Burgrave of *Nuremberg*, being thereupon ſent to bring him to the Aſſembly, he threw himſelf at the Emperor's Feet as ſoon as he entered the Room, and ſo did the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Burgrave, begging Forgiveneſs for him in the ſame humble Poſture as he begged it himſelf. He promiſed to put the Emperor in the immediate Poſſeſſion of all his Dominions, and not only to abandon the Protection of the Pope, but to deliver him up into his Hands, provided no Violence was offered to him, or to any belonging to him, either in their Goods or their Perſons. He added, that to convince the Emperor of his Sincerity, he would remain at *Conſtance* as an Hoſtage till he had performed what he had promiſed. *Sigiſmund* forgave him his paſt Conduct, received him into Favour, and ordered ſome of the Places he had taken to be immediately reſtored to him. The *Swiſs* had invaded, as has been ſaid, the Dominions of the Duke jointly with the Emperor; and that, as we are told by *Joannes Swizerus*, in Obedience to the Council commanding them to make War upon the Duke, notwithſtanding a Fifty Years Truce concluded between him and them not long before. *Felix Faber*, who lived nearer

who promiſes to abandon the Protection of the Pope.

theſe

theſe Times, ſays, that the Council commanded the *Switenſes*, or *Swiſs*, to declare War againſt *Frideric* Duke of *Auſtria*, and granted to them for ever all the Places they ſhould reduce [P]. Thus did the Council aſſume, as well as the Pope, the Power of annulling the moſt ſolemn Treaties, of abſolving thoſe, who made them, from the Obligation of obſerving them, and transferring Principalities and Dominions from one to another at their Pleaſure. In this War the *Swiſs* made themſelves Maſters of *Schaffhauſen*, of the County of *Harbſpurg*, the native Country of the Dukes of *Auſtria*, and all other Places belonging to that Family in the Dioceſe of *Conſtance*. When the Emperor was reconciled with the Duke, he ordered the *Swiſs* to reſtore to him the Places they had taken. But they, pleading the Grant of the Council, paid no Regard to that Command, but continued to keep Poſſeſſion of theſe Places; and ſo they do to this Day. Thus did the Houſe of *Auſtria* loſe, and have never ſince been able to recover the Place of their Nativity. For they were originally only Counts of *Harbſpurg*, or *Habſpurg*, and had no other Title till *Rudulph*, One of that Family, elected King of the *Romans* in 1273, having taken *Auſtria* from *Othocarus* King of *Bohemia*, gave it to his Son *Albert*, who being raiſed to the Empire in 1298 exchanged the Title of *Count of Harbſpurg* for that of *Duke of Auſtria*. From *Rudulph*, the preſent Family derive their Origin, and not from the Kings of *Auſtraſia* as ſome have dreamt.

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The Duke of *Auſtria* having abandoned the Protection of the Pope, as has been ſaid, he was ſummoned anew at the Church Door in the Ninth Seſſion, held on *Monday* the 13th of *May*, and as neither he appeared, nor any Body for him, the Two Archbiſhops of *Beſançon* and *Riga* were ſent by the Council with the *Burgrave* of *Nuremberg* at the Head of 300 Men to arreſt him at *Friburg* where he ſtill was, and carry him ſtrictly guarded to *Ratolfell*, a Fortreſs about Two *German* Leagues diſtant from *Conſtance*. He was there kept cloſely confined, and none were admitted to him but thoſe who were ſent by the Council. His own Servants were all diſcharged except his Cook, and others were named by the Council, or the Deputies of the Nations, to their reſpective Offices. *Vitalis* Biſhop of *Toulouſe*, and Eight other Perſons of ſome Note, Two out of each of the Four Nations, were appointed to keep him Company in his Confinement, or rather as ſo many Spies

Ninth Seſſion.

The Pope arreſted and impriſoned.

[P] Joan. Suiz. in Chin. ad hunc ann. & Faber in Hiſt. Suevor. l. 1. c. 15.

to

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to obſerve all his Actions. To the Biſhop of *Toulouſe* the Pope delivered, no doubt by Order of the Council, the *Bull*, or *Great Seal*, with which the Popes ſealed their public Letters, Mandates, and Conſtitutions, and the *Privy Seal*, called the *Fiſher's Ring*, which they uſed in their private Letters; and both were ſent by the Biſhop to the Council. At this Seſſion *Benedictus Gratianus*, a *Benedictine* Monk and Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Paris*, preſented a Letter to the Fathers from that Univerſity, to thank them for their Steadineſs in purſuing the great Work of the Union, notwithſtanding the Abſence of the Pope, and to exhort them not to ſeparate till they had brought it, in ſpite of all Oppoſition, to a happy Iſſue [q].

Tenth Seſſion. In the Tenth Seſſion, held on *Tueſday* the 14th of *May*, the Liſt of Accuſations againſt the Pope, of which I have ſpoken above, was read. It contained in all Seventy Articles. But Twenty of them appearing to the Fathers too ſcandalous and too ſhocking to be publicly inquired into, they were ſuppreſſed by their Order for the Honour of the Apoſtolic See, and Fifty only were read. However, of the Articles that were ſuppreſſed and are not to be met with in the Acts of the Council, we have a Catalogue in the very curious Collection of *Von der Hardt*, Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Helmſtadt*, employed by the Duke of *Wolfembuttle* at a vaſt Expence to procure from all Places all Papers, that could give any Light to the Proceedings of the preſent Council. In that Collection, conſiſting of Six Volumes in Folio, is exhibited the Liſt of the ſuppreſſed Accuſations from ſeveral Manuſcripts of the ſame Date with the Council itſelf; and they may be reduced to the following Heads: That Pope *John* XXIII. had been of a wicked Diſpoſition from his Childhood, lewd, diſſolute, a Liar, diſobedient to his Father and Mother, and addicted to almoſt every Vice; that he had raiſed himſelf to the Pontificate by cauſing his Predeceſſor to be poiſoned; that he had committed Fornication with Maids, Adultery with Wives, Inceſt with his Brother's Wife, and with Nuns (in ſome Manuſcripts *with* 300 *Nuns*) and had been guilty of thoſe Abominations, that drew down the Indignation of Heaven upon the Children of Rebellion; that he had agreed to ſell the Head of St. *John Baptiſt* to the *Florentines* for 50,000 Ducats; that he had abſolutely maintained that there is no Life after this, and that the Soul dies with the Body [r]. The Articles, that were read and have been

Liſt of Accuſations againſt the Pope read.

[q] Acta Concil. apud Spondan. num. 30.

[r] Von der Hardt, l. 4. p. 230.

inſerted

inſerted in the Acts of the Council relate to his Simony, his Tyranny, his amaſſing immenſe Wealth not only by Sale of the Benefices, Biſhopricks, Indulgences, and every Thing that was ſacred, but by openly ſelling and mortgaging the Lands and Eſtates of the *Roman* Church, and moſt other Churches, leaving ſcarce any Thing for thoſe, who ſerved them, to ſubſiſt upon. Some very notorious Inſtances of his Simony both before and after his Promotion to the Papacy, of his Tyranny, Extortions, and Oppreſſion of all under him, eſpecially of the Poor, while he was Legate of *Bologna*, would ſcarce have been credited, had they not been atteſted and ſworn to, as indeed were all the other Accuſations, by the moſt unexceptionable Witneſſes, by Cardinals, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and ſome of *John*'s own Secretaries. The Author of the Memorial, containing thoſe Accuſations, cloſed it with the following Words; *He is univerſally looked upon, as will be found upon the ſlighteſt Enquiry, as the Sink of Vice, the Enemy of all Virtue, the Mirror of Infamy, and all, who know him, ſpeak of him as a Devil incarnate.*

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In the Eleventh Seſſion, held on *Saturday* the 25th of *May*, the Articles not ſuppreſſed were read again by the Biſhop of *Poſen*, and when he had read One Article, another read the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes, and their Characters, without naming them. When they had been thus all read, the Council declared them to be fully proved, and then unanimouſly proceeded to the following Sentence: *Whereas to us it has been made manifeſtly to appear, that our Lord Pope* John XXIII. *has, ever ſince his Promotion to the Papacy, ill adminiſtered that Office; that by his damnable Life and execrable Manners he has ſet a bad Example to the People; that he has, with the moſt notorious Simony, diſpoſed of Cathedral Churches, Monaſteries, Priories, and other Eccleſiaſtical Benefices; and that being charitably admoniſhed to deſiſt from ſuch Practices, and reform his Life, he has perſevered and ſtill perſeveres in his wicked Courſes, notoriouſly ſcandalizing the Church of God; for theſe Reaſons we pronounce, decree, and declare by this our preſent Sentence, that the ſaid Lord Pope* John *ought to be ſuſpended from all Adminiſtration, in Spirituals as well as in Temporals, belonging to him as Pope, and we declare him accordingly actually ſuſpended for his notorious Simony and wicked Life; that he has given great Offence to the whole Church, and forbid him henceforth any-ways to concern himſelf with the Adminiſtration or the*

Eleventh Seſſion.

The Pope ſuſpended.

Year of Chriſt 1414.

Government of the Church. This Sentence was communicated to the Pope by the Biſhop of *Lavaur* and other Biſhops, whom the Council ſent to him for that Purpoſe, and to know whether he had any Thing to offer in his own Defence, that might ſtop any further Proceedings againſt him. *John* returned Anſwer, that he entirely acquieſced in the Sentence they had already pronounced, and was ready to ſubmit to any Sentence they ſhould pronounce, as he knew that the Council could not err. In ſome Manuſcript Accounts of the Acts of the Council, quoted by *Spondanus*, it is ſaid that Five Cardinals were ſent to the Pope on this Occaſion, namely, the Cardinals *Urſini*, *de Chalant*, and thoſe of *Saluzzo*, of *Cambray*, and of *Florence*, and that the Guards would not permit them, as he had been ſuſpended, to kiſs his Foot, but only his Hands and his Mouth [s]. By thoſe who were ſent the Pope wrote a Letter to the Emperor, to put him in Mind of the Endeavours he had uſed with the Electors to get him elected King of the *Romans*; of his readily concurring with him in the Aſſembling of a General Council, and leaving to him the Choice of the Place; of the many Proofs he had given of an inviolable Attachment to his Perſon and his Intereſt, *&c.* He cloſed his Letter with earneſtly intreating him to interpoſe in his Behalf with the Council, and get them to provide for his future Maintenance as well as Safety, in caſe they ſhould deprive him of his Dignity.

Submits to the Sentence.

Twelfth Seſſion.

Upon the Return of the Deputies with the Pope's Anſwer, the Twelfth Seſſion was held on *Wedneſday* the 29th of *May*, and the definitive Sentence of his Depoſition was read in full Council by the Biſhop of *Arras*. It was drawn up in the following Terms: "The "General Council of *Conſtance* having invoked the Name of our "Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, and examined, in the Fear of God, the Articles "exhibited and proved againſt *John* XXIII. and his voluntary Sub-"miſſion to the Proceedings of the Council, does pronounce, decree, "and declare by the preſent Sentence, that the nocturnal Eſcape of "the ſaid *John* XXIII. in Diſguiſe and in an indecent Habit, was "ſcandalous; that it was prejudicial to the Unity of the Church, and "contrary to his Vows and Oaths; that the ſame *John* XXIII. is a "notorious Simoniſt; that he has waſted and ſquandered away the "Revenues of the *Roman* Church and other Churches; that he has

The Sentence of Depoſition pronounced againſt the Pope.

[s] Acta Victorina apud Spon. num. 34.

"been

" been guilty in the higheſt Degree of Mal-Adminiſtration both in " Spirituals and Temporals; that by his deteſtable Behaviour he has " given Offence to the whole Chriſtian People; that by perſevering " in ſo ſcandalous a Conduct to the laſt in ſpite of repeated Admo- " nitions, he has ſhewn himſelf incorrigible; that as ſuch, and for " other Crimes ſet forth in his Proceſs, the Council does declare him " depoſed and abſolutely deprived of the Pontificate, abſolves all " Chriſtians from their Oath of Allegiance to him, and forbids them " for the future to own him for Pope, or to name him as ſuch. And " that this Sentence may be irrevocable, the Council does from this " Time, with their full Power, ſupply all the Defects that may after- " wards be found in the Proceſs; and does further condemn the ſaid " *John* XXIII. to be committed, in the Name of the Council, to " ſome Place where he may be kept in the Cuſtody of the Emperor, " as Protector of the Catholic Church, ſo long as the Council ſhall " judge neceſſary for the Unity of the Church, the ſaid Council re- " ſerving a Power to themſelves to puniſh him for his Crimes and " Irregularities according to the Canons, and as the Law of Juſtice " or Mercy ſhall require." This Sentence being read and approved by all who were preſent, the Council ordered the Seals of *Balthaſar Coſſa*, preſented to them by the Archbiſhop of *Riga*, to be broken.

Year of Chriſt 1415.

In this Seſſion Two Decrees were iſſued; the One forbidding a new Pope to be elected without the Conſent and Approbation of the Council, and declaring ſuch an Election to be *ipſo facto* null; the other excluding for ever *Balthaſar Coſſa*, *Angelus de Corario*, and *Peter de Luna*, called in their reſpective Obediences *John* XXIII. *Gregory* XII. and *Benedict* XIII. from being ever re-elected. The Biſhop of *Lavaur* was ſent to the Pope at *Ratolfcell* to notify to him his Depoſition, and deliver into his Hands a Copy of the Sentence. He received the Biſhop with the greateſt Marks of Reſpect, and having read Part of the Sentence to himſelf with great Compoſure, he begged Leave to peruſe it at his Leiſure, and diſmiſſed the Biſhop. But in the Space of about Two Hours he recalled him, and, expreſſing great Contrition for his paſt Conduct, told him, that he had peruſed the Sentence with due Attention; that he approved and confirmed it; and laying his Hand upon his Breaſt, ſwore that he ſhould never act contrary to it, but renounced that Moment the Pontificate of his own Free Will, and gave up all

Decrees iſſued in this Seſſion.

The Sentence how received by the Pope.

Year of Chriſt 1415.

Right or Claim he had to that Dignity. He added, that he had already cauſed the Pontifical Croſs to be removed out of his Chamber, and that, if he had any Change of Raiment, *Si mutatorias veſtes habuiſſet*, he would immediately quit the Pontifical Robes, and every Badge of the Pontifical Dignity. However the Council, knowing by Experience that his Promiſes, Vows, and Oaths were not to be relied on, ordered him to be removed from *Ratolfcell* to the Caſtle of *Gottleben*, within Half a League of *Conſtance*, where he had *John Huſs* for his Fellow-Priſoner. For the Pope's Domeſtics, who guarded *Huſs*, and treated him, as he himſelf owns, with the greateſt Kindneſs, being upon the Flight of their Maſter gone after him to *Schaffauſen*, he was delivered up to the Biſhop of *Conſtance*, who cauſed him to be conveyed to *Gottleben*, as a Place from which he could not, without great Difficulty, make his Eſcape. When the Pope, ſtiled henceforth in the Acts of the Council *Balthaſar Coſſa*, had been kept but a few Days at *Gottleben*, he was committed by the Council to the Cuſtody of *Lewis*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, who treated him with great Civility and Reſpect, appointed Two Chaplains to perform daily Divine Service in his Preſence, and Gentlemen *honeſtos nobiles* to attend him at his Meals, uſing him rather as his Gueſt than his Priſoner. Thus *de Niem*. But *Platina* and *Nauclerus* tell us, that he was kept confined and narrowly watched by the Duke, who was of *Gregory*'s Party; that his *Italian* Servants were all diſmiſſed; and that none but *Germans* were allowed to come near him, with whom he could only ſpeak by Nods and Geſtures, as he underſtood not the *German* Language, nor they the *Italian*. He was thus kept, according to *Platina*, at *Heidelberg*, or, as we read in *Nauclerus*, at *Manheim*, for the Space of about Four Years, that is, till the Year 1419, when we ſhall have Occaſion to bring him again upon the Stage. He had held the Pontificate Five Years and Four Days, reckoning from his Coronation on the 25th of *May* 1410, and from his Election on the 17th of *May*, Five Years and Thirteen Days.

The Decree concerning the Communion in One Kind.

One Pope being thus depoſed and ſecured, the Council thought it neceſſary, before they proceeded againſt the other Two, to obviate a Cuſtom, that prevailed at this Time, almoſt univerſally, in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, the Cuſtom of adminiſtering the Euchariſt in both Kinds to the Laity. That Point was therefore diſcuſſed in the Thirteenth Seſſion

Session, held on the 15th of *June*, and it was decreed, that thenceforth the Laity ſhould receive this venerable Sacrament under One Kind only, that of Bread. The Words of the Decree are worthy of Notice. *Though* Chriſt *inſtituted*, ſays the Council, *and adminiſtered to his Diſciples this venerable Sacrament under both Kinds of Bread and Wine; and though it was received by the Faithful in the primitive Church under both Kinds; yet for the avoiding of ſome Scandals and Dangers the Cuſtom has been introduced, upon reaſonable Grounds, that it be received by the Laity under the Kind of Bread only; as it is moſt firmly to be believed that the intire Body and Blood of* Chriſt *are contained under the Species of Bread, as well as under the Species of Wine. As this Cuſtom therefore has, upon juſt Grounds, been introduced by the Church and the holy Fathers, and obſerved for a very long Time,* diutiſſime, *it ought to be deemed a Law, that is not to be ſet aſide without the Authority of the Church, nor changed at pleaſure. Hence to ſay, that it is ſacrilegious or unlawful to obſerve ſuch a Cuſtom ought to be reputed erroneous, and they who obſtinately maintain it, or adminiſter the Sacrament to the People in both Kinds, ought to be excluded from it as Heretics, and ſeverely puniſhed by the Ordinaries, or the Inquiſitors againſt heretical Pravity.* Year of Chriſt 1415.

I cannot diſmiſs this very remarkable Decree without ſome Obſervations. And, I. It is to be obſerved, that the Council itſelf owns, that *Chriſt inſtituted and adminiſtered this venerable Sacrament under both Kinds, and that, in the primitive Church, it was received by the Faithful under both Kinds.* And did they not, by owning ſo much, fully juſtify thoſe, who then refuſed, and thoſe, who ſtill do refuſe to comply with ſuch a Decree? A Decree, made, by their own Confeſſion, in open Defiance of *Chriſt*'s Inſtitution, and the Practice of the whole primitive Church! II. The Council did not think fit to ſpecify in their Decree, the Scandals and Dangers attending Communion in both Kinds, or the *Inſtitution of Chriſt* and the *antient Practice* of the Church. But the celebrated *John Gerſon*, who was preſent at the Council, and wrote a Treatiſe in Defence of this Decree, tells us that they were, the Danger of ſpilling the Wine, in carrying it from Place to Place, of defiling the Veſſels by their being touched and handled by Laymen; of Laymen dipping their long Beards in the Wine; of keeping the conſecrated Wine for the Uſe of the Sick, as it might be changed into Vinegar, and ſo the Blood of *Chriſt* would ceaſe to be there; the Danger

Owned by the Council itſelf to be contrary to Chriſt's *Inſtitution and the Practice of the Primitive Church.*

Upon what Grounds Communion in One Kind introduced.

Year of Chriſt 1415.

of its becoming loathſome, as many others had drunk of it before; and the Danger of its freezing in Winter[t]. Theſe were the frightful Dangers, theſe the horrible Scandals that induced the Council to ſet aſide *Chriſt*'s Inſtitution, to abrogate his expreſs Command, *drink ye all of it*, and depart from the Practice of the primitive Church; Scandals and Dangers, that the Church either never thought of in thoſe early Times, though Men had long Beards then as well as at the Time of the Council of *Conſtance*, or took Care, if ſhe thought of them, to avoid them by ſome other Means than by breaking in upon *Chriſt*'s Inſtitution. As at the Time of the Inſtitution our Saviour certainly foreſaw all the Scandals and Dangers, that could poſſibly attend the drinking of the Cup, and yet commanded *all to drink of it*, no *Scandals* nor Dangers can excuſe *all* from drinking of it, nor juſtify thoſe, who confine the drinking of it to One ſet of Men, to the Prieſthood alone. III. The Cuſtom introduced upon *the reaſonable Grounds* we have ſeen, *has been obſerved*, ſays the Council, *for a very long Time, and therefore ought to be deemed a Law*, or have the Force of a Law. But that Cuſtom was contrary to the Cuſtom introduced and eſtabliſhed by *Chriſt* himſelf, as the Council owns, and therefore could not be deemed a Law, nor have the Force of a Law, had it been obſerved for ever ſo long a Time. Beſides, the Cuſtom in queſtion had not *been obſerved for a very long Time*, but, on the contrary, was of a very late Date at the Time of this very Council. For the learned Cardinal *Bona* has ſhewn, that the whole Church, the Laity as well as the Clergy, received in both Kinds, even in the *Roman* Church itſelf, for the Space of One thouſand Two hundred Years[u]; and the Jeſuit *Gregory de Valentia* owns, that the Cuſtom of communicating in One Kind did not begin to be generally received in the *Latin* Church, till a little before the preſent Council, held in the Fifteenth Century[w]. So that a Cuſtom, which had obtained for, at leaſt, Twelve hundred Years, was made to give way to One, that had obtained for Two hundred Years only, *becauſe it had been obſerved for a very long Time*. Add to this, that the Cuſtom of adminiſtering the Euchariſt to the Laity in One Kind had been obſerved, at the Time of the Council of *Conſtance*, for Two hundred Years by the *Latin* Church alone. Whereas the contrary Cuſtom had been moſt

A modern Practice at the Time of the Council.

[t] Gerſon tract. contra hæreſ. de comm. ſub utraque ſpecie. [u] Bona de Rebus Liturgicis, l. 2. c. 18. [w] Greg. de Valen. de legitimo uſu Euchariſt. c. 10.

reli-

religiouſly obſerved by all other Churches throughout the World, was ſtill ſo obſerved at the Time of that Council, and is ſo obſerved to this Day. For though they diſagree in the Manner, the *Greeks* and *Muſcovites* taking the Species mingled together in a Spoon, the *Armenians* dipping the Bread in the Wine, and ſome other Oriental Nations ſucking through Pipes and Quills the conſecrated Wine out of the Chalice; yet they all agree, and have all agreed ever ſince the Inſtitution of this venerable Sacrament, in receiving it in both Kinds. And was the avoiding of the above-mentioned *Dangers and Scandals* a ſufficient Reaſon for abrogating a Cuſtom, that had been obſerved by the Church Univerſal ever ſince the Foundation of the Chriſtian Religion, and eſtabliſhing One in its Room, that had been obſerved for Two hundred Years only, and in the *Latin* Church alone? IV. When, where, or by whom, the Cuſtom of adminiſtering the Euchariſt to the Laity in One Kind was firſt countenanced is altogether uncertain. But certain it is, and can be proved by unqueſtionable Authorities, that for the Space of Eleven hundred Years, it was condemned both by the Popes and the Councils as contrary to *Chriſt*'s Inſtitution, as well as his expreſs Command. Thus Pope *Julius*, raiſed to the See in 336, in forbidding *Intinction*, or the dipping of the Bread into the Wine, ſays, *the giving of the Bread and the Wine, each diſtinctly by themſelves, is a Divine Order and Apoſtolic Inſtitution*[x]. Pope *Leo the Great*, in 440, ordered *thoſe who received the Body of* Chriſt, *but refuſed to drink the Blood of our Redemption, to be, by ſacerdotal Authority, caſt out of the Society of Saints*, that is, out of the Church[y]. Pope *Gelaſius*, in 492, condemned *thoſe who received the Bread but abſtained from the Cup, as guilty of Superſtition, and ordered them, either to receive both, or to be excluded from both*; BECAUSE ONE AND THE SAME MYSTERY CANNOT BE DIVIDED WITHOUT SACRILEGE[z]. By the Firſt Canon of the Third Council of *Braga*, held in 675, all were ordered *to receive the Bread apart, and the Cup apart, becauſe* Chriſt, *when he commended his Body and Blood to his Diſciples, ſpoke of them as being apart*[a]. Laſtly, the Council of *Clermont*, held under Pope *Urban* II. in 1094, forbad any *to communicate at the Altar, unleſs they received ſeparately the Body,*

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Condemned by both Popes and Councils.

[x] Julius apud Gratian. de Conſecrat. diſt. 2. c. 7. [y] Leo, ſermon. 4. de quadrageſima. [z] Apud Gratian. ubi ſup. diſt. 2. c. 12. [a] Concil. Bracarenſ. can. 1.

and

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and in like Manner the Blood, except in Caſe of Neceſſity, viz. when it was to be adminiſtered to the Sick; and the Pope then allowed the Bread to be dipt in the Wine; which plainly ſhews, that ſo late as the latter End of the Eleventh Century it was not yet thought lawful to adminiſter the Euchariſt even to the Sick, in One Kind only. The preceding Popes had all condemned, as we have ſeen, the Cuſtom of giving the Bread dipt in, or mixed with the Wine. But nevertheleſs *Gelaſius* choſe rather to adopt that Cuſtom in the Communion of the Sick, than allow it to be adminiſtered to them under One Species only, that of Wine, as was ſuggeſted by ſome of the Council, becauſe it could be ſwallowed with more Eaſe by the ſick Perſon. It is true, the above Paſſages from the Popes and the Councils were chiefly levelled againſt the Cuſtom of mixing the Species together. But the Reaſon they alleged for condemning that Cuſtom as *ſacrilegious* and *unlawful*, viz. *becauſe it was contrary to the primitive Inſtitution*, equally affects the Cuſtom in queſtion, owned by the very Council, that eſtabliſhed it, *to be contrary to the primitive Inſtitution.* V. The Council approves and commands the Cuſtom of adminiſtering the Euchariſt to the Laity in One Kind only, as *it is moſt firmly to be believed that the intire Body and Blood of* Chriſt *are contained under the Species of Bread as well as under the Species of Wine.* But though the intire Body and Blood of *Chriſt* be contained, according to the Council, under the Species of Bread as well as under the Species of Wine, though the Diſciples in receiving the Body, received, according to their Doctrine, the Blood, yet *Chriſt* commanded all to drink of the Cup as well as to eat of the Bread, and the Popes and Councils, quoted above, though they held the ſame Doctrine, as the *Roman* Catholics all tell us, they nevertheleſs looked upon the receiving in One Kind only as the dividing of a Myſtery that *cannot be divided without great Sacrilege*, and ordered thoſe, who did not receive both, to be excluded from both. Eating the Bread, or the Body of *Chriſt*, and drinking the Wine, or the Blood of *Chriſt*, are always joined in Scripture when mention is made of this divine Sacrament, and as we are commanded to eat his Body, ſo are we commanded to drink his Blood. Theſe are Two diſtinct Commands, and we can no otherwiſe comply with them but by eating the conſecrated Bread, and drinking the conſecrated Wine. For though we ſhould allow thoſe who receive only the Species of Bread, to receive, by the

All commanded to drink of the Wine as well as to eat of the Bread.

Doctrine

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Doctrine of *Concomitancy*, not only the Body, but with it the Blood, as a living Body cannot be without Blood, yet they could not be said to drink the Blood, unless eating and drinking be the same Thing, and by eating the Body we drink the Blood; which is both absurd in itself, and contrary to the express Doctrine of Pope *Innocent* III. declaring, as quoted by *Durandus*, that *neither is the Blood drunk under the Species of Bread, nor the Body eaten under the Species of Wine; for as the Blood is not eaten*, says he, *nor the Body drunk, so neither is drunk under the Species of Bread, nor eaten under the Species of Wine* [b].

Thus have I made it undeniably appear, that, for the Space of Eleven hundred Years, it was by all *Christian* Churches, throughout the whole World, thought necessary from the Institution, the Example, and the Command of *Christ*, for all, who received the Eucharist, to receive it in both Kinds; and that in this they all agreed, though they disagreed in the Manner. But in the Twelfth Century, and not earlier, the Use of the Cup began by Degrees to be laid aside, some Bishops forbidding it, to avoid the above-mentioned *Scandals* and *Dangers* in administering the Sacrament to the People. By what Bishops, or into what Churches this Practice was first introduced, History has not informed us. But from the famous *Thomas Aquinas* it appears, that in his Time, that is, about a Century and a Half before the present Council, it was yet only observed by a few particular Churches. *In* SOME *Churches*, says he, *it is wisely observed that the Blood is not administered to the People* [c]. That Practice he approved and recommended to all other Churches, and, as he was held by all in the highest Esteem for his Piety and Learning, it was in Process of Time, adopted by all upon his Recommendation; and being thus become, at the Time of the Council, a general Custom in the Western or *Latin* Church, the said Council, interposing their *Paramount Authority*, ordered it to be thenceforth observed as a Law, at the same time that they owned it to be contrary to *Christ*'s Institution and Example, as well as to the ancient Practice of the whole Catholic Church; which was, in Effect, assuming to themselves, openly and without Disguise, an Authority not only superior to the Authority of all preceding Popes and Councils, but to that of *Christ* himself. If they had no such Authority, and who will say that

[b] Durand. Rational. l. 4. c. 42. [c] Aquin. 3 part. quæst. 80. art. 12.

they

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they had? their Decree, ſetting aſide, with a *non obſtante*, *Chriſt*'s Inſtitution, and the ancient Practice of the Church Univerſal, carries evidently along with it its own Confutation.

Fourteenth Seſſion.

And now to return to the Hiſtory of the Council. *John* XXII. now *Balthaſar Coſſa*, being depoſed and ſecured, the Council reſolved to proceed in like Manner againſt the other Two, if they reſigned not, of their own Accord, in a limited Time. But in the mean while arrived at *Conſtance Charles Malateſta*, Lord of *Rimini*, where *Gregory* ſtill continued to reſide, having been ſent by him to reſign the Pontificate, in his Name, and all Right and Title to that Dignity. He entered *Conſtance* on the 15th of *June*, with a very numerous and ſplended Retinue, and went the next Day, attended by *John Dominici* Cardinal of *Raguſa*, and *John* Patriarch elect of *Conſtantinople*, *Gregory*'s Nuncios, to wait on the Emperor and acquaint him with his Commiſſion, which, he ſaid, was to treat only with him about the Means of reſtoring Peace to the Church, and not with the Council, as *Gregory* did not acknowlege the Authority of a Council convened by *Balthaſar Coſſa*, ſtiling himſelf *John* XXIII. who had no Power to convene One. He added, that if the Emperor and the Nations conſented to its being convoked anew by his Maſter, he would in that Caſe, but could in no other, own it for a lawful Council. This the Emperor readily agreed to as well as the Deputies of the Nations; and the Fourteenth Seſſion being thereupon held on the 4th of *July*, the Cardinal of *Raguſa* and the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* aſſiſted at it as Nuncios of Pope *Gregory*, and *Charles Malateſta* in the Character of his Proxy, to reſign in his Name.

The Council convoked in Gregory's *Name, who reſigns.*

At this Seſſion Cardinal *De Viviers* took the Place of Preſident, as he had preſided at moſt other Seſſions. But *Charles Malateſta* declaring, that he was ordered by *Gregory* to reſign his Dignity into the Hands of the Emperor, *Sigiſmund*, quitting his uſual Seat with the Approbation of the Council, placed himſelf as Preſident in a Chair before the Altar; and then, as Preſident, ordered Two Bulls of *Gregory* to be read, both dated at *Rimini* the 13th of *March* in the Ninth Year of his Pontificate. The One was directed to *John*, Cardinal of *St. Sixtus*, commonly called Cardinal of *Raguſa*, to *John* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, to *Werner* Archbiſhop of *Treves*, to *Lewis* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and to *Charles Malateſta*. By that Bull Power was given them by *Gregory* to convoke, in his Name, the Council of *Conſtance*, and after con-

voking it to own it for a lawful Council. The other Bull was addreſſed to *Charles Malateſta* alone, impowering him to act as his Proxy, and ſubmit, in that Character, to the Deciſions of the Council when lawfully aſſembled. Theſe Bulls being read, the Cardinal of *Raguſa* convoked the Council in the Name of his Lord Pope *Gregory* XII. and then, owning the Aſſembly of Biſhops met at *Conſtance* for a General Council, declared that his Holineſs was ready to ſacrifice his Dignity to the Peace of the Church, and left them to diſpoſe of him as they ſhould think fit. When he had done, all the Cardinals gave him the Kiſs of Peace, and the Emperor reſuming his Place, Cardinal *De Viviers* took the Preſident's Seat. A Third Bull was then read from *Gregory*, giving *Charles Malateſta* full Power to reſign the Papal Dignity in his Name. When that was done, *Charles*, riſing up, read, after a ſhort Preamble in Commendation of *Gregory*, the Act of Reſignation drawn up in the following Terms: "I *Charles Malateſta*, Vicar "of *Rimini*, Governor of *Romagna* for our moſt holy Father in *Chriſt* "Lord Pope *Gregory* XII. and General of the holy *Roman* Church, "being authorized by the full Power that has juſt now been read, "and has been received by me from our ſaid Lord Pope *Gregory*, "compelled by no Violence, but only animated with an ardent De- "ſire of procuring the Peace and Union of the Church, do, in the "Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, effectually and really "renounce for my Maſter Pope *Gregory* XII. the Poſſeſſion of and all "Right and Title to the Papacy, which he legally enjoys, and do ac- "tually reſign it in the Preſence of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, and of "this General Council, which repreſents the *Roman* Church and "the Church Univerſal." This Act of Reſignation was approved and received with great Applauſe by the Council, the *Te Deum* was ſung, mighty Commendations were beſtowed upon *Gregory*, and it was decreed, that *Peter de Luna* ſhould be required in like Manner to reſign, in the Term of Ten Days, from the Time the Requeſt of the Council ſhould be notified to him, and that, if he did not, within that Term, comply with their Requeſt, he ſhould be declared a notorious Schiſmatic, an obſtinate and incorrigible Heretic, and as ſuch be deprived of all Honour and Dignity, and caſt out of the Church [d].

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The Act of Reſignation.

[d] Acta Concil. apud Spondan. & Lenfant.

Year of Chriſt 1415.

Favours beſtowed upon Gregory *by the Council.*

The Council, fully ſatisfied with the Submiſſion and Reſignation of *Gregory*, and at the ſame time flattering themſelves, that their Kindneſs to him might encourage *Peter de Luna* to follow his Example, decreed that *Angelus Corarius* ſhould retain the Dignity of Cardinal Biſhop ſo long as he lived; that he ſhould be the Firſt in Rank after the Pope, unleſs ſome Alteration ſhould be judged expedient, with reſpect to this Article, upon the Reſignation of *Peter de Luna*; and that he ſhould be perpetual Legate of the *Marche* of *Ancona*, and enjoy undiſturbed all the Honours, Privileges, and Emoluments annexed to that Dignity. The Council granted him beſides a full and unlimited Abſolution from all the Irregularities he might have been guilty of, during his Pontificate, exempted him from giving an Account of his paſt Conduct, or any Part of it, to any Perſon whatever, and forbad any to be raiſed to the Pontificate till they had promiſed upon Oath to obſerve this Decree, notwithſtanding all the Canons, Conſtitutions, and Decrees of General Councils to the contrary [e]. *Gregory*, or rather *Angelus Corarius*, no ſooner heard of his Reſignation being approved and received by the Council, than aſſembling all the Biſhops and Clergy, who ſtill adhered to him, and were then with him at *Rimini*, he diveſted himſelf, in their Preſence, of the Pontifical Robes, declaring that he never would reſume them, but laid them down with greater Joy than he ever wore them [f]. He wrote to the Council a moſt ſubmiſſive Letter, declaring that he entirely acquieſced in their Deciſion, and returning them his moſt ſincere Thanks for their Generoſity in providing, beyond what he could have expected, for his future Support as well as his Dignity; which, he ſaid, could only be owing to the Regard they had for the Dignity, with which he had once been diſtinguiſhed. This Letter is dated at *Recanati* the 7th of *October*, and ſubſcribed, *Your humble and devoted* Angelus, *Biſhop and Cardinal of the Holy* Roman *Church* [g]. He died at *Recanati*, about Two Years afterwards, in the Eighty-ninth Year of his Age, and was buried in the Cathedral of that City, and not at *Rimini*, as we read in St. *Antonine*. *Oldoinus* tells us, that his Tomb being opened in 1623, his Body was found entire, adorned with the Pontifical Robes all likewiſe entire, and adds, that he had

His Death.

[e] Vander Hardt. tom. 4. p. 473. [f] Niem. in vit. Joan. XXIII. [g] Theſaur. Anecdot. tom. 2. col. 1645.

this Information from one, who was preſent at the Opening of the Tomb. This we find frequently alleged as a Proof of an extraordinary Sanctity. But who does not know that Inſtances are not wanting of the Bodies of great Sinners being preſerved free from Corruption, as well as the Bodies of great Saints? The Author of *Roma Subterranea*, who lived in *Rome* more under than above Ground, tells us, that he diſcovered ſeveral Bodies of the old *Pagan Romans* as freſh and entire as they were, when put into their Coffins many Ages before. *Gregory* was guilty, during the whole Time of his Pontificate, of a Breach of the Oath, which he took before and confirmed after his Election, to embrace *the Way of Ceſſion*, if judged neceſſary to procure the Unity and Peace of the Church. He embraced it indeed at laſt, and reſigned his Dignity, but it was when he could no longer hold it, being forſaken by all, who were able to ſupport and protect him.

Year of Chriſt 1415.

Fifteenth Seſſion.

The chief Buſineſs of the next Seſſion, the Fifteenth, held on *Saturday* the 6th of *July*, was the Condemnation of *John Huſs*, who had been kept Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Gottleben* ever ſince the Flight of Pope *John* to *Schaffauſen*, and had been there frequently examined by the Divines, whom the Council had appointed to enquire into his Doctrine. On the 30th of *May* he was heard in the Aſſembly of the Nations, and upon his declaring that he was ready to retract, if convinced of having advanced any Thing contrary to the Catholic Faith, he was by them referred to the Council, and on the 6th of *June* brought by their Order to *Conſtance*, and lodged, under a ſtrong Guard, in the Convent of the *Minorites*. The next Day he had a public Hearing, and his Accuſers being required to make good the Charge of Hereſy, which they had brought againſt him, and ſpecify the Articles he held and had taught contrary to the received Doctrine of the Church, *Michael de Cauſis* accuſed him of having taught, after *Wickliffe*, that *the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine remains in the Sacrament of the Altar after Conſecration.* That Accuſation *Huſs* anſwered by calling God to Witneſs that he never had advanced that Propoſition, nor did he believe it, but, on the contrary, had always taught and firmly believed, *that the true Body of* Jeſus Chriſt, *which was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, which was born of the Virgin* Mary, *which ſuffered upon the Croſs, lay Three Days in the Grave, aſcended into Heaven, and ſits at the Right Hand of the Father, is preſent in the Euchariſt, and received*

John Huſs, *when firſt heard by the Council,*

Accuſed of holding Doctrines that he never held.

Year of Chriſt 1415.

by the Faithful. Theſe are *Huſs*'s own Words in his Treatiſe *on the Body and Blood of* Chriſt g. The next Charge brought againſt him was, that he had taught that a Prieſt in mortal Sin neither conſecrates nor baptizes, being no Miniſter of Chriſt, but a Member of the Devil. *Huſs* denied his having ever held ſuch a Doctrine, and, to ſhew how unjuſtly he was accuſed, referred his Accuſers to the Treatiſe I have juſt quoted, where he ſaid, they would find the contrary Doctrine aſſerted in the plaineſt Terms. His Words in that Treatiſe are, *A wicked Prieſt, provided he has an Intention to do what* Chriſt *has commanded, and ſays the Words according to the Inſtitution of the Church, ſuch a Prieſt, by virtue of the Sacramental Words, cauſes miniſterially the Body and Blood of* Chriſt *to be under the Species of Bread and Wine*; *I ſay*, he adds, *miniſterially, becauſe ſuch a Prieſt, as a Miniſter of* Jeſus Chriſt, *does by his Power and Words what* Jeſus Chriſt *does by his own Power, tranſubſtantiating the Bread into his Body, and the Wine into his Blood* h. From theſe Words it is manifeſt that *Huſs* held Tranſubſtantiation, nay, and believed the Intention of the Prieſt to be neceſſary in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments. The other Articles of his Indictment were, that he had found Fault with the Emperor *Conſtantine* and Pope *Sylveſter*, for endowing and enriching the Church; that he had maintained Tythes to be mere Alms, and to have been originally free; that he had wiſhed his Soul were in the ſame Place with *Wickliffe*'s; that when the Errors of that Heretic were condemned at *Prague*, he openly eſpouſed his Cauſe, declaring that he was condemned unjuſtly; that he had preached againſt Indulgences, and that being ſummoned by the Pope to *Rome*, he had appealed from him to *Jeſus Chriſt*. To theſe different Charges *Huſs* returned the following Anſwers; that Riches ſerved rather to corrupt than to improve the Manners of the Clergy, and therefore, in his Opinion, *Conſtantine* and Pope *Sylveſter* had better left the Church as they found it; he owned his having taught Tythes to be mere Alms, but had, he ſaid, recommended to all the Payment of them as a Duty; he did not deny his having wiſhed that his Soul were in the ſame Place with *Wickliffe*'s, but had wiſhed ſo, he ſaid, before his Doctrine was condemned in *Bohemia*; he ingenuouſly confeſſed that, in his Opinion, ſome of *Wickliffe*'s Propoſitions did not deſerve the Cenſures with which they were

g Opera Huſſ. tom. 1. fol. 38.

h Opera Huſſ. ibid.

ſtigmatized

ſtigmatized by the Archbiſhop of *Prague*, and he left the Council to judge whether he could, on that Account, be ſaid to have eſpouſed his Cauſe, or could be arraigned as a *Wickliffeiſt*; he owned that he had preached againſt the Abuſe of Indulgences, againſt their being employed to encourage Chriſtians to cut one another's Throats, but defied his Accuſers to prove that he had ever preached againſt Indulgences themſelves; as to his Appeal from the Pope, he had, he ſaid, been ſummoned to *Rome* upon a falſe Accuſation, had ſent proper Perſons to plead his Cauſe, and convince the Pope of his Innocence, but they were thrown, unheard, into Priſon, which he hoped would juſtify his not appearing perſonally, but appealing to his only Refuge *Jeſus Chriſt*. Year of Chriſt 1415.

Huſs was, a few Days afterwards, heard again by the Council, when his Books were put into his Hands, and upon his owning them, Twenty-ſix Articles, taken out of his Book *Of the Church*, and his other Works, were read. He owned that thoſe Propoſitions were all to be met with in his Books, but added, that they had a very different Meaning, when joined with the preceding and the ſubſequent Words, from that which they had when taken by themſelves; that by thus curtailing and disjoining Propoſitions, the moſt orthodox Writers might be made to write rank Hereſy, nay, and to impugn the very Doctrine which they had undertaken to maintain; he therefore begged that he might be allowed to explain his Doctrine, promiſing to retract what he could not ſupport with ſolid Arguments. But the Council, inſtead of complying with ſo reaſonable a Requeſt, inſiſted upon his pleading guilty, and retracting thoſe Errors as they were laid to his Charge. *Huſs* anſwered, that ſome of thoſe Propoſitions were falſly and maliciouſly charged upon him by thoſe who ſought his Deſtruction, and therefore deſired they would excuſe him from retracting them, ſince that would be owning he had held them. As for thoſe which he had really held and taught, he was ready, he ſaid, to retract and abjure them the Moment he was convinced of their being erroneous, or contrary to any Article of the Catholic Faith. As he perſiſted in that Anſwer, he was ſent back to Priſon. The Council ſent ſeveral Biſhops and Divines to perſuade him to own his Errors, and retract them: But to all he returned the ſame Anſwer, *viz.* that he would neither retract Opinions that he had never held, nor thoſe that he had really held, *Not allowed to explain his Doctrine.*

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held, till he was convinced that they were erroneous. It was therefore determined, after much Altercation, in an Aſſembly of the Nations, that the Council ſhould proceed, without further Delay, againſt *John Huſs*, as an obſtinate and incorrigible Heretic. He was, accordingly, carried the next Day from his Priſon before the Council by the Archbiſhop of *Riga*, and being placed upon a high Stool, that all might ſee him, the Biſhop of *Lodi* preached a Sermon upon the Words of St. *Paul*, *that the Body of Sin might be deſtroyed.* When he had done, the Biſhop of *Concordia* read a Decree of the Council, enjoining all Perſons of what Rank or Dignity ſoever, whether Emperors, Kings, Cardinals, Archbiſhops, to keep Silence on Pain of Excommunication, and Two Months Impriſonment. A very extraordinary Decree indeed! In the next Place Sixty Articles were read, extracted, or pretended to be extracted, out of *Wickliffe*'s Works, and Thirty out of *John Huſs*'s Book *Of the Church*, and other Books, which he owned to be his. Theſe Articles were all condemned as *raſh*, *ſeditious*, *erroneous*, *offenſive to pious Ears*, and *contrary to the received Doctrine of the Catholic Church*; the Books, from which they were taken, were ordered to be publicly burnt; and *John Huſs*, who had taught and refuſed to retract them, was condemned, as an obſtinate and incorrigible Heretic, to be degraded from the Order of Prieſthood. This Sentence *Huſs* received on his Knees without uttering a ſingle Word, or betraying the leaſt Concern. The Ceremony of Degradation was immediately performed by the Archbiſhop of *Milan*, and the Biſhops of *Feltri*, *Aſti*, *Alexandria della Paglia*, *Bangor*, and *Lavaur*, who ordered him to apparel himſelf with the Veſtments as if he were going to celebrate Maſs, and ſtript him of them all, One by One, with a Curſe at the taking off of each of them. They then put a Paper Mitre upon his Head, on which were painted Three Devils, with this Inſcription, *Hereſiarch*, and being thus declared a Layman, he was delivered over to the Secular Power. The Emperor, in Defiance of whoſe Safe Conduct he was condemned, ordered the Elector *Palatine*, as Vicar of the Empire, to receive him, and conſign him up to Juſtice. The Elector put him into the Hands of the Magiſtrates of *Conſtance*, who immediately delivered him to the Executioner, with Orders to burn him alive with his Clothes and every Thing about him, even his Purſe and the Money in it. The Executioner, having tied his Hands behind his

Is condemned to be degraded.

Is degraded, delivered over to the Secular Power, and burnt alive.

his Back, carried him, under a ſtrong Guard, to the Suburbs of *Conſtance*, the Place appointed by the Magiſtrates for his Execution. When he was faſtened to the Stake, and the Executioner was upon the Point of ſetting Fire to the Wood piled about him, the Elector *Palatine* and the Count of *Oppenheim*, Marſhal of the Empire, riding up to him, exhorted him once more to retract and ſave his Life. He anſwered, that he had rather ſuffer the cruelleſt Death, than retract Doctrines that he had never held, or thoſe that he really held, but was not convinced of their being erroneous. The Two Princes, finding him unalterable in that Reſolution, withdrew not without great Concern, and Fire being ſet to the Pile upon their withdrawing, his Body, with every Thing belonging to him, was burnt to Aſhes, and the Aſhes were, by the Order of the Council, thrown into the *Rhine*, leſt his Followers ſhould honour them as Reliques [i]. Year of Chriſt 1415.

That *John Huſs* died with a Firmneſs and Conſtancy truly heroic, without ever betraying the leaſt Fear or Concern, and would, on that Account, have deſerved a Place amongſt the moſt renowned Martyrs of the Church, had he ſuffered in a better Cauſe, is allowed by all, without Exception, who have ſpoken of him. *His Life was entirely blameleſs*, as we have ſeen owned above by One, whom we cannot ſuſpect of beſtowing Praiſes upon him that he did not deſerve [k]. As to his Doctrine, *Florimund de Raymund*, and *Herebert Reſweide*, both declared, after peruſing his Works with the greateſt Attention, that he did not deviate, in any material Point, from the Sentiments of the Church of *Rome* [l]. He held the real Preſence, and believed Tranſubſtantiation, as has been obſerved above: He allowed the Invocation of Saints, eſpecially the Virgin *Mary*; for he ſays, in expreſs Terms, that *a Sinner cannot poſſibly be ſaved without the Interceſſion of the Virgin Mary* [m]: He held the Doctrine of Purgatory; *in praying for the Dead, we procure Relief*, ſays he, *for the ſleeping Church* [n]. Of Image-Worſhip he expreſſes himſelf thus; *the Knee may be bent, Prayers addreſſed, Offerings made, and Wax-Tapers lighted up to the Image of* Jeſus Chriſt, *or of any Saint whatever, provided it be not done for the Sake of the Image itſelf, but of him whoſe Image it is* [o]: He admitted the Seven

Dies with great Firmneſs and Conſtancy.

Differed in no material Point from the Church of Rome.

[i] Acta Concil. Cochlæus, l. 2. et Vander Hardt. apud Lenfant Hiſt. du Concile de Conſt. [k] See above, p. 129, 130. [l] Florimund. de ortu hæreſ. l. 4. p. 400. et Reſweide de fide hereticis ſervanda, c. 18. p. 196. [m] Opera Huſſ. l. 1. fol. 147, 148. [n] Ibid. l. 2. fol. 49 et 183. [o] Ibid. l. 11. fol. 343.

Sacra-

Year of Christ 1415.

Sacraments [p]: And was, it ſeems, perſuaded of the Neceſſity of Confeſſion; for upon his Condemnation he demanded a Confeſſor, but the Council would not allow him one, unleſs he retracted [q]. Add to theſe indiſputable Proofs of *Huſs*'s Orthodoxy (out of his own Works) the unqueſtionable Teſtimony of *Conrad*, Archbiſhop of *Prague*, proteſting, in an Aſſembly of the Lords of *Bohemia*, that *he had never met with One ſingle Error in the Writings of* John Huſs [r], and that of *Nicholas*, Biſhop of *Nazareth*, and Inquiſitor for the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, declaring that, *in the many Conferences he had with* John Huſs, *he had always found him a ſound Member of the Catholic Church* [s]. He was therefore guilty of no Hereſy; but, what was no leſs unpardonable, being himſelf a Man of a *moſt auſtere and blameleſs Life*, and not able to bear with the irregular and debauched Lives of the Clergy, he inveighed, perhaps, with too much Boldneſs and Acrimony, againſt their Vices, reproaching them with Pride, Avarice, Ambition, Ignorance, Incontinence, *&c.* ſparing neither Biſhops, nor Cardinals, nor the Pope himſelf. Beſides, he talked too freely of the Corruptions of the Church, and demanded its Reformation with too much Boldneſs. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ. While* John Huſs *declaimed againſt the Vices of the Laity, every body ſaid that he had the Spirit of God, but he became odious as ſoon as he fell upon the Clergy, becauſe that was like touching a galled Horſe.* Thus the Author of an ancient Manuſcript Preface to the Works of *John Huſs*, as quoted by *Lenfant* in his admirable Hiſtory of the preſent Council; and to him I am chiefly indebted for the Account I have given of *John Huſs* and his Doctrine. Indeed no Man can ſuppoſe that, had *Huſs* been conſcious to himſelf of having taught any Doctrine or Doctrines condemned by the Church, and manifeſtly heretical, he would have come to *Conſtance*, and much leſs that he would, by Papers ſet up in *Prague*, and in all Places on the Road, have invited thoſe, who ſuſpected him of Hereſy, to repair thither, and convince him, before the Pope and the Council, of having ever preached or maintained any Doctrine contrary to the received Faith of the Church. To conclude, *John Huſs* was *a ſound Member of the Catholic Church*, as ſound a Member as any of the Biſhops who ſat in the Council; and it was not any Hereſy, or Error in Point of Faith, obſtinately maintained by him, that brought him to the Stake,

The true Cauſe of the Perſecution raiſed againſt him.

[p] Ibid. l. 1. fol. 37. [q] Ibid. fol. 37. [r] Ibid. fol. 10. [s] Ibid. fol. 11.

but

but his having diſobliged the whole Body of the Clergy by expoſing their Vices, and thus ſtriving to reform their Manners, and baniſh the Abuſes they had introduced into the Church.——*Martinus Cruſius* tells us, in his *Suevian Annals*, that *John Huſs* ſhould have ſaid, when Sentence was pronounced againſt him, *An hundred Years hence you ſhall anſwer to God and to me* [t]. That he had really ſaid ſo was believed, and Money was coined in *Bohemia* with theſe Two *Latin* Inſcriptions, on the One Side, *Centum revolutis annis Deo reſpondebitis et mihi*; and on the other, *Credo in Unam Eccleſiam Catholicam, I believe in One Catholic Church.* That Prophecy was afterwards improved by others, pretending that *Huſs* ſhould have added, *You now burn a Gooſe* (the Import of the Word *Huſs* in the *Bohemian* Language) *but an hundred Years hence a Swan will come, whom you ſhall not burn*, alluding to *Luther*, who came about One hundred Years after *Huſs*. But theſe Prophecies were never heard of till after the *Swan* was come [u]. Year of Chriſt 1415.

In the ſame Fifteenth Seſſion was condemned the following Propoſition; *It is lawful, and even meritorious, for any private Man, Subject or Vaſſal, to kill a Tyrant by lying in Ambuſh for him, or by any other Method whatſoever, without Order from any one whomſoever, or any Form of Law, and notwithſtanding any preceding Reconciliation or Oath to the contrary.* This Aſſertion was maintained by *John Petit*, a *Franciſcan* Friar, and Doctor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Paris*, in a Piece he publiſhed under the Title of *A Juſtification of the Duke of* Burgundy. For the Duke, who was Uncle to the *French* King *Charles* VI. had cauſed the Duke of *Orleans*, the King's only Brother, to be baſely murdered, when they had been reconciled but Two Days before, and, in Token of an entire Reconciliation, had aſſiſted at Maſs, and received the Sacrament together. This treacherous and horrid Murder the abandoned and venal Friar, who was Privy Counſellor to the Duke of *Burgundy*, undertook to defend, nay, and to prove, that it was meritorious, and that the Duke deſerved not to be puniſhed, but ought to be thanked by the whole Kingdom, and amply rewarded. For in the Piece I have mentioned the Friar painted the deceaſed Duke as a lawleſs Tyrant, a Character which he did not at all deſerve, *The Doctrine concerning the killing of a Tyrant condemned by the Council.*

[t] Cruſius Annal. Suevic. l. 6. c. 10. Huſſi, &c.

[u] See Gretzerus de Numiſ. cuſo in laudem

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charged him with aſpiring to the Crown, with recurring to Magic and Magicians, in order to procure the Death of the King, *&c.* blackening his Memory with a Thouſand groundleſs Calumnies, and ſtabbing his Reputation more barbarouſly than the Aſſaſſins had done his Body. *Petit*'s Book was condemned in 1414 by *Gerard de Montaigu*, Biſhop of *Paris*, and *John Polet*, Inquiſitor. But the Duke of *Burgundy* appealing from them to Pope *John* XXIII. their Sentence was reverſed by that Pope, who then ſtood in great Need of the Duke's Protection. However, the above Propoſition being examined, at the Requeſt of *John Gerſon*, by the preſent Council, it was condemned as erroneous, ſcandalous, and heretical, and all, who obſtinately maintained ſo pernicious and dangerous a Doctrine, were ordered to be puniſhed as guilty of Hereſy. But, out of Reſpect to the Duke of *Burgundy*, no Mention was made in the Sentence either of the Book or the Author [w].

Sixteenth Seſſion. The Emperor propoſes to meet Benedict *at* Perpignan.

In the next Seſſion, the Sixteenth, held on *Thurſday* the 11th of *July*, the Emperor acquainted the Council with his Deſign of ſetting out in a few Days for *Perpignan*, in order to meet there *Peter de Luna*, called in his Obedience *Benedict* XIII. and *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon*, who ſtill adhered to him, but expreſſed a great Deſire to ſee the Church ſettled in Peace, and had promiſed to contribute all in his Power towards it. This Interview had been long before agreed upon. For *Benedict*, ſoon after the Opening of the Council, had ſent Nuncios to *Sigiſmund* to excuſe his not aſſiſting at a Council, which he could not look upon as lawfully convened, ſince it had not been convened by him, and at the ſame time to propoſe a Congreſs to be held at *Nizza* or *Villafranca*, at which his Holineſs, ſaid the Nuncios, would aſſiſt in Perſon with his beloved Son King *Ferdinand*, no leſs deſirous than himſelf of putting an End to the preſent Troubles. When the Time of the Congreſs drew near, *Benedict* ſent other Nuncios to *Sigiſmund* to beg he would excuſe him from repairing to the Place appointed, on account of the great Diſtance, for he was then in *Arragon*, and invite him to *Perpignan*, where he promiſed to meet him. The Emperor plainly ſaw that *Benedict* only wanted to gain Time; but nevertheleſs reſolved to undertake that Journey, being determined to ſpare no Pains nor Fatigue to complete the Work he had begun, and

[w] Acta Concil. Seſſ. 15.

flattering

flattering himſelf that he ſhould be able to prevail upon the King of *Arragon*, and the other *Spaniſh* Princes to abandon their Pope, if he continued to keep up the Schiſm by obſtinately refuſing to part with the Dignity, which he had ſo often promiſed and ſworn to reſign. The Emperor having imparted this Reſolution, in the preſent Seſſion, to the Council, the Archbiſhop of *Tours*, with other Biſhops, Abbots, and Doctors, in all Twelve, were appointed to attend him, and aſſiſt with him at the Congreſs. On this Occaſion *John Gerſon*, in wiſhing with the Reſt that *Peter de Luna* might be prevailed upon to reſign, and Peace be again reſtored to the Church, added pleaſantly with the Words of the Seventy-ſecond Pſalm, *But I fear we ſhall have no Peace* SO LONG AS THE MOON ENDURETH [x]. Year of Chriſt 1415.

Seventeenth Seſſion. The Emperor ſets out for Perpignan.

In the Seventeenth Seſſion, held on the 15th of *July*, Cardinal *de Viviers*, Preſident of the Council, wiſhed the Emperor, who was upon the Point of ſetting out for *Spain*, a good Journey and a ſafe Return in the Name of the whole Aſſembly; and it was decreed, that, during his Abſence, general Proceſſions ſhould be made every *Sunday*, and Maſſes celebrated for his Safety, that all, who aſſiſted at thoſe Maſſes or Proceſſions, ſhould gain a Hundred Days Indulgence, and all a Forty Days Indulgence who ſhould ſay devoutly One *Pater-Noſter*, and One *Ave-Mary* a Day for the Health and Preſervation of ſo religious a Prince. At the ſame time dreadful Excommunications were thundered out againſt any who ſhould ſtop or any-ways moleſt him on his Journey, or thoſe who attended him. He ſet out from *Conſtance* on the 19th of *July*; but finding, upon his Arrival at *Narbonne*, that King *Ferdinand* was indiſpoſed, and not in a Condition to aſſiſt at the Congreſs, he remained in that City till the 19th of *September*. On that Day he made his public Entry into *Perpignan* with the Deputies of the Council, and found there King *Ferdinand* with the Embaſſadors of all the Princes of *Benedict*'s Obedience, whom *Ferdinand* had invited to the Congreſs. But *Benedict* himſelf refuſed to come, unleſs the Emperor ſent him a Safe Conduct, and promiſed to receive and treat him as Pope. *Sigiſmund* anſwered, that it did not belong to him to give a Safe Conduct in the Dominions of another Prince, and that he could not receive him as Pope, but would receive

[x] Ibid. Seſſ. 16.

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him as Cardinal of the Holy *Roman* Church, and treat him with all the Respect due to that Dignity.

As the Congress was of *Benedict*'s own appointing, and the Place of his own chusing, the Embassadors of the Princes of his Obedience all joined in pressing him to repair to it, and even threatened to withdraw, in their Master's Name, their Obedience from him if he declined it, the rather, as the Emperor had undertaken so long a Journey on Purpose to meet him. Thus he was at last prevailed upon to yield; and he made his Entry into *Perpignan*, attended by his Five Cardinals, in the latter End of *October*. But when the Emperor and Deputies of the Council put him in Mind of his Oath, and exhorted him to follow the Example of his Two Competitors, the Terms he proposed were such as plainly shewed, that he was determined to resign upon no Terms whatever. These were, that all the Decrees, published to that Time against him, or those who adhered to him, should be declared null; that the Assembly at *Constance*, calling itself a General Council, should be dissolved; that a lawful General Council should be convened by him at *Lions*, or *Avignon*, or at some other Place that suited his Convenience; that he alone should elect the new Pope; that after his Resignation he should retain the Dignity of Cardinal and perpetual Legate *a latere*, with an unlimited Power, both in Spirituals and Temporals, in all the Countries then under his Obedience; that he should be First in Rank and Dignity after the Pope, and it should not be lawful to appeal from him. Upon these Subjects *Benedict*, though then in the Seventy-seventh Year of his Age, harangued for the Space of Seven Hours without the least Alteration in his Voice or Countenance, striving to prove that he alone was lawful Pope, and that, if the Good of the Church required him to resign, he alone had a Right to elect the new Pope, being the only undoubted Cardinal then alive, as having been created before the Schism, and consequently by an undoubted Pope, *viz.* *Gregory* XI. in 1375; whereas the Rest had been all created in the Time of Schism, and it might therefore be doubted whether the Popes, who created them, were true Popes, and consequently whether they be true Cardinals, and have a Right to vote in the Election of a Pope *y*.

Congress of Perpignan, *and* Benedict's *Proposals.*

y Valla in vit. Ferdinandi Regis Arragon. et Mariana, l. 10. c. 7.

As

As *Benedict* obſtinately inſiſted upon theſe Terms, the Emperor, deſpairing of being able to overcome his Obſtinacy, left *Perpignan*, and retired to *Narbonne*, in order to return to *Germany*. But King *Ferdinand*, his Son *Alphonſo*, and the Embaſſador of the Princes in the Obedience of *Benedict*, promiſing to abandon him if he did not reſign, *Sigiſmund* was prevailed upon to ſuſpend his Journey, and remain at *Narbonne*. There a Second Congreſs was held, at which were preſent the Emperor, with the Deputies of the Council, and the Embaſſadors of all the Princes, who ſtill acknowleged *Benedict*, that is, of the Kings of *Arragon*, *Navarre*, and *Caſtile*, and the Counts *de Foix* and *Armagnac*. At this Congreſs ſeveral Articles were agreed and ſworn to by all, and this among the Reſt by the Embaſſadors of the Princes in *Benedict*'s Obedience in their Maſters Names, that if he did not voluntarily reſign agreeably to his Oath and repeated Declarations, they would withdraw their Obedience from him, would ſend Embaſſadors to the Council, and join in all their Proceedings againſt him. *Benedict* no ſooner heard of what had paſſed at *Narbonne*, than, apprehending that the Emperor or the King might cauſe him to be arreſted, he left *Perpignan* in great Haſte, and retired with Four of his Cardinals, the Fifth being indiſpoſed, to *Colliour*; but not thinking himſelf ſafe there, he ſoon withdrew from thence to *Peniſcola*, a very ſtrong Place, ſituated on a Rock in a Peninſula of the Kingdom of *Valentia*, not far from *Tortoſa*, now known by the Name of *Roccha de Truena*.

Year of Chriſt 1415.

Congreſs of Narbonne.

All agree to withdraw their Obedience to Benedict, *if he does not reſign.*

King *Ferdinand*, being informed of his Flight, ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to acquaint him with the Reſult of the Congreſs of *Narbonne*, and exhort him to reſign, of his own Accord, a Dignity, which he himſelf could not but know it was impoſſible for him to hold, as all, who had hitherto obeyed him, had ſworn to renounce his Obedience, if he renounced not the Pontificate. *Benedict* anſwered, that his Two Competitors having reſigned, and renounced all Right and Claim to the Pontifical Dignity, the Conteſt was ended, that he alone was now Pope, and that they could by no other Means reſtore Peace to the Church more effectually, than by acknowleging and obeying him as ſuch. He added, that he never would abandon the Church, which it had pleaſed the Almighty to commit to his Care, and at the ſame time declared all excommunicated who did not acknowlege him,

Benedict's Obſtinacy.

whether

Year of Chriſt 1415.

Ferdinand *of* Arragon *renounces his Obedience.*

whether Emperors, Kings, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, or Biſhops, as Rebels to St. *Peter* and his Church. *Ferdinand*, provoked beyond Meaſure at *Benedict*'s Obſtinacy and Preſumption, publicly renounced his Obedience, and on the 6th of *January* 1416 an Edict was publiſhed by his Order, requiring all his Subjects in general, of whatever Rank or Dignity, to withdraw from the Obedience of *Peter de Luna*, ſtiling himſelf *Benedict* XIII. and the Eccleſiaſtics in particular, on Pain of forfeiting their Benefices and Preferments [z]. In Anſwer to this Edict, *Benedict*, after reproaching the King with Ingratitude, thundered out, undaunted, the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him, abſolved his Subjects from their Allegiance, and declared the Throne vacant.

Benedict *excommunicates him.*

The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Seſſions.

While theſe Things paſſed in *Spain*, the Seſſions of the Council were continued at *Conſtance*. In the Eighteenth, held on *Saturday* the 17th of *Auguſt*, nothing was tranſacted worthy of Notice. But in the Nineteenth, held on *Monday* the 23d of *September*, paſſed the famous Decree relating to Safe Conducts, granted by temporal Princes to Heretics, or to Perſons ſuſpected of Hereſy. The Decree was drawn up and publiſhed in the following Words: *The holy Synod declares, that no Safe Conduct, granted by the Emperor, Kings, and other ſecular Princes to Heretics, or Perſons accuſed of Hereſy, in Hopes of reclaiming them from their Errors, by what Tie ſoever they may have bound themſelves, ought to be of any Prejudice to the Catholic Faith, or to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, nor be any Hindrance that ſuch Perſons may and ought to be examined, judged, and puniſhed by a competent and Eccleſiaſtical Judge, as Juſtice ſhall require, if thoſe Heretics obſtinately refuſe to renounce their Errors; and that, though they ſhould have come to the Place of Judgment relying upon a Safe Conduct, and would not have come without One; and the Perſon, who ſhall have promiſed them Security, ſhall be under no Obligation, when he ſhall have done all that it was in his Power to do.* By this Decree all Safe Conducts, granted by ſecular Princes to obſtinate and unrepenting Heretics, are declared null. But it is to be obſerved, that the Council does not here decree, in general, *no Faith to be kept with Heretics*; nay, on the contrary, by theſe Words, *Nec ſic promittentem, cum fecerit quod in ipſo eſt, ex hoc in aliquo remanſiſſe obligatum*, the Council tacitly declares the Perſon, who has promiſed

All Safe Conducts granted to Heretics by ſecular Princes declared null.

[z] Concil. Labbei, tom. 12. col. 1532.

Safety,

Safety, or given a Safe Conduct, to be bound, in virtue thereof, to do all in his Power that his Safe Conduct take place, and his Promiſe be made good. Year of Chriſt 1415.

Another Decree relating to Safe Conducts.

Vander Hardt has produced from the Library of *Vienna* another Decree in a Manuſcript bearing the Name of *John Dorre*, Canon of *Worms*, who was preſent at the Council, and ſpeaks of this Decree as having been iſſued in the ſame Nineteenth Seſſion *y*. It is there declared, that, *according to the natural, divine, and human Laws, no Faith ought to have been kept with* John Huſs. Now, unleſs it can be proved, ſays *Lenfant*, and very juſtly, that the Caſe of *J. Huſs* was different from that of all other Heretics, it follows evidently from thence, that, according to the Council, no Faith is to be kept with any Heretic whatever.

Whether genuine.

But as this Decree is not to be met with in any of the printed Copies of the Council, nor in any Manuſcript, except that in the Library of *Vienna*, Occaſion has been taken from thence to queſtion its Authenticity; and it was rejected as ſpurious by the *Roman* Catholic Writers, as ſoon as brought to Light. Father *Pagi*, among the Reſt, looks upon it as a mere Forgery, and argues thus; to declare, that according to the natural, divine, and human Laws, no Faith ought to have been kept with *J. Huſs*, was evidently to declare, that, according to the ſame Laws, no Faith ought to be kept with any Heretic whatever, ſhould he have a Safe Conduct even from a General Council, as no Council can have a Power to act contrary to thoſe Laws. Now the *Huſſites* of *Bohemia*, ſays *Pagi*, came to the Council of *Baſil*, held Fourteen Years after that of *Conſtance*, with Safe Conducts from the Emperor and the Council, and conſequently muſt either have been then ignorant of that Decree, which is altogether incredible, had ſuch a Decree been publiſhed; or muſt have come relying upon Safe Conducts, which they knew to have been declared *contrary to the natural, divine, and human Laws*; which is ſtill, if poſſible, more incredible. That Writer adds, that the Decree in Queſtion was unknown to the Proteſtants both in *France* and *Germany* at the Time of the Council of *Trent*. For *Catherine de Medicis*, Queen of *France*, told the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, the Pope's Legate, that the Proteſtants demanded, before they came to the Council, a Revocation of the Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*, declaring *that an Eccleſiaſtical Judge may proceed againſt*

y Vander Hardt. l. 4. p. 521, 522.

Heretics,

Year of Christ 1415.

Heretics, notwithstanding the Safe Conducts of secular Princes; and the Embassador of the Duke of *Saxony* told the Council, that the *Protestants of* Germany *were not yet come on account of a certain Decree of the Council of* Constance, *declaring that no Faith ought to be kept with Heretics, nor with Persons suspected of Heresy, though they should come with Safe Conducts from the Emperor, or from Kings.* Had the Protestants known of the other Decree, they would have certainly taken Notice of it, and insisted upon its Revocation. As that Decree therefore is to be met with in no printed Copies of the Acts of the Council, and in One Manuscript Copy only; as it was unknown to the *Hussites* in *Bohemia* Fourteen Years after the Council, that is supposed to have issued it, and still unknown to the Protestants of *France* and *Germany* One hundred and Thirty Years after that Council, Father *Pagi* concludes, and I cannot help concluding with him, the Decree of *John Dorre* to be a posthumous One [z].

Twentieth Session.

In the Twentieth Session, held on the 21st of *November*, a Monitory was published against *Frideric*, Duke of *Austria*, who had seized on the Temporalities of the Bishop of *Trent*. From this Time no Session was held till the 30th of *May* 1416, the Emperor being absent, and many of the Bishops having laid hold of that Opportunity to visit their Sees. However, on the 30th of *January*, a general Congregation of the Nations was convened to hear the Articles agreed upon at the Congress of *Narbonne*, the Deputies of the Council, who had attended the Emperor into *Spain*, being returned to *Constance*. Those Articles were all approved in this Assembly, and sworn to in another, on the 4th of *February*, by all who were present. It is on this Occasion observed in the Acts of the Council, that the Cardinals and Bishops in Swearing laid their Hands on their Breasts, and the others touched the Gospels.

Twenty-first Session.

Year of Christ 1416.

In this Session, held on the 30th of *May*, the famous *Jerom* of *Prague*, so called because a Native of that City, was condemned by the Council, and delivered over, as an obstinate and incorrigible Heretic, to the Secular Power. He was, according to all the Accounts we have of him, a Man of most extraordinary Parts, of great Eloquence, and universal Knowlege; entertained the same Sentiments as *John Huss*, with whom he lived in the greatest Friendship and Intimacy, and, though

[z] Pagi Breviar. Pontific. Roman. tom. 4. p. 423, 424, 425.

a Lay-

a Layman, was no leſs zealous than he for a Reformation. When he heard of the Impriſonment of his Friend, he haſtened to *Conſtance* to ſupport him; but being told by ſome of his Friends that an Information was lodged againſt himſelf, he withdrew in ſuch Haſte that he left his Sword at the Inn behind him. *Cochlæus* writes, that he cauſed a Paper in Defence of *John Huſs* to be ſet up at the Door of the Cathedral, where the Council met, and fled immediately with a Deſign to return to *Bohemia*. Upon his Flight the Council ſummoned him to appear in the Term of Fifteen Days, in order to anſwer what ſhould be objected to him concerning his Doctrine, or in Matters of Faith, and a Safe Conduct was ſent to him in the Name of the Council. The Words of the Safe Conduct were: *For this, and that no Violence may be offered you, we give you, by theſe Preſents, a plenary Safe Conduct, ſaving nevertheleſs Juſtice, ſo far as it is incumbent upon us, and the Orthodox Faith requires.* As this was a Safe Conduct to come to, but not to return from, *Conſtance*, *Jerom*, paying no Regard to it, purſued his Journey back to *Bohemia*. Some Authors tell us, that he wrote to the Emperor for a Safe Conduct, but that the Emperor flatly refuſed him One, leſt he ſhould have the Mortification of ſeeing his Authority again trampled upon by the Council. Others ſay, that the Emperor granted him One, but with this Declaration, *ſo far as he had a Right to do it* [a].

Year of Chriſt 1416.

Some Account of Jerom *of* Prague, *condemned in this Seſſion.*

Be that as it may, *Jerom* continued his Journey, and got ſafe to a Town in the *Black Foreſt*. But being there invited by the Parſon of the Place to an Entertainment, that he made for his Brethren, *Jerom* (having drunk, as *Maimburg* ſuppoſes, too freely) broke out into moſt furious Invectives againſt the Council, calling it the *School of the Devil*, and *the Synagogue of Satan*. Of this Notice was immediately given to the Governor of the Place, who thereupon arreſted him, and delivered him up to the Duke of *Saltzbak*, by whom he was ſent, under a ſtrong Guard, to *Conſtance*. The Council ordered him to be impriſoned in a neighbouring Caſtle, probably of *Gottleben*; and a few Days afterwards he was examined in a General Congregation, held in the Convent of the *Minorites*, and after Examination ſent back to his Priſon, though no Error in Point of Faith had been proved upon him. But *John Huſs* being in the mean time condemned and executed, in the Manner we have ſeen, and *Jerom* threatened, as a Diſciple of his,

Jerom *is arreſted and ſent to the Council.*

Makes a ſolemn Retractation.

[a] Opera Huſs, l. 2. fol. 343. 354. apud De Hardt & Lenfant.

Year of Chriſt 1416.

with the like Treatment, if he did not acknowlege the Juſtice of his Sentence, and publicly abjure the Errors that *Huſs* had held, he yielded, being overcome with Fear, owned *Huſs* to have been juſtly condemned, retracted all the Errors they were pleaſed to charge him with, and declared himſelf willing to undergo all the Penalties inflicted by the Canons upon Heretics, if he ever relapſed into the ſame Errors. This ſolemn Profeſſion and Recantation *Jerom* delivered to the Council, written with his own Hand. However, he was remanded to Priſon, and only allowed a little more Liberty than before. He there began ſeriouſly to reflect on the Baſeneſs of his Conduct, and, ſincerely repenting it, he declared, in a General Congregation, held on Occaſion of ſome new Articles being exhibited againſt him, that he honoured the Memory of *John Huſs*, and ever ſhould, who, he ſaid, had led a moſt blameleſs Life, had never deviated from the Truth, but had been accuſed of many Things of which he was innocent. At Two other Congregations, the One held on the 23d, and the other on the 26th of *May* of the preſent Year 1416, he declared that *John Huſs*, of bleſſed Memory, had neither held nor taught any Doctrines contrary to, or inconſiſtent with the received Doctrines of the Catholic Church; that nothing but the Fear of being burnt alive had made him own, baſely and againſt his Conſcience, the Juſtice of the Sentence pronounced againſt that holy Man and condemn his Doctrines; and that he now retracted his Retractation, as the greateſt Crime he had ever been guilty of.

Repents and retracts his Retractation.

Upon this Change, quite unexpected, the Aſſembly ordered him to be more ſtrictly confined than ever, and ſome of the ableſt Divines of the Council were ſent to ſatisfy him, that *John Huſs* had been juſtly condemned, to repreſent to him the fatal Conſequences of his departing from his late Declaration, and exhort him to adhere to it. But, their Endeavours proving all ineffectual, he was on the 30th of *May* brought before the Council, when he declared anew, that he had done nothing in the whole Courſe of his Life, which he repented of ſo much as his having revoked Doctrines, which he believed to be true, and he therefore now revoked, with all his Soul, his former Revocation. The Biſhop of *Lodi* then charged him, in a Speech, related at length by *Cochlæus* [b], with all the Errors imputed to *John Huſs*, and warmly ex-

[b] Cochlæus Hiſt. Huſſit. l. 3.

horted

horted him to repent, as it was not yet too late, and ſave his Soul by ſaving his Body. When the Orator had done, *Jerom*, after expatiating in praiſe of *John Huſs*, who, he ſaid, had been moſt unjuſtly condemned, ſolemnly renewed his laſt Retractation, proteſting at the ſame time, that he would never depart from it, but would rather ſuffer the moſt cruel Death than ſave his Life at the Expence of his Conſcience. Year of Chriſt 1416.

Is condemned and burnt alive.

And now the Council deſpairing of being ever able to overcome his Obſtinacy, as they called it, the final Sentence was drawn up by their Advocate, and pronounced in their Name againſt him, declaring him a relapſed, impenitent, and incorrigible Heretic, and ordering him to be delivered over, as ſuch, to the Secular Arm. The Sentence was no ſooner pronounced than the Magiſtrates of *Conſtance*, receiving him, conſigned him to the Executioner, by whom he was carried that Moment to the Place of Execution, with the ſame Kind of Mitre on his Head as was given to *John Huſs*, and is ſtill given in *Spain* and *Portugal* to condemned *Jews* and *Heretics*. He ſung Pſalms the whole Way, without the leaſt Alteration in his Voice or Countenance, and when the Executioner, after tying him to the Stake, approached the Pile behind his Back, in order to ſet Fire to it without being ſeen by him, *Come forward*, he ſaid, *and put Fire to it before my Face*; *for had I been afraid, I ſhould not have come to this Place, as I might have eaſily avoided it*. When the Pile was fired, he ſung aloud, *Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*; and continued repeating theſe Words till the Flame ſtopt his Mouth [c]. The contemporary Writers, namely *Æneas Sylvius*, afterwards Pope *Pius* II. *Theodoric de Niem*, then at the Council, *Theodoric Urie*, and *Poggius* the *Florentine*, who was an Eye-witneſs of *Jerom*'s End, all agree in extolling the heroic Firmneſs and invincible Conſtancy, with which he ſuffered ſo cruel a Death. *Poggius*, after giving an Account of his Death, in a Letter to *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, *thus died*, he added, in a Kind of Rapture, *this Man, eminent beyond all Belief*——*O glorious Man, truly worthy of immortal Memory! If he entertained Sentiments contrary to thoſe of the Church, I do not commend him on that account*; *but I admire his prodigious Knowlege and Eloquence, which, I fear, Nature gifted him with only for his Ruin*——*I was an Eye-Witneſs of his End: Whether he was guilty of Inſincerity* *Dies with great Firmneſs and Conſtancy.*

[c] Opera Huſs. l. 2. fol. 354. & De Hardt, l. 4. p. 772. apud Lenfant.

Year of Christ 1416.

or Obstinacy, I know not; but no Death was ever more philosophical—— Mutius *did not, with so constant a Resolution, endure the Burning of One Member, as he did the Burning of his whole Body, nor did* Socrates *more chearfully drink off the poisonous Draught, than he embraced the Stake. What a Pity that so fine a Genius should go astray from the Faith! allowing however what is said of him to be true. For it does not belong to me to judge of an Affair of such great Importance, and I refer it to those, who know more of it than I do*[d]. *Poggius* durst not call *Jerom*'s Death a *Christian* Death; but, if it was not truly *Christian*, I should be glad to know what Martyr's was; neither was he convinced, as appears plain enough from his Words, of *Jerom*'s having entertained Sentiments contrary to those of the Church, but he thought it not safe to speak out. As he was a Man of Note and of Learning, for he had been Secretary to the deposed Pope *John* XXIII. and had spent the greatest Part of his Life at the Court of *Rome*, he was, no doubt, present at all the Examinations of the pretended Heretic, and his speaking so doubtfully of his Guilt, is a strong Argument, at least, of its not being sufficiently proved. Indeed *Jerom* agreed intirely in his Sentiments with *John Huss*, and *Huss* differed, as has been shewn, in no material Point from the Church. But the Clergy, alarmed at the Spirit of Reformation, which they discovered in both, and looking upon both as dangerous Men, perhaps upon *Jerom* as the more dangerous of the Two, as he was a Man of quicker Parts than the other, and much greater Eloquence, they determined to remove both out of the Way.

The Embassadors of the Princes in the Obedience of Benedict *join the Council.*

To return now to the Council. In the Six following Sessions, held in the present Year 1416, the chief Business of the Fathers was to receive, and admit to the Council the Embassadors of the Kings of *Aragon*, *Navarre*, and *Castile*, and those of the Count *de Foix*, sent by their respective Masters to acknowlege the Council and join in the Resolutions, that should be taken by that Assembly against *Benedict*, if he refused to resign. On the 27th of *January* of the following Year 1417 the Emperor returned to *Constance*, when he had been absent a Year and a Half. From *Spain* he went to *France*, and from *France* to *England*, to negotiate a Peace between the Two Kings, *Charles* VI. of *France* and *Henry* V. of *England*. He was received with all possible Marks of Joy by the Council, and thenceforth assisted, as he had done before, at all the

[d] Poggius Epist. 3. ad Leonard Aretin. apud Lenfant.

Sessions.

Seſſions. In the Thirtieth Seſſion, held on *Wedneſday* the 10th of *March*, *Bernardus de Planchea* and *Lambertus de Stipite*, Two *Benedictine* Monks, who had been ſent by the Council to ſummon *Benedict* to appear in Two Months and Ten Days, gave an Account to the Council of what had paſſed between him and them at *Peniſcola*. They delivered, they ſaid, the Summons into his own Hands, in the Preſence of Three of his Cardinals, of a great Number of Biſhops, who ſtill adhered to him, and of Three Notaries, whom he had ordered to attend on the Occaſion. When he had peruſed it, he returned Anſwer, that no Council had any Power over him who was lawful Pope; that as for the Aſſembly at *Conſtance*, it was intirely compoſed of Men, who had been excommunicated for their Diſobedience to their lawful Lord, and could not therefore repreſent the Church; that nevertheleſs, for the Good and the Safety of the Church, he was willing to reſign, provided they allowed him, as the only undoubted Cardinal, to name his Succeſſor. *Poggius* tells us, that *Benedict*, turning to thoſe about him when the Two Monks were introduced to him, *Let us hear*, he ſaid, alluding to the Colour of their Habit, *the Ravens of the Council*; and that One of them returned Anſwer, *No Wonder that Ravens ſhould flock to a Carcaſs*.

Year of Chriſt 1416.

Benedict *ſummoned by the Council.*

Year of Chriſt 1417.

In the following Seſſions ſeveral Regulations were made concerning the Order, that ſhould be obſerved by the Nations when they gave their Votes; the Articles of *Narbonne* were approved by the Embaſſadors of all the Princes in *Benedict*'s Obedience; *Peter de Luna* was ſummoned over and over again at the Church Door; and, as he did not appear, nor any body for him, the Council proceeded, at laſt, to the final Sentence, which was read by *William Fillaſtre*, Cardinal of *St. Mark*, in the Thirty-ſeventh Seſſion, held on *Thurſday* the 26th of *July*. By that Sentence *Peter de Luna*, called in his Obedience *Benedict* XIII. was declared a Diſturber of the Peace of the Church, an Abetter of the Schiſm, that had ſo long kept the whole Body of the Faithful divided among themſelves; notoriouſly guilty of Perjury in breaking the Oath, that he had ſolemnly taken before his Election, and had ſolemnly confirmed after it; a manifeſt, obſtinate, and incorrigible Heretic, ſtanding up againſt the Article *One holy Catholic Church*, and as ſuch deprived of all Honour, Title, and Dignity, and cut off, as a rotten Member, from the Body of the Church. By the ſame Sentence all

He is depoſed.

The Sentence.

Year of Chriſt 1417.

all were abſolved from the Oaths they might have taken to him, and forbidden to obey him, or afford him any Relief, or Retreat in their Territories or Dominions, under any Pretence whatever. However, *Peter* continued to thunder out, undauntedly, from his inacceſſible Rock, Excommunications and Anathemas againſt the ſchiſmatic Aſſembly at *Conſtance*, and all the Princes and Biſhops who aſſiſted at it, or received its Definitions or Decrees, *calculated to foment and perpetuate ſo dangerous a Schiſm in the One holy Catholic and Apoſtolic Church*; ſo that *the One holy Catholic and Apoſtolic Church was now* to be found only at *Peniſcola*, and all, but *Peter de Luna* and the few Clerks there with him, were Schiſmatics [e].

Decree concerning the Aſſembling of General Councils.

In the 39th Seſſion, held on *Saturday* the 9th of *October*, it was decreed, that Five Years after the Concluſion of the preſent General Council another ſhould be held; that a Second ſhould be convoked within the Term of Seven Years after the breaking up of that, and thenceforth One ſhould be aſſembled every Tenth Year, reckoning from the Time when the preceding Council ended. The Pope for the Time being was to name the Places, with the Approbation of the Council, where theſe Councils ſhould meet; and that a Month before the End of each Council. In the Abſence of the Pope the appointing of the Place was left to the Council. The Pope was allowed, upon any emergent Occaſion, to ſhorten the Time between the Councils, with the Advice of his Cardinals; but he was, on no Account, to prorogue any of them, nor to change the appointed Place without apparent Neceſſity. Should a Schiſm happen, and Two Popes be elected, a Council was ordered to meet the very next Year; and all Biſhops, as well as the Emperor, and other Kings and Princes, were enjoined, on Pain of Excommunication, to repair to it, or to ſend their Embaſſadors, to extinguiſh, as it were, a general Conflagration. It was further ordained, that if he, who was firſt elected, ſhould hear of another Election after his, he ſhould, on Pain of an eternal Curſe, *maledictionis æternæ*, and of forfeiting all the Right he had, in the Term of a Month, convene the Council in the Place appointed before; that neither he nor his Competitor ſhould preſide at it, but ſhould be both actually ſuſpended from the Adminiſtration the very Moment the Council met. By the ſame Decree every Election, not quite free, was

[e] Acta Concil. Seſſ. 37.

declared

declared null, nor was it to be deemed valid, ſhould they, with whom Violence had been uſed, concur freely in it afterwards; and the Cardinals were forbidden to proceed to a new Election till the Affair was determined by a General Council, unleſs the Elect ſhould in the mean time die or reſign [f]. Year of Chriſt 1417.

In the ſame Seſſion a Confeſſion of Faith was drawn up to be made by every new Pope before his Election was made public. It was as follows: *In the Year of our Lord One thouſand*, &c. I. N. *elected Pope, do confeſs and profeſs with my Heart and my Mouth before Almighty God, who has committed the Government of his Church to me, and before St.* Peter, *Prince of the Apoſtles, that as long as I live I ſhall inviolably hold, to the minuteſt Article, the holy Catholic Faith, according to the Tradition of the Apoſtles, of the General Councils, and of the other holy Fathers, particularly of the Eight General Councils, namely, of the Firſt Council of* Nice, *the Second of* Conſtantinople, *the Third of* Epheſus, *the Fourth* of Chalcedon, *the Fifth and Sixth of* Conſtantinople, *the Seventh of* Nice, *the Eighth of* Conſtantinople, *and likewiſe of the General Councils of the* Lateran, *of* Lions, *of* Vienne; *and that I will preach, maintain, and defend the Faith at the Hazard of my Life and to the Effuſion of my Blood. I will likewiſe unalterably obſerve the Rite of the Sacraments of the Catholic Church, as it is preſcribed. I have ſigned this Confeſſion, written in compliance with my Order, by a Notary and Regiſter of the Holy* Roman *Church; and I offer it to thee, Almighty God, with a pure Heart and a devout Conſcience, upon ſuch an Altar, in the Preſence of ſuch and ſuch Perſons* [g]. *Confeſſion of Faith to be made by every new Pope.*

The Apoſtolic See being now vacant by the Depoſition of the Two ſurviving Pretenders to it, the Council decreed, in the Fortieth Seſſion, held on *Saturday* the 30th of *October*, that a new Pope ſhould be forthwith elected, notwithſtanding the Abſence of *Peter de Luna*'s Cardinals, who, nevertheleſs, ſhould be admitted, if they came before the Election was made, and adhered to the Council. It was at the ſame time ordained, that, for this time only, Six Prelates, or Eccleſiaſtical Perſons in holy Orders, out of each of the Five Nations then preſent at the Council, ſhould be added to the Cardinals, and that he, who ſhould be elected by Two Parts in Three of the Cardinals and the Deputies of the Nations, ſhould by all be received for lawful and *Decree concerning the Manner of electing a new Pope.*

[f] Acta Concil. Seſſ. 39. [g] Acta Concil. ibid.

Year of Chriſt 1417.

undoubted Pope. The Nations were originally only Four, as has been ſaid; *viz.* the *Italian*, the *German*, the *French*, and the *Engliſh*. But the *Spaniards*, upon their joining the Council, were allowed the Privilege of forming a Fifth Nation. By this Regulation each Nation was to have a Share in the Election of the new Pope, which would induce each of them, as was wiſely judged by the Fathers, to look upon him as its own Pope, and adhere to him as ſuch.

MA. PALÆOLOGUS, JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the Eaſt.*

MARTIN V.

SIGISMUND, *Emperor of the Weſt.*

The Two Hundred and Fifth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Martin V. *elected and inthroned.*

THE Apoſtolic See having been declared vacant in the Fortieth Seſſion, the Cardinals of the Three Obediences, according to ſome Twenty-one, or, as others will have it, Twenty-three, and the Thirty Deputies of the Nations, entered the Conclave in the Town-houſe of *Conſtance* on *Monday* Evening the 8th of *November*, after taking the uſual Oaths in the Preſence of the Emperor, who, on that Occaſion, warmly exhorted them to elect One capable and willing to reform the many Abuſes that had been introduced, during ſo long a Schiſm, and disfigured the whole Face of the Church. As the Electors were of ſo many different Nations, and it was in the Power of Three out of the Six of each Nation to hinder the Election, it was apprehended that the Conclave would laſt ſome Months, and that great Diſorders would happen, it being natural for every Nation to give their Suffrages to One of their own Country. But to the great Surprize of all, *Otto*, *Odo*, or *Eudes de Columna*, Cardinal Deacon of *St. George ad Velum Aureum*, was elected in the Evening of the Third Day, having the Suffrages of Seventeen Cardinals, of the Six *Engliſh* Electors, and of Four at leaſt out of the Six Electors of the Four other Nations. He was attended the ſame Evening by the Emperor and the Council to the Cathedral, was there inthroned amidſt the loud Acclamations of Men of all Ranks; and on that Occaſion he took the Name of *Martin* V. having been elected on that Saint's Day, the 11th of *November*. *Oldoinus* tells us, that the

the Emperor, upon the First Notice he had of the Election of Cardinal *de Columna*, flew to the Conclave, forgetful of his Dignity, and quite unattended, to thank the Electors for the Choice they had made, and that proſtrating himſelf before the Elect, he kiſſed his Foot, recommending to him, with Tears in his Eyes, the diſtracted State of the Church, while he on his Side raiſing the Emperor up, and tenderly embracing him, returned him his moſt ſincere Thanks for the Zeal he had exerted, and the many, almoſt unſurmountable, Difficulties he had overcome to reſtore the ſo long wiſhed for Tranquillity to the Chriſtian World [p]. Year of Chriſt 1417.

Martin, on the very Day of his Election, wrote circulatory Letters to acquaint the Biſhops and the Chriſtian Princes with his Promotion: And it is obſervable, that though he was not Biſhop, nor indeed Prieſt, being only Deacon, yet he did not ſtile himſelf *Biſhop Elect*, as was uſual when the Elect was not a Biſhop, but took the Title of Biſhop without that Addition, *Martin, Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, &c* [q]. He was ordained Prieſt on *Saturday* the 20th of *November*, and the next Day firſt conſecrated Biſhop, and then crowned with the uſual Solemnity. After his Coronation he rode in the Pontifical Attire, as was cuſtomary, through the City, that he might be ſeen by all, the Emperor holding his Bridle on Foot on the Right Hand, and the new Elector, *Frideric*, Marquis of *Brandenburg*, on the Left [r].

Some Account of his Family.

Martin was the Son of *Agapetus de Columna*, or, as they are now called, *Colonna*, a *Roman* Family ſtill ſubſiſting in *Rome*, and One of the moſt illuſtrious in *Europe*. *Raynald*, Duke of *Juliers* and *Gelderland*, in the Letter he wrote to congratulate *Martin* upon his Promotion, owned his Family to be deſcended from the *antient and high Family* of the *Colonnas* of *Rome*, which he reputed, he ſaid, a great Honour. The preſent Royal Family of *Pruſſia* derives its Original, as I have obſerved above, from the *Colonna* Family of *Rome*. For *Martin*, in a Letter he wrote to *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Poland*, on Occaſion of a Marriage between his Daughter *Heduiges*, and *Frideric* the Son of *Frideric*, Burgrave of *Nurenberg*, the Firſt Elector of *Brandenburg*, of whom I have ſpoken above, expreſſes himſelf thus: *According to what has been handed down to us by an ancient Tradition, our*

[p] Oldoin. addition. ad Ciacon. [q] Papebroc. in Paralipomenis, p. 112. [r] Acta Concil.

Year of Chriſt 1417.

Family de Columna *of* Rome, *and that of the Burgraves of* Nurenberg, *which is likewiſe ſaid to have been originally* Roman, *are derived from the ſame Stock: Hence, as we were before well-affected to your Serenity for your eminent Virtues, for your extraordinary Merit, and good Offices to the Chriſtian People, we ought now to be, and ſhall be, ſtill more ready to favour your Excellence to the utmoſt of our Power, in Conſideration of this new Connexion with your Highneſs by Affinity. For in honouring the* Brandenburg *Family with illuſtrious and royal Nuptials, you have, at the ſame Time, honoured ours* [s]. The *Colonna* Family can, perhaps, boaſt of more great Men than any Family this Day in *Europe*. It has produced, in its different Branches, many Princes, Kings, Popes, and even ſome Emperors. In the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century, Cardinal *John de Columna*, being ſent by Pope *Honorius* III. with the Character of his Legate to the Holy Land, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that War, and upon his Return Home brought with him a Column or Pillar, ſuppoſed to be the Pillar at which our Saviour was ſcourged; and from that Time they have taken the Name *De Columna*, and been authorized, ſays *Molinet*, to carry a *Column* in their Coat of Arms [t]. But Father *Bonanni*, the Jeſuit, has made it undeniably appear, from an ancient Inſcription in the Church of *St. Praxedes*, where the Pillar is to be ſeen to this Day, that the Family bore the Name *De Columna* before the Time of that Cardinal. For in the Inſcription it is ſaid, that *the Cardinal by bringing the holy Column conſecrated his Name, and added a new Luſtre to it.*. The ſame learned Jeſuit produces many indiſputable Teſtimonies to ſhew that the *Colonna* Family bore that Name, and a Column in their Coat of Arms ſome Ages before the holy Column was brought by the above-mentioned Cardinal to *Rome* [u]. I have ſpoken above of the cruel Perſecution the *Colonna* Family ſuffered from *Boniface* VIII. who even cauſed a Cruſade to be preached againſt them, and of their being reſtored by *Benedict* XI. at the Interceſſion of *Philip the Fair*, King of *France*, to their former Rank, Honours, and Poſſeſſions [w].

His Employments before his Promotion.

Martin, come of this ancient and noble Family, ſtudied Canon Law at *Perugia*, and upon his Return to *Rome* he was by *Urban* VI. made Prothonotary and Referendary, by *Boniface* IX. Nuncio to the

[s] Longinus Hiſt. Poloniæ, l. 11.
[t] Du Molinet. Hiſtoire Metallique ad Martin V.
[u] Bonanni nummi Pontif. tom. 1. p. 71.
[w] See above, p. 232, Vol. VI.

States

States of *Italy*, and by *Innocent* VII. Cardinal Deacon of *St. George ad Vleum Aureum*. He eſpouſed the Cauſe of *Gregory* XII. and ſteadily adhered to him, when forſaken by all the other Cardinals, till he was depoſed by the Council of *Piſa*. *John* the XXIIId appointed him Apoſtolic Legate for the Patrimony of *St. Peter*, and Vicar-General of the Apoſtolic See in *Umbria*; and in theſe Employments he is ſaid to have acquitted himſelf to the entire Satisfaction of all under him, being a Man of a moſt humane Temper and a peaceable Diſpoſition. *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, who had ſpent the greateſt Part of his Life at the Court of *Rome*, and muſt have been perfectly well acquainted with the Characters of all the Cardinals, ſays, that Cardinal *Colonna* was not commonly reputed a Man of great Penetration, but that *Martin* V. undeceived the World by his extraordinary Sagacity. That Writer adds, that he deſerved no great Commendations in any other Reſpect [w]. But moſt other Authors ſpeak of him as a Man not only of Parts, but of Probity equal to his Parts. His Election plainly ſhews in what Eſteem he was held by his Brethren the Cardinals, as well as by the Deputies of the Nations. If *Martin* was not free from Faults, ſays M. *Lenfant* in his Hiſtory of the preſent Council, he was certainly endowed, for thoſe Times, with many good Qualities.

Year of Chriſt 1417.

His Character.

When *Peter de Luna*, ſtill at *Peniſcola*, heard of the Election of *Martin*, he aſſembled the Four Cardinals, and the few Clerks he had with him, and calling that Aſſembly *a General Council* and *the Catholic Church*, he ſolemnly excommunicated, as Schiſmatics, all who had had any Share in the Election of the Antipope *Otho de Columna*, ſtiling himſelf *Martin* V. and all who ſhould acknowlege or obey him. On this Occaſion many of the *Spaniſh* Biſhops, repairing to *Peniſcola*, earneſtly entreated him to yield at laſt, ſeeing the whole Chriſtian World had declared againſt him. The Biſhops were joined even by ſome of *Peter*'s own Cardinals. But to all he returned the ſame Anſwer, that *Chriſt* had entruſted him, as his Vicar upon Earth, with the Care of his Church, and that he never would betray his Truſt, nor yield the See of *St. Peter* to an Uſurper. The new Pope, ſoon after his Election, ſent firſt *Bernard* of *Bourdeaux*, and afterwards Cardinal *Alaminus Ademarius*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Piſa*, into *Arragon*, to oblige, with the Cenſures of the Church, ſuch as

Legates ſent by Martin *into* Arragon *againſt* Peter de Luna.

Year of Chriſt 1418.

[w] Leonard. Aretin. Hiſt. Flor. l. 3.

Year of Chriſt 1418.

in that Kingdom ſtill ſided with *Peter de Luna*, to forſake him. He was accordingly forſaken by all, even by all his own Cardinals, except Two, *viz. Julian Dobla*, and *Dominic de Bonnefoy*, a *Carthuſian*. *Peter* finding himſelf thus left almoſt alone, in order to gain Time, publiſhed a Manifeſto, declaring that he would treat with none but the Perſon himſelf, who held his See, and that he did not at all doubt but they ſhould agree, if he was worthy of the Character which he generally bore. The Cardinal, provoked beyond Meaſure at his Obſtinacy, cauſed him to be publicly anathematized in all the chief Towns of *Arragon*, and with him his Two Cardinals, and all who acknowleged, obeyed, or aſſiſted him. Theſe Anathemas *Peter* anſwered with others, in the ſame Style, againſt all who acknowleged, obeyed, or aſſiſted the Uſurper of his See [x].

His Obſtinacy.

Martin, elected in the Manner we have ſeen, preſided at the Four remaining Seſſions of the Council, the Forty-ſecond, Forty-third, Forty-fourth, and Forty-fifth, held on the 28th of *December* 1417, on the 21ſt of *March*, the 19th of *April*, and 22d of the ſame Month 1418. In the Firſt of theſe Seſſions, the Forty-ſecond, the Emperor and Duke of *Bavaria*, to whoſe Cuſtody *John* XXIII. now *Balthaſar Coſſa*, had been committed, applied to the Council to know how they were to diſpoſe of him; and it was decreed, that he ſhould be delivered up to the Pope, as ſoon as it ſuited his Holineſs's Convenience to receive him. The Schiſm being now extinguiſhed, or confined to the Rock of *Peniſcola*, the Council were, in the next Place, for proceeding to the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members, the other great and neceſſary Work for which they had met. The Articles of the intended Reformation had been drawn up in the Aſſemblies of the Nations, and were read in the Forty-third Seſſion. They chiefly related to *Simonical Preſentations*, *Reſervations*, *Annats*, *Expectative Graces*, *Commendams*, *Diſpenſations*, *Reverſions*, *to the Number and the Quality of the Cardinals*, *to Appeals*, *Alienations*, *Elections*, &c.

Martin *preſides at the Four remaining Seſſions.*

But the new Pope ſhewing himſelf extremely backward with reſpect to the Work of Reformation, many Things were treated of, ſays *Gobelinus Perſona*, who wrote at this Time, but very few were concluded. The Pope, ſays Father *Paul*, in his Treatiſe on Benefices, being unwilling that the Council ſhould meddle with Affairs of that

The Work of the Reformation put off.

[x] Acta Concil. Surita Hiſt. Aragon, l. 12. c. 66, 67. Raynald. Annal. Eccleſ. tom. 17. p. 3. Platina in Martin V.

Nature,

Nature, and the Biſhops being all impatient to return to their Sees after ſo long an Abſence, the Reformation, under Colour that it required a great deal of Time, was left to the Council, which was to meet in the Term of Five Years y. That Council was, in the Forty-fourth Seſſion, appointed by the Pope to meet in the City of *Pavia*, and all were required to attend it. In the Forty-fifth Seſſion the Pope made a Diſcourſe, and when he had done, Cardinal *Brancuccio*, by his Order, and the Order of the Council, pronounced theſe Words, *Domini, ite in Pace, Gentlemen, depart in Peace*; to which the whole Aſſembly anſwered, *Amen*. Thus was an End put to the preſent Council, when it had ſat from the 16th of *November* 1414, to the 22d of *April* 1418, and had obliged One Pope to reſign, and depoſed Two others. As the Pope, in confirming the Acts of the Council, declared that he approved of all that had been done *conciliariter*, ſome have taken Occaſion, from the Ambiguity of that Word, to ſay that he did not confirm the Decree, eſtabliſhing the Superiority of the Council to the Pope. But it matters little, to uſe the Words of the learned *Du Pin*, whether the Pope confirmed that Decree or not; it is enough for us to know, that it was iſſued by a General Council, repreſenting the Church Univerſal, and compoſed of all the learned Men at that Time in the Church.

Year of Chriſt 1418.

End of the Council.

Upon the breaking up of the Council the Pope was earneſtly intreated on the one hand by the Emperor to remain ſome Time longer in *Germany*, and on the other by the *French* to reſide among them in his own City of *Avignon*, at leaſt, till he could return with Safety to *Rome*. To both *Martin* returned the ſame Anſwer, that his Preſence was abſolutely neceſſary at *Rome*, left in his Abſence to the Mercy of lawleſs Tyrants, that the Baſilics of the Apoſtles and the other Churches of the City, viſited by the moſt diſtant Nations, were all gone to Decay, and would, if not ſpeedily repaired, be turned into Heaps of Ruins; that the Citizens, abandoned, in a Manner, by their lawful Lord, ſided ſome with one Uſurper, and ſome with another; and thus was the City of *Rome*, and with it the whole Patrimony of *St. Peter*, become the Theatre of a civil and moſt bloody War. He therefore begged they would excuſe him from complying with their Requeſt, but, to gratify, in ſome Degree, both Nations, he promiſed

Martin *ſets out in great State from* Conſtance.

y F. Paul, c. 42.

to

Year of Chriſt 1418.

to remain ſome Time at *Geneva*, ſituated between both, and there diſpatch what Affairs they wanted to be ſettled by the Authority of the Apoſtolic See [z]. He continued at *Conſtance* till the 16th of *May*, when he ſet out in great State for *Geneva*. *Reichental*, who was preſent at this Proceſſion, as he calls it, gives us the following Account of it. Firſt came Twelve led Horſes capariſoned with Scarlet, and next to them Four Gentlemen on Horſeback, carrying Four Cardinals Hats. They were followed by a Prieſt with a golden Croſs in his Hand, which he preſented to the Multitude. After him walked Twelve Cardinals in their proper Attire, and next to them rode a Prieſt on a white Horſe, carrying the Sacrament under a Canopy, in the Midſt of a mixed Multitude with burning Tapers in their Hands. After him came another Prieſt, carrying a Croſs of Gold, and ſurrounded by the Canons, of whom *Reichental* was One, by the Senators, and the Magiſtrates of the City in their Formalities, all with burning Torches in their Hands. At laſt his Holineſs appeared on a white Horſe under a Canopy in all his Pontifical Ornaments, with a Triple Crown on his Head. The Canopy was ſupported by Four Counts, and his Horſe led, on the Right Hand, by the Emperor, and on the Left by the Elector of *Brandenburg*, both on Foot, while the Duke of *Bavaria*, with Four other Princes of the Empire, on the one Side, and the Duke of *Auſtria*, with as many on the other, held up the rich Cloth that covered his Horſe and reached to the Ground. At the Gate of the City the Pope diſmounted, gave his Benediction to the numerous Multitude, and, changing his Habit and his Horſe, ſet out for *Gottleben*, attended by the Emperor and all the *German* Princes, and there taking his Leave of the Emperor, he embarked on the *Rhine* for *Schaffauſen*. From thence he went to *Bern*, ſtaid ſome Days there in the Convent of the *Dominicans*, and then purſuing his Journey to *Geneva*, made his public Entry into that City on the 11th of *June*, being attended by Twelve Cardinals, by the Duke of *Savoy*, and by all Perſons of Diſtinction in that Neighbourhood. At *Geneva* he was met by the Embaſſadors of the City of *Avignon*, ſent to ſwear Fealty to him in their Name. Of this Pope we have ſeveral Bulls dated at *Geneva*, and One among the Reſt, granting to *John*, Earl of *Foix*, who had married the eldeſt Daughter of *Charles*, King of *Navarre*,

Reſides ſome Time at Geneva.

[z] Platina in Martino V.

deceaſed,

deceaſed, without any Children by him, a Diſpenſation to marry the other Siſter [a]. Year of Chriſt 1418.

As the depriving the Laity of the Cup in the Sacrament, and the Execution of *John Huſs* and *Jerom* of *Prague* made a great Noiſe in *Bohemia*, and on that Account dreadful Diſturbances were raiſed in that Kingdom, *Martin*, being ſtill at *Geneva*, diſpatched from thence *John Dominici*, Cardinal of *Raguſa*, with the Character of his Legate, into *Bohemia*, to appeaſe thoſe Troubles by the Authority of the Apoſtolic See. But the Cardinal ſoon found, that the Apoſtolic See had loſt all its Authority there, and therefore wrote to the Emperor, that the Sword alone could bring thoſe perverſe and obſtinate Heretics back to their Duty. But *Sigiſmund* did not think it adviſeable, nor did the King, *Wenceſlaus*, to employ the Sword till all other Remedies had proved ineffectual. The Cardinal, not thinking it ſafe for him to continue in *Bohemia*, where the *Huſſites* were become very numerous, retired to *Buda*, and died there [b]. *Diſturbances in* Bohemia.

The Pope, having paſſed about Three Months at *Geneva*, left that City on the 3d of *September*, and repaired to *Milan*, where he was received by Duke *Philip* with extraordinary Marks of Honour. From *Milan* he ſet out for *Mantua* on the 25th of *October*, being attended by Eleven Cardinals, and remained there till the 7th of *February* of the following Year 1419, when paſſing through *Ferrara*, *Ravenna*, and *Forli*, but avoiding *Bologna*, then in open Rebellion, he arrived at *Florence* on the 27th of *February*, and was received there with all poſſible Marks of Diſtinction by the Clergy, the People, and the Magiſtrates of that then powerful Republic [c]. As many Cities of the Eccleſiaſtical State were held by petty Tyrants, and *Rome* itſelf among the Reſt, *Martin* continued at *Florence* for the Space of near Two Years; for no ſooner could the State be cleared from thoſe Tyrants, nor could he return with any Safety till it was. Martin *at* Florence. Year of Chriſt 1419.

Soon after his Arrival at *Florence*, that is, on the 17th of *March*, came Four of *Peter de Luna*'s Cardinals to attend him with the other Cardinals as the only lawful Pope. They had withdrawn their Obedience from *Peter* the preceding Year, and *Martin* had thereupon created them anew, and by a Bull, dated at *Geneva* the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, *Four of* Peter de Luna's *Cardinals ſubmit to him.*

[a] Apud Raynald. num. 34. [b] Ibid. num. 9. et Antonin. tit. 22. c. 7. et tit. 23. c. 11. [c] Contelorius ad ann. 1419.

ordered

Year of Chriſt 1419.

ordered them to be acknowleged by all for Cardinals of the holy *Roman* Church. He himſelf received them as ſuch, and confirmed all the Grants the Antipope had made to them. Not long after *Martin* had the far greater, and quite unexpected Satisfaction of ſeeing *Balthaſar Coſſa*, heretofore *John* XXIII. proſtrate at his Feet, and throwing himſelf entirely upon his Mercy. Some ſay that he purchaſed his Liberty of the Elector *Palatine*, to whoſe Cuſtody he was committed, with the Sum of Thirty thouſand Crowns of Gold, while others tell us, that he found Means to make his Eſcape out of *Heidelberg*, where he had been kept Priſoner for the Space of near Four Years. Be that as it may, he appeared, to the great Surprize of all, at the Pope's Court in the Beginning of *June* of the preſent Year, and, throwing himſelf at his Feet without any previous Stipulations or Conditions whatever, acknowleged him for the lawful Succeſſor of St. *Peter* and Chriſt's Vicar upon Earth. *Martin*, ſcarce able to believe what he ſaw and heard, immediately raiſed him up, and, tenderly embracing him, congratulated him upon ſo ſudden a Change, that could be owing to Heaven alone, and would prove ſo beneficial to the Church Univerſal. On the 14th of *June Balthaſar* ratified and confirmed all the Decrees of the Council of *Conſtance* relating to himſelf, and to the Election of *Martin*, renounced, in a ſolemn Manner, all Right and Title to the Popedom, and was thereupon created by the Pope Cardinal Biſhop of *Tuſculum*, was made Dean of the ſacred College, and it was ordained, that he ſhould always ſit next to the Pope, and his Seat ſhould be ſomewhat raiſed above the Seats of the other Cardinals. But he did not long enjoy theſe Honours much inferior to his Ambition. For he died at *Florence* of Grief, or, as ſome ſay, of Poiſon, on the 20th of *December* of the preſent Year, and was buried in the Baptiſtery or Chapel of St. *John the Baptiſt*, where his moſt affectionate Friend *Coſmus de Medicis*, a Citizen of *Florence*, procured a moſt magnificent Tomb to be erected over his Remains with this Epitaph, *Here lies the Body of* Balthaſar Coſſa, *heretofore Pope* John XXIII. This, *Coſmus* owed, in Gratitude, to his deceaſed Friend and Benefactor; for with his Money, ſays *Platina*, he had ſo increaſed his own Wealth, that he was thought to be poſſeſſed of greater Riches than any, not only at *Florence*, and in all *Italy*, but perhaps in any other Country [d]. The

And likewiſe Balthaſar Coſſa.

How received by Martin.

His Death.

[d] Platina in Mart. V.

immenſe

immenſe Treaſures that this Citizen had accumulated by the Friendſhip of Pope *John*, during his Pontificate, enabled his Poſterity to enſlave their Country, and raiſed them from the Rank of Citizens to a Dignity inferior to the Royal alone. *John* left ſeveral Bulls behind him, and a Poem *De varietate fortunæ*, probably compoſed during his Captivity. He was certainly a Man of Parts; but the many Irregularities that were laid to his Charge, and proved by unexceptionable Witneſſes, would alone have juſtified his Depoſition. Year of Chriſt 1419.

Martin had not been long in *Florence*, when *Joan* II. Queen of *Naples*, who had ſucceeded to her Brother King *Ladiſlaus*, deceaſed without lawful Iſſue, ſent a ſplendid Embaſſy, at the Head of which was *John Caraccioli*, her chief Favourite and Gallant, to congratulate the new Pope upon his Promotion, to do Homage to him in her Name, and to beg his Holineſs would ſend a Legate *a latere* to crown her with the uſual Solemnity. As the diſſolute Life ſhe led, and the undeſerved Treatment her Huſband met with at her Hands, had raiſed a ſtrong Party againſt her, in order to engage the Pope in her Intereſt *Caraccioli* was ordered to promiſe the Reſtitution of the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, of *Oſtia*, and *Civita Vecchia*, which the late King, her Brother, had ſeized, nay and to aſſure his Holineſs, that, as ſoon as ſhe was crowned, ſhe would ſend all the Forces of her Kingdom to aſſiſt him in driving out the Tyrants, who had ſeized, and, in a Manner, divided among themſelves the Patrimony of St. *Peter*. The Pope, in the Firſt Audience he granted to the Embaſſadors, expreſſed his greateſt Regard for their Miſtreſs, beſtowed the higheſt Commendations upon her for her Attachment to the Apoſtolic See, and, in Compliance with her Requeſt, promiſed to ſend, without Delay, a Legate *a latere* to perform the Ceremony of the Coronation. But he abſolutely inſiſted upon her firſt ſetting the King, her Huſband, at Liberty, and living with him as his Wife. She had married *James*, Count *de la Marche*, of the Blood Royal of *France*; but, to indulge her Amours without Reſtraint, had cauſed him to be ſhut up in One of the Caſtles, and ordered all the *French* to leave the Kingdom in the Space of Eight Days. The Pope therefore, at the preſſing Inſtances of the *French* King and the other Princes of the Blood, whom he was unwilling to diſoblige, peremptorily refuſed to ſend a Legate to crown the Queen till the King was reſtored to his Liberty. This *Caraccioli* immediately notified

Embaſſy from Joan II. Queen of Naples.

Martin *prevails upon her to ſet her Huſband at Liberty.*

Year of Chriſt 1419.

notified to the Queen, adviſing her by all Means to comply with the Pope's Requeſt, leſt he ſhould be prevailed upon by the *French* King to proceed to the Cenſures of the Church againſt her. The Queen hearkened to his Advice, and the Pope, upon the Firſt Notice he had of the King's Deliverance, diſpatched Cardinal *Maurocenus* with the Character of his Legate to crown the Queen. The King no ſooner recovered his Liberty, than, finding that his Countrymen had been all baniſhed the Kingdom, and that the Queen was intirely governed by *Caraccioli*, his mortal Enemy, he left *Naples*, and, returning to *France*, embraced there a religious Life among the *Minorites*. Soon after his Departure the Queen was crowned with great Solemnity by the Legate, and received the Inveſtiture, in the Pope's Name, at his Hands [e].

Is crowned by the Pope's Legate.

Sends an Army to aſſiſt the Pope.

The Queen, immediately after her Coronation, not only cauſed all the Places that her Brother had ſeized and garriſoned in the Eccleſiaſtical State to be reſtored, but ſent *James Sforza*, a Soldier of Fortune and a renowned Commander, with the Flower of her Troops againſt *Braccio* of *Perugia*, another Soldier of Fortune, and no leſs famous in War than he. *Braccio*, upon the Depoſition of Pope *John*, had made himſelf Maſter of moſt of the Cities belonging to the Church, and of *Rome* itſelf, where he ruled with an abſolute Sway, ſtiling himſelf *Lord of Rome*; which Title he afterwards laid down at the Deſire of the *Roman* People, and took that of *Defender of the City of Rome* in its ſtead. He did not wait till *Sforza* approached *Rome*, apprehending the Friends of the Pope would join him, but went to meet him in the Neighbourhood of *Viterbo*; and an Engagement enſuing, *Sforza* was, after a moſt gallant Reſiſtance, driven out of the Field, and *Braccio*, having purſued him with great Slaughter to the Borders of the Kingdom of *Naples*, returned triumphant to *Rome*. Upon the News of this Defeat the Pope, recurring to his Spirtual Weapons, thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Braccio* by Name, and againſt all who ſerved under him, or ſhould lend him any Aſſiſtance whatever. But of that Sentence *Braccio* made ſo little Account, that he in his Turn, by way of Contempt and Deriſion, excommunicated the Pope and all who adhered to him [f]. However, by the Interpoſition of the *Florentines*, an Agreement was ſoon after concluded between

Which is defeated by Braccio.

[e] Sommont. Hiſt. Neapol. l. 4. c. 3. [f] Antonin. tit. 22. c. 7.

Martin

Martin and *Braccio*, the latter conſenting, upon his being allowed to hold ſome Cities, as Vicar of the Apoſtolic See, to deliver up *Rome* and all the reſt into the Hands of the Pope; nay, *Martin*, being intirely reconciled to him, not only abſolved him from the Excommunication, but, taking him and his Mercenaries into his Service, reduced by his Means all the Rebel Cities, and among the reſt the City of *Bologna*, that had revolted at the Inſtigation of One of the *Bentivoglio* Family, and ſet up the Standard of Liberty g. Year of Chriſt 1419. *Who afterwards ſubmits to the Pope.*

The Tyrants being every-where driven out, and a perfect Tranquillity reſtored throughout the Eccleſiaſtical State, *Martin* reſolved to leave *Florence*, and repair, as he might with all Safety, to *Rome*. The *Florentines* had received and treated him, during his long Stay among them, with all the Reſpect that was due to his Dignity, had prevailed upon *Braccio* to ſubmit to him upon very reaſonable Terms, and had, on every other Occaſion, interpoſed their good Offices in his Behalf. However at his Departure he did not ſeem to be intirely ſatisfied with their Behaviour; but, on the contrary, complained to his Secretary, *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, of their having ſuffered him to be publicly inſulted in the Streets. As *Martin* was not in a Condition to live up to his Dignity, but obliged to moderate his Expences for Want of Money, which alone procures Reſpect in rich trading Cities, he was deſpiſed by ſome of thoſe wealthy Citizens, and the Children ſung publicly in the Streets, *Papa Martino non vale un qualterno*; that is, Pope *Martin* is not worth a Farthing. This the Pope highly reſented, not in the Children, but in the Magiſtrates, whoſe Duty it was, he ſaid, if they had any Regard for him, to have reſtrained them, and not ſuffered his Name to be thus expoſed, in the public Streets, to the Contempt of the Populace. But his Secretary repreſenting to him, that Ballads, ſung by Children in the Streets, were beneath his Notice, and even beneath the Notice of the Magiſtrates; that his being able to return, in Safety, to *Rome* was chiefly owing to the Interpoſition of the Republic; that the Magiſtrates had taken Care that no Affront ſhould be offered, and none had been offered, even to the meaneſt of his Servants, during his long Abode in their City; that had the Magiſtrates known, that his Holineſs thought the Behaviour of the Children in the Streets worthy of his Reſentment, they would have thought it worthy Martin *complains of the* Florentines.

g Leonard. Aretin. Hiſt. Rerum Italic.

Year of Chriſt 1419.

of Puniſhment, and would have puniſhed it with the utmoſt Severity. *Leonardo* added, that his Holineſs would find the *Florentines* on all Occaſions ready to employ their good Offices in his Behalf, and not their good Offices alone. *Martin* owned what his Secretary ſaid to be true; and, being thus appeaſed, ſent for the Magiſtrates at his Departure, and after thanking them for their many good Offices, and the many Proofs they had given of their Attachment both to his Perſon and the Apoſtolic See, he erected the Epiſcopal See of their City into a Metropolis, and ſubjected to it the Two neighbouring Sees of *Fieſcoli* and *Piſtoia*; *Theſe Two*, ſays *Antonine*, *and no other*; but to theſe Two *Platina* adds a Third, the See of *Volterra* [h].

Is appeaſed, and erects their See into a Metropolis.

Martin *arrives at* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1420.

Martin left *Florence* on the 9th of *September* 1420, and arriving at *Rome* on the 28th of the ſame Month, reſted the next Day, *Sunday*, at the Church of *St. Mary de Populo*, near the Gate of the City, and on *Monday* made his public Entry into *Rome*, attended by the Clergy in a Body, by the Senate, the Nobility, and immenſe Crowds of People, all crying aloud, *Long live Pope* Martin. He found the City in a moſt deplorable Condition, moſt of its ſtately Edifices lying in Ruins, the Churches quite neglected and ready to fall, the Streets all covered with Rubbiſh and Filth, and the People reduced to the utmoſt Poverty, even to want the Neceſſaries of Life. *Martin* immediately cauſed Proviſions to be brought, in great Plenty, from all Parts, and having ordered the Streets to be cleaned, rebuilt or repaired, at his own Expence, the ruinous Churches, and with them the Houſes of ſuch of the Inhabitants as were not able to repair them themſelves. Thus was *Rome* by his Means reſtored, in the Space of leſs than Two Years, to its antient Splendor and Beauty; which procured him the Name of *Romulus the Second* [i].

Miſunderſtanding between the Pope and the King of Arragon.

Year of Chriſt 1421.

In the mean time *Peter de Luna*, confined to *Peniſcola*, and acting there as High Pontiff, thundered out anew the Sentence of Excommunication againſt the Uſurper of his See, and all who adhered to him, eſpecially the *Romans*, who, inſtead of ſhutting their Gates againſt him, as it was their Duty to have done, had received him as the true Vicar of *Chriſt* upon Earth. He was countenanced at this Time underhand and ſupported by *Alphonſo*, King of *Arragon*, provoked at *Mar-*

[h] Leonard. & Antonin. ubi ſupra.

[i] Contelerius ad ann, 1420. & Platina in Martin V.

tin's

tin's refuſing to comply with his exorbitant Demands. For, as his Father *Ferdinand*, and he himſelf, upon his Father's Death, had expended, as he pretended, vaſt Sums, and ſpared no Trouble to extinguiſh the Schiſm, and gain over ſuch as ſtill adhered to *Peter de Luna*, he demanded, in return, Leave of the Pope to diſpoſe, for a long Term of Years, of all the vacant Benefices in his Dominions, to enjoy the Revenues ſo long as they remained vacant, and to ſhare with his Holineſs all the Money, that ſhould be levied in the Kingdom of *Arragon* for the Benefit of the Apoſtolic See. *Martin* endeavoured to ſatisfy the King of the Unreaſonableneſs of his Demands: But *Alphonſo*, flattering himſelf that by eſpouſing the Cauſe of his Competitor, he ſhould frighten him into a Compliance, began, with that View, to countenance all who adhered to *Benedict*, nay, and to ſuffer the Validity of *Martin*'s Election to be publicly queſtioned, and the Council of *Conſtance* to be openly arraigned of Injuſtice and Partiality. This occaſioned a Miſunderſtanding between the Pope and the King, which ſoon ended in an open Rupture on the following Occaſion. Year of Chriſt 1421.

What gave Occaſion to it.

As *Caraccioli*, of whom I have ſpoken above, Prime Miniſter to *Joan*, Queen of *Naples*, and her Gallant, governed that Kingdom more like a Sovereign than a Prime Miniſter, *Sforza*, who commanded the Queen's Troops, not able to bear with his imperious, haughty, and inſolent Behaviour, began to form a Party againſt him, with a Deſign to oblige the Queen to diſmiſs him. Of this *Caraccioli* was ſoon informed, and applying thereupon to the Queen, ſo prejudiced her againſt *Sforza*, as if he intended to impoſe upon her what Miniſters he pleaſed, and engroſs, by their Means, all Power to himſelf, that ſhe no longer admitted him to her Councils, and but very ſeldom to her Preſence, though ſhe had hitherto placed an intire Confidence in him, and in all Matters of Moment adviſed with him as well as with *Caraccioli*. From this Change in the Queen *Sforza* concluded, that the Command of the Army would be ſoon taken from him, and therefore, in order to be revenged both upon the Queen and her Favourite, and maintain himſelf in Power in Spite of both, he ſent his Secretary privately into *France*, to invite *Lewis* III. Duke of *Anjou*, to come and take Poſſeſſion of his paternal Kingdom, aſſuring him, that moſt of the Barons, no leſs diſſatisfied than he was himſelf, with the tyrannical and deſpotic Government of the Prime Miniſter,

would

Year of Chriſt 1421.

would readily join him. *Lewis*, the preſent Duke of *Anjou*, was the Son of *Lewis*, whom *Ladiſlaus*, Queen *Joan*'s Brother, had driven out, and the Grand-ſon of *Lewis*, whom Queen *Joan* I. had adopted. Upon that Adoption, as it was confirmed by the Apoſtolic See, the Dukes of *Anjou* founded their Claim to the Crown of *Naples*, ſtiling themſelves, in all their public Writings, *Kings of Apulia*, or of *Hither Sicily*. *Lewis* accepted with great Joy the Invitation; and *Sforza*, upon the Return of his Secretary, who brought with him a conſiderable Sum of Money, ſent back to the Queen her Standard with his Truncheon, and at the Head of his Army, cauſed *Lewis* III. of *Anjou* to be proclaimed King of *Apulia*. He was ſoon joined by many of the diſcontented Barons and their Vaſſals; and, his Army being thus reinforced, he reduced moſt of the ſtrong Holds, that, in the Neighbourhood of *Naples*, held out for the Queen. In the mean time *Lewis*, having with incredible Expedition equipped a Fleet at *Marſeilles*, appeared with it unexpectedly off *Naples*, and, landing without Oppoſition, was received by *Sforza* and his Army with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy. As the Queen had no Army to make Head againſt theirs, ſhe retired, with ſuch of the Barons as ſhe could confide in, to the Caſtle *Dell Uovo*, in the City of *Naples*, then thought impregnable. She was there ſoon beſieged by *Lewis* and *Sforza*; and, having no Proſpect of Relief, ſhe was for capitulating, and adopting, as ſhe had no Children of her own, *Lewis* for her Son, her Heir, and Succeſſor. But *Caraccioli*, dreading to fall into the Hands of *Sforza*, his avowed Enemy, inſtead of *Lewis* propoſed *Alphonſo*, King of *Arragon*, a powerful Prince, who, he ſaid, would ſoon drive out both *Lewis* and *Sforza*, and leave her, as he had many other Kingdoms, to govern her Kingdom, as ſhe pleaſed, quite undiſturbed. With this Propoſal the Queen immediately cloſed, and it was no ſooner notified to *Alphonſo*, who was then riding off *Sardinia* with a very numerous Fleet and a powerful Army on board to make a Deſcent upon *Corſica*, than, dropping that Enterprize for the preſent, he ſet ſail for *Naples*, and landing his Army, vaſtly ſuperior in Numbers to that of *Lewis*, obliged him not only to raiſe the Siege of the Caſtle, but to abandon that Neighbourhood, and retire with his Army into *Calabria*. The Queen, being now delivered out of all Danger, adopted her Deliverer, with great Solemnity, and he was univerſally acknowleged for lawful Heir to the

The King of Arragon *adopted by Queen* Joan.

the Crown. As the Kingdom of *Apulia* was a Fief of the Apoſtolic See, *Alphonſo* wrote immediately to the Pope to acquaint him with his Adoption, and beg his Holineſs would confirm it. But *Martin*, inſtead of complying with his Requeſt, returned Anſwer, that *Lewis* had an undoubted Right to that Crown; that his Grand-father *Lewis* I. had been adopted by Queen *Joan* I. with the Conſent and Approbation of *Clement* VII. that the ſucceeding Popes had all confirmed that Adoption, and therefore that he neither could nor ever would conſent to the Adoption of any other. He added, that he had allowed the Queen to enjoy the Kingdom during her Life, and had even ſent a Legate to crown her in his Name; but had not impowered her to diſpoſe of it to whom ſhe pleaſed, either in her Life-time or after her Death, and conſequently that her Adoption was in itſelf null. *Alphonſo*, provoked beyond Meaſure at the Pope's Anſwer, declared for *Peter de Luna*, took all, who adhered to him, into his Protection, and ſpared no Pains to get him acknowleged throughout the Kingdom of *Arragon*. On the other Hand *Martin* declared *Lewis* III. of *Anjou* lawful Heir to the Crown of *Apulia*, created *Sforza* Standard-bearer of the Church, ſent him a Thouſand Horſe under the Command of *Tartalia Lavetto*, an Officer of great Experience, and forbad any Tribute or Taxes to be paid by the People of *Apulia* to Queen *Joan* [k].

Year of Chriſt 1421.

That Adoption oppoſed by the Pope.

In the mean time the Barons, diſſatisfied with the arbitrary Government of the King of *Arragon*, and flocking from all Parts to join *Lewis*, that Prince, in a very ſhort Time, found himſelf at the Head of an Army able to contend with that of his Rival. He marched, accordingly, into the Neighbourhood of *Naples*; and his Friends in that City, encouraged at his Approach, fell unexpectedly upon the *Arragonians*, cut many of them in Pieces, and obliged the King himſelf to fly for Refuge to One of the Caſtles, the greateſt Part of his Army being, at that Juncture, employed in reducing the diſtant Fortreſſes of the Kingdom. As *Alphonſo* had obliged the Magiſtrates and all other Officers to ſwear Allegiance to him, and diſpoſed of all Places without conſulting the Queen or *Caraccioli*, ſhewing but too plainly, by his whole Conduct, that he intended to deprive her of all Authority, and govern the Kingdom as his own, even in her Life-time, ſhe reſolved to revoke his Adoption, and adopt *Lewis* in his Room. This Reſolu-

The Queen revokes her Adoption of Alphonſo *and adopts* Lewis.

Year of Chriſt 1422.

[k] Apud Rainald. ad ann. 1421. num. 112.

tion

Year of Christ 1422.

tion was ſuggeſted and earneſtly recommended to her by her Favourite Miniſter, as the only Means of engaging the Pope in her Intereſt, who, he ſaid, would not fail, for the Sake of *Lewis*, to ſupport her, to the utmoſt of his Power, againſt *Alphonſo*. The Queen therefore, leaving *Naples* immediately, retired to *Averſa*, and being there received by *Sforza*, to whom ſhe had privately notified her Deſign, ſhe there declared the Adoption of *Alphonſo* null, and with great Solemnity adopted *Lewis*, diſtinguiſhing him with the Title of *Duke of Calabria*, the Title given in that Kingdom to the apparent Heir to the Crown. *Lewis* was then at *Rome*, whither he had gone to ſolicit Succours of the Pope; and being, on his Return from thence, received by the Queen as her Son and Heir, a moſt bloody War was kindled in the Bowels of that unhappy Kingdom, which I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of more than once in the Sequel.

Council of Pavia. Year of Chriſt 1423.

And now to return to Pope *Martin*; he had in the Forty-fourth Seſſion of the Council of *Conſtance* appointed another Council to meet at the End of Five Years, agreeably to a Decree iſſued by that Aſſembly in the Thirty-ninth Seſſion [1], and had, with the Approbation of the Fathers of the Council, choſen the City of *Pavia* for the Place of their Meeting. In the Beginning therefore of the Year 1422, he wrote circulatory Letters to put the Biſhops in Mind of the Determination of the Council of *Conſtance*, and invite them to that, which would be held the following Year at *Pavia*, the Fifth after the Ending of that of *Conſtance* in 1418. The Council was opened in the Beginning of *May* 1423; but as very few Biſhops were yet come, and a Plague broke out in the City, the Council was adjourned to the City of *Siena*, and all were required to repair thither by the 1ſt of *November* of the preſent Year. In that City the Firſt Seſſion was held on the 25th of *November*, when moſt ſevere Decrees were thundered out againſt the *Wickliffites* and *Huſſites*; and the temporal Princes were not only enjoined to drive them out of their Dominions, but the ſame Indulgences, that were gained by thoſe, who went in Perſon to the Holy Land, were granted to all, who ſhould inform againſt any Heretic whatever, or deliver him into the Hands of the Inquiſitors; and it was ordained that the Decree, granting theſe Indulgences, ſhould be read yearly to the People, with an audible Voice, on the Firſt and

Tranſlated to Siena.

[1] See above, p. 198.

Fourth *Sunday* in *Lent*, and on the Feſtivals of the Nativity and the Reſurrection of our Lord, to the end none might be ignorant of it. In the other Seſſions ſeveral Attempts were made towards a *Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members*. But as the Pope was not preſent in Perſon, and the Number of Biſhops was too ſmall, as was pretended, to undertake ſo great and ſo important a Work, it was left to the Council, that was to meet, agreeably to the Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*, at the End of Seven Years [c]. But what haſtened the Diſſolution of the Council was a Motion, made by ſome of the Biſhops, to have the Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*, aſcertaining the Superiority of the Council to the Pope, confirmed by the preſent Council. That Point the Pope would not ſuffer to be brought into Debate, nor any other concerning the Power and Authority of the Apoſtolic See, and he therefore diſpatched to *Siena Dominic de Cupranica*, his Secretary, with a Bull, declaring the Council of *Siena* diſſolved, and appointing another to meet, in the Term of Seven Years, at *Baſil* in *Switzerland*. The Bull is dated the 26th of *February* 1424, and in the following *April* the Pope wrote to the People of *Baſil* to acquaint them with the Honour he had done them in chuſing their City for the Place, where the Biſhops of the whole Chriſtian World were to aſſemble; which would render it memorable in all future Ages [d].

Year of Chriſt 1423.

Is diſſolved. Year of Chriſt 1424.

It is obſervable that the Council of *Siena*, in confirming the Sentence, pronounced by the Council of *Conſtance* againſt *Peter de Luna*, calls him *Peter de Luna damnatæ memoriæ, of condemned Memory*; and hence, as that Mode of Speech is never uſed in mentioning Perſons ſtill living, *Surita*, *Mariana*, and moſt other *Spaniſh* Writers ſuppoſe *de Luna* to have been dead at the Time that Decree was iſſued, and conſequently to have died either in 1423, or early in 1424, as the Council ſat from *November* of the former Year to the End of *February* of the latter. But that the Council was miſinformed, that *de Luna* was ſtill living when ſuppoſed by the Council to be dead, nay, that he lived ſeveral Months after the Diſſolution of that Council, appears from a Letter of *John Carrerius*, One of his Cardinals, to *John*, Count of *Armagnac*, and to the Faithful in general. For in that Letter the Cardinal tells them, that *Benedict*, of holy Memory, was taken ill on

The Year of Peter de Luna's *Death aſcertained.*

[c] See above, p. 198. [d] Acta Concil. Senenſ. et Raymund. ad ann. 1423.

Year of Christ 1424.

the 17th of *November* 1424; that on the 27th of the ſame Month he created Four Cardinals, of whom *Carrerius* himſelf was One, though then abſent, and that he died on the laſt Day but One, or on the 29th of that Month e. Some *Spaniſh* Writers, quoted by *Mariana*, aſcribe his Death to Poiſon, adminiſtered to him, ſay they, by a Monk named *Thomas*, at the Inſtigation of the Cardinal of *Piſa*, whom the Pope had ſent with the Character of his Legate to apprehend him. Thoſe Writers add, that the Monk was convicted and executed, and that the Legate, who reſided in the Neighbourhood of *Peniſcola*, withdrew in great Haſte out of *Spain*, to avoid falling into the Hands of the Two Nephews of the Deceaſed, *Roderic* and *Alvarez de Luna*, determined to revenge upon the Legate, without any Regard to his Character, the Murder of their Uncle f. But as no Notice is taken by the contemporary Hiſtorians of what we are told by theſe more modern Writers, we may well conclude with *Bellegarde*, in his *General Hiſtory of Spain*, that *Peter de Luna* died of no other Poiſon than that of old Age, being Ninety at the Time of his Death g.

Acts the Pope to his laſt Breath.

Of what Death ſoever he died, certain it is, that he acted the High Pontiff to his laſt Breath, and was, or pretended to be, ſo fully perſuaded of his being the only true Pope, that at the Point of Death he made the Cardinals, who were then with him, ſwear upon the Goſpels, that after his Deceaſe they would elect another in his Room, nay, the anonymous Writer of *Bourdeaux*, who lived at this Time, tells us, that when he could no longer ſpeak, he wrote down, with great Difficulty, the following Injunction addreſſed, as his laſt Will, to his Cardinals; *I injoin you, upon Pain of an eternal Curſe, æternæ maledictionis, to chuſe another Pope after my Death.* His Body was depoſited in the Chapel of the Fortreſs of *Peniſcola*, where he died; but it was tranſlated from thence Six Years afterwards by *John de Luna*, One of his Nephews, to *Igluera*, a City of *Arragon*, belonging to the *de Luna* Family. If what we read in ſome Writers, who lived not at a great Diſtance from thoſe Times, be true, *viz.* that his Body was found free from all Corruption, and exhaled a ſweet Smell, when it had lain S x Years under Ground, that could be only owing to the Drugs, or Spices, with which it muſt have been imbalmed. *Peter de Luna* is

His Burial, Character, and Writings.

e Theſaur. Novus Anecdot. col. 1714. f Mariana, l. 20. c. 10. g Bellegard. tom. 3. p. 500.

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allowed by all, who ſpeak of him, to have been One of the greateſt Men, if not the greateſt of the Age he lived in; and we find nothing laid to his Charge, even by his moſt inveterate Enemies, beſides the numberleſs Shifts and Subterfuges he made uſe of to avoid the *Way of Ceſſion*, which he had promiſed upon Oath, both before and after his Election, to embrace, if judged neceſſary, or expedient for the Peace and Unity of the Church. His Character, therefore, muſt have been quite irreproachable in every other Reſpect, and his Life entirely blameleſs. He wrote a Treatiſe, calculated to prove, *that no Council has any Power over the Pope*, and another Piece, intituled, *Comforts againſt all the Troubles and Adverſities that can happen to a Man in this miſerable Life*. Both theſe Pieces are ſaid to be ſtill preſerved in Manuſcript in the *Vatican* Library. Year of Chriſt 1424.

St. *Antonine*, ſpeaking of *Peter de Luna*, ſays, that *to complete his Condemnation he ſurpaſſed, in this Pontificate, the Years of St.* Peter [b]; that is, his Pontificate exceeded in Length of Years the *Roman* Pontificate of St. *Peter*, who is ſuppoſed to have ſat at *Rome* only Twenty-five Years, whereas *de Luna* held that See, or, at leaſt, acted as Pope from the 28th of *September* 1394 to the 29th of *November* 1424, that is, for the Space of Thirty Years and Thirty-two Days. This St. *Antonine* ſeems to have alleged as a Proof of his not being a true and lawful Pope, and conſequently to have believed, what is ſtill commonly believed, that no true Pope is to ſee the Years of St. *Peter*, and that he is told at his Coronation, *Non videbis annos Petri*. It is indeed true, and is by ſome looked upon as myſterious, that no lawful Pope has ever yet ſeen the Years of St. *Peter*, or held the *Roman* See Twenty-five Years, as that Apoſtle is ſuppoſed to have done, though many have been raiſed to it, whoſe Ages and robuſt Conſtitutions promiſed a long Life. But it is abſolutely falſe that the new Pope is told ſo at his Coronation, no ſuch Words as *Non videbis annos*, or, *Dies Petri* being to be met with in the *Ritual of the Holy* Roman *Church*, containing every Ceremony, even the minuteſt, that is uſed at the Coronation of the Pope. In the Beginning of the preſent Century *Clement* XI. held the See Twenty Years and ſome Months; and when the Cardinals came to congratulate him, according to Cuſtom, upon his entering into a new Year, the Twenty-firſt, of his Pontificate, and

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[b] Anton. in parte 3. tit. 22. c. 7.

Year of Chriſt 1424.

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[h] Anton. in parte 3. tit. 22. c. 7.

Year of Christ 1424.

to wish him many more, he put them in Mind, smiling, of the Saying, *Non videbis annos Petri.* But Cardinal *Ottoboni* quickly replied, that the Saying his Holiness had quoted was to be understood, as including the Twenty-five Years St. *Peter* had sat at *Rome*, and the Seven he had sat before at *Antioch.* But *Clement* died that very Year.

The Pope assists to the utmost of his Power Lewis *of* Anjou *against* Alphonso *of* Arragon.

One would have thought that the Death of the last of the Three Antipopes would have put an End to the Schism. But his Cardinals, mindful of his last Will and Injunctions, elected another in his Room, as I shall have Occasion to relate the following Year, when that memorable Election was brought about. To pursue in the mean time the other Events of the present Year 1424; *Martin*, having now recovered out of the Hands of the petty Tyrants all the Places they had seized, and restored the Ecclesiastical State to its former Condition, resolved to employ the whole Power of his See in Favour of *Lewis* against his Rival *Alphonso*, both claiming, as has been said, the Kingdom of *Apulia*, or, as it is now called, of *Naples*, by virtue of the Adoption of Queen *Joan*. *Lewis* had undoubtedly the better Right of the Two, as has been shewn above; nay, *Alphonso* had, in Truth, no Claim at all to that Crown, Queen *Joan* having revoked his Adoption, upon which alone he grounded his Claim. Besides, Reasons of State were not wanting to make the Pope heartily join the *Angevin* Party, and spare no Pains nor Expence to drive out *Alphonso*, and establish *Lewis* on the Throne. As *Lewis* possessed but small Territories in *France*, *Martin* well knew that he could not defend his *Italian* Dominions without his Assistance, and would therefore be obliged to court his Favour, and, in a Manner, to depend upon him and his Successors. But *Alphonso* was One of the most powerful Princes at this Time, in the West, being not only possessed of the Kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valencia*, but of *Catalonia*, *Majorca*, *Sardinia*, *Corsica* and *Sicily*. *Martin* therefore, not caring to have so powerful a Neighbour, and apprehending that, were he suffered to add the Kingdom of *Apulia* to his other Dominions, he would, in a very short Time, make himself Master of all *Italy*, formed privately a strong Confederacy against him, at the Head of which was *Philip Visconti*, Lord of *Milan*, then the most powerful and warlike Prince in that Country. To the Troops of the Allies the Pope added his own, and, with the Approbation of the Queen, appointed *Sforza* Commander in Chief of the allied Army,

and

and ſent him a conſiderable Sum to defray the Expences of the Campaign. *Sforza*, without Loſs of Time, marched ſtrait to *Naples*, and having defeated and put to Flight a Body of Troops ſent by *Alphonſo* to oppoſe him, laid Siege to the City. *Alphonſo*, ſenſible that ſo populous a Place would ſoon be obliged to ſubmit for Want of Proviſions, thought it adviſeable to abandon it for the preſent, and returning to *Arragon*, raiſe a new and more numerous Army there. He accordingly embarked, in the latter End of the preſent Year, on board his Fleet, conſiſting of Twelve large Ships and Eighteen Gallies, which the *Neapolitans* no ſooner ſaw under Sail, than opening their Gates, they received *Lewis* and *Sforza*, and ſoon afterwards the Queen with great Rejoicings that laſted ſeveral Days. The King of *Arragon* had taken the celebrated *Braccio* with his mercenary Troops into his Pay, who had reduced ſeveral Cities that held out for the Queen; and he uſed to boaſt, that he would reduce the Pope, her Protector, to ſo low a Condition, as to be glad to earn One *Baiocco* (One Half-penny) a Day by ſaying private Maſſes [i]. He was then employed in reducing the City of *Aquila*, that had declared for *Lewis* and the Queen. *Sforza* was therefore ſent to relieve the Place, that had ſtood a long Siege, but was upon the Point of ſurrendering. But that brave Commander, in paſſing the River *Peſcara*, was unfortunately drowned. The Army, however, proceeded on their March under the Command of *Francis Sforza*, the deceaſed General's Son, and *Lewis Colonna*, One of the Pope's Nephews. *Braccio* met and engaged them; but being mortally wounded, his Men, diſheartened at ſeeing him fall, betook themſelves to a diſorderly Flight, when Victory had begun to incline to their Side, and left the Queen's Troops Maſters of the Field. *Braccio* was taken Priſoner, but died the next Day of his Wounds, and his Body was ſent to the Pope, who cauſed it to be thrown upon a Dunghill without the Gate of *St. Lawrence* [k]. The Pope tranſmitted an Account of this Victory, or, as he calls it, Triumph, to *John*, King of *Caſtile*, then at Variance with the King of *Arragon*, and likewiſe to *Frideric*, Marquis of *Brandenburg*, who, at this Time, commanded the Army employed againſt the *Huſſites* in *Bohemia*. His Letters to both theſe Princes have reached our Times [l]. And now the Queen,

Year of Chriſt 1424.

Who is obliged to quit Naples, *and return to* Spain.

Braccio *defeated and killed.*

[i] Antonin. tit. 22. c. 7.
[k] Collinuci Hiſt. Neapol. l. 5. Raynald. num. 16.
[l] Apud Raynald. ibid.

being

Year of Christ 1424.

being Mistress of the whole Kingdom, except the Island of *Ischia* alone, where *Alphonso* had left a strong Garrison, revoked anew his Adoption, and confirmed that of *Lewis*, but upon Condition that he assumed not the Title of King, nor meddled with public Affairs so long as she lived.

The Two Cardinals, who were with Benedict *at the Time of his Death, conceal it, and divide all his Effects between them.*

The Antipope *Benedict* XIII. died, as has been said, in his Fortress of *Peniscola*, on the 29th of *November* 1424; and now let us hear from One of his Cardinals, or, as they are called, Anti-Cardinals, what happened, in this and the following Year, after his Death. He made a Promotion of Four Cardinals Two Days before his Decease, as I have related above; and the Persons, whom he promoted, were *Julian Loba*, and *Eximino Daba*, both *Arragonese*, and *Dominic de Bonnefoi* and *John Carriere*, both *French*. Two Cardinals only, the Two *Arragonese*, were present at his Death, and they carefully concealed it from the other Two, and from every body else, seizing, in the mean time, and conveying away what Money he died possessed of, with the Gold and Silver Crosses, Chalices, Jewels, precious Stones, Reliquiaries, and even the Vestments and Ornaments of his Chapel, and the whole amounting, in Value, to an immense Sum, they divided between them. They published Bulls, and Briefs in his Name, sealed them with his Seal, granted Indulgences, as if he were still living, and when they had secured whatever was valuable and worth carrying off, they privately notified his Death to *Roderic de Luna*, One of his Nephews, and at the same time dispatched a Messenger to acquaint King *Alphonso* with it, and consult him about the Election of his Successor. The King, highly provoked at *Martin*'s so warmly espousing the Cause of his Rival *Lewis* of *Anjou*, privately encouraged the Cardinals to proceed to a new Election. The Two *Arragonese* Cardinals, therefore, and the Cardinal *de Bonnefoi*, entering into the Conclave at *Peniscola*, elected *Gilles*, or *Ægidius Munox*, Canon of *Barcelona*, and gave him the Name of *Clement* VIII. At First the Two *Arragonese* Cardinals chose one another. But *Roderic de Luna* recommending *Ægidius*, as is supposed, in the King's Name, and representing to them that he had Twenty-three thousand Florins in Cash, and was able to support them suitably to their Dignity, they sent for him, and upon certain Conditions, evidently Simoniacal, which they made him sign, and swear to, they unanimously concurred in his Election. In the

Year of Christ 1425.

Ægidius Munox *or* Magnus *elected under the Name of* Clement VIII. *by Three of his Cardinals.*

mean time Cardinal *Carriere*, who was abſent, and had not heard of the Death of *Benedict* till News was brought him of the Election of his Succeſſor, arrived at *Peniſcola*. But ſuſpecting, from what he had heard, that the Election of the new Pope was not quite free from Simony, before he preſented himſelf to him, he privately proteſted, in the Preſence of a Notary and Three Witneſſes, that his outwardly behaving to him as true Pope gave him no other Right to that Dignity, but what he had by his Election, and that it was only upon a Suppoſition of his having been canonically elected, that he acknowleged him for Pope. He afterwards ſecretly enquired into all the Circumſtances of that Election, and finding it to have been entirely owing to Simony, he declared it null, and in the Preſence of ſome of his Friends nominated another Pope, pretending that he alone had a Right to elect, the other Three, the only true Cardinals, having forfeited their Right by their Simony, agreeably to the Bull of Pope *Nicholas* II. *Si quis pecuniam*, &c. This new Pope ſoon diſappeared, and we know no more of him than that he was a Native of *Aquitaine*, and took the Name of *Benedict* XIV. no Writer having ſo much as taken Notice of his Family, or his original Name. After this Election Cardinal *Carriere*, who has himſelf given us this whole Account, left *Peniſcola* in the Dead of the Night, being let down by his Friends with a Rope from the Wall of the Fortreſs, and travelling Night and Day, though greatly indiſpoſed, got ſafe to the Territories of his Friend the Count of *Armagnac* [m].

Year of Chriſt 1425. *And* Benedict XIV. *by a Fourth.*

Martin was ſenſible that the Election of *Clement* was not made without the Privity, but probably by the Direction of King *Alphonſo*; and he therefore ſent Cardinal *de Foix*, Brother to the Count of that Name, and nearly related to the Royal Family of *Arragon*, to complain to the King of his fomenting the Schiſm in his Dominions, when all other Chriſtian Princes had made it their Buſineſs to extinguiſh it in theirs. But the Cardinal Legate was met on the Road by a Meſſenger from the King, forbidding him to enter his Dominions till further Orders; and in the mean time by an Edict, which he cauſed to be publiſhed by Sound of Trumpet in all the Countries ſubject to the Crown of *Arragon*, he forbad the Biſhops and all other Eccleſiaſtics to receive any Letters from the Pope, or his Legate, on

Martin *ſends a Legate into* Arragon, *who is forbidden by the King to enter his Dominions.*

Year of Chriſt 1426.

[m] Theſaur. Novus Anecdot. col. 1736. et ſeq.

Pain

Year of Christ 1426.

Pain of incurring his Diſpleaſure, and forfeiting their Dignities and Revenues. In that Edict *Martin* was taxed, and not undeſervedly, with putting off, under frivolous Pretences, the neceſſary Work of the Reformation, ſo ſtrictly enjoined by the Council of *Conſtance*, and with diſſolving the Council of *Siena* as ſoon as they began to attempt it. That Edict the Pope anſwered with a Summons, requiring *Alphonſo*, King of *Arragon*, to appear perſonally at the Tribunal of the Apoſtolic See, in the Term of One hundred Days from the Date of the ſaid Summons, on Pain of incurring the Sentence of Excommunication, and having all his Dominions put under an Interdict. This Sentence is dated at *Rome* the 15th of *July*, in the Ninth Year of *Martin*'s Pontificate, that is, in 1426; and it was, by the Pope's Order, ſet up at the Gates of the Baſilics of St. *John Lateran*, and of St. *Peter* at *Rome*, and of the Cathedrals of *Narbonne* and *Avignon*, that no Room might be left for the King to plead Ignorance [n].

Alphonſo *ſummoned to* Rome.

As *Alphonſo*'s Conduct in ſupporting the Antipope, and keeping the Schiſm ſtill alive, was generally diſapproved even by his own Subjects, he thought it adviſeable to prevent, by an Agreement with the Pope, the Diſturbances, which, he had Reaſon to believe, would inevitably attend the Excommunication, and Interdict, with which he was threatened. He therefore wrote to the Legate, Cardinal *de Foix*, granting him Leave to enter his Territories, and perform all the Functions of his Office throughout his Dominions. The Cardinal acquainted the Pope therewith, who ordered him to repair, without Delay, to the Kingdom of *Arragon*, but to enter into no Agreement with the King, till the Articles were approved by him, and the College of Cardinals. The Legate, upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter, or, as it is called, Diploma, went ſtrait to *Valencia*, where the King then reſided, and was received by him with moſt extraordinary Marks of Honour, ſuch as were quite degrading in a King. For he went out in Perſon with the whole Royal Family to meet him at ſome Diſtance from the City, being attended by a great many Biſhops, by all the Nobility, by the Clergy in a Body, and the Magiſtrates of the City, all in their Formalities, and placing him, after the Kiſs of Peace and mutual Salutations, on his Right Hand, an Honour which the Legate ſtrove in vain to decline, he inſiſted on his covering his Head with his Red Hat,

He ſubmits, and receives the Legate with extraordinary Marks of Honour.

Year of Chriſt 1427.

[n] Apud Raynald. ad hunc ann. num. 1. et ſeq.

while

while he himſelf walked the whole Way with his Head uncovered, converſing familiarly with him. He thus attended him to the Gate of the City, and there begging him to excuſe his proceeding no further, as the Day was far ſpent, and his Palace ſtood without the Walls, he took his Leave of him with many Proteſtations of Friendſhip for him, and of the higheſt Regard and Veneration for his Holineſs, who had ſent him. The Legate proceeded, in ſolemn Proceſſion, to the Cathedral, where the *Te Deum* was ſung, and he then retired, attended by the Biſhops and Clergy, as well as the Magiſtrates, to the Epiſcopal Palace, which had been magnificently fitted up, at the Expence of the King, for his Reception [o]. Year of Chriſt 1427.

The Legate's imprudent Conduct.

The next Day the Legate, preſuming upon the kind Reception he had met with from all Ranks of People, and upon the Fear the King betrayed of having his Dominions put under an Interdict, cauſed a Paper to be ſet up at the Doors of the Cathedral and the Epiſcopal Palace, giving Notice to all, whom it might concern, that, in Two Days Time, the Auditors, or Judges of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, whom he had brought with him from *Rome*, would begin their Sittings, and do Juſtice to all, who thought themſelves aggrieved and had Recourſe to them. This *Alphonſo* highly reſented, as a manifeſt Encroachment upon the undoubted Rights of his Crown, and forgetting all his Fears, he cauſed an Edict to be publiſhed the very next Day, by Sound of Trumpet, forbidding his Subjects, upon the ſevereſt Penalties, to carry any Cauſe whatever to the Tribunal of the Legate or his Delegates. The Cardinal, unwilling to provoke the King, or any-ways diſoblige him at ſo critical a Juncture, thought it adviſeable to yield, and he, accordingly, cauſed the Papers, which he had ſet up, to be taken down, and, having thus appeaſed him, he had ſeveral Conferences with him; the Reſult of which was, that both the King and the Cardinal ſhould ſet down their reſpective Demands in Writing, that the Cardinal ſhould go with them in Perſon to *Rome*, and, having laid them before the Pope, return with his Holineſs's Anſwer.

He corrects it.

The Demands of the Legate.

The Demands of the Legate were, I. That the King ſhould uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to perſuade *Ægidius* at *Peniſcola*, and thoſe, who acknowleged him, to return, of their own Accord, to the Unity of

[o] Apud Raymund. ad hunc ann. num. 7.

Year of Christ 1427.

the Church, or ſhould deliver them up into his Holineſs's Hands. II. That he ſhould revoke all the Edicts againſt the Authority of the High Pontiff, or his Legates. III. That the Collectors of the Holy See ſhould be allowed to collect undiſturbed the Dues of the Apoſtolic Chamber. IV. That the *Roman* Church, and all other Churches, ſhould enjoy unmoleſted all their Rights, Liberties, and Privileges. V. That the Prelates and other Eccleſiaſtics, who had been baniſhed, ſhould be all recalled, and full Reſtitution made to them of all they had loſt. VI. That the King ſhould, by no Means, give any further Trouble to the Kingdom of *Apulia*, or of *Naples*, but ſhould ſubmit his Pretenſions to the Judgment of impartial Perſons, to be named by his Holineſs. The King inſiſted, upon the excepting of ſome Eccleſiaſtics, whom he ſhould name in the general Pardon, and declined giving any poſitive Anſwer to the Demand concerning the Kingdom of *Apulia*, but to all the other Demands he agreed without any Limitation, or Reſtriction whatever.

The Demands of the King.

On the other hand, the King demanded, I. That the Body of St. *Lewis*, heretofore Biſhop of *Touloufe*, ſhould be granted to him. II. That his Holineſs ſhould remit all the Arrears, due to the Apoſtolic Chamber on Account of vacant Sees and Benefices. III. That he ſhould, in like Manner, remit the Arrears of the yearly Rents due for the Iſlands of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corſica*, and for the future accept, in lieu of thoſe Rents, during the King's Life, a Cloke of Cloth of Gold to be preſented to his Holineſs every Five Years. IV. That in Conſideration of the vaſt Sums his Father and himſelf had expended, and the indefatigable Pains they had both taken to extinguiſh the Schiſm, Fifteen thouſand Florins ſhould be paid to him out of the Apoſtolic Chamber by Way of Indemnity and Recompence. V. That he ſhould be allowed to tranſlate the Order of St. *Mary de Monteſia* from the Kingdom of *Valencia* to the Iſland of *Sicily*, aſſigning them other Revenues in that Iſland. VI. That he ſhould have the Diſpoſal of all vacant Benefices and Abbies in his Dominions till the preſent Agreement was finally concluded. VII. That he ſhould nominate Six Perſons, Two of whom ſhould be promoted by his Holineſs to the Dignity of Cardinal. VIII. and Laſtly, That all Damages and Injuries done, or ſuppoſed to have been done by him to the Apoſtolic

Apoſtolic See, ſhould be forgiven, and he be abſolved from all the Cenſures he might have incurred [p]. Year of Chriſt 1427.

St. *Lewis*, whoſe Body the King demanded, was the Second Son of *Charles* II. King of *Sicily*. In the Time of *Celeſtine* V. he embraced a religious Life among the *Minorites*, was preferred to the See of *Toulouſe* by *Boniface* VIII. the Succeſſor of *Celeſtine*, died in *Provence* in 1297, and was canonized in 1317, Twenty Years after his Death, by *John* XXII. who had been his Preceptor. His Body was tranſlated from the Place, where he died, to *Marſeilles*, and moſt ſtupendous Miracles were ſaid to be wrought daily at his Tomb. He could not, however, defend the City, nor indeed himſelf, againſt the King of *Arragon*. For as *Marſeilles* belonged to *Lewis*, Duke of *Anjou*, *Alphonſo*, in returning from *Naples*, on board his Fleet, to *Spain*, attacked it unexpectedly, plundered it, ſet Fire to it in many Places, and carried off with him the Body of their wonder-working Saint and Protector. The People of *Marſeilles* complained to the Pope of the *ſacrilegious Robbery*, as they called it, earneſtly intreating him to interpoſe his Authority, and cauſe the Body of the holy Biſhop, who had choſen to die among them, to be reſtored to them. But *Alphonſo*, loth to part with ſo invaluable a Treaſure, made it One of the Articles of his Agreement with the Pope, and indeed the Firſt, that it ſhould be yielded to him, and the People of *Provence* and *Marſeilles* be obliged to give up all Claim to it [q].

The King's Demands carried by the Legate to Rome, *and approved by the Pope.* Year of Chriſt 1428.

The above Articles being ſigned both by the Legate and the King on the 17th of *October* of the preſent Year, the Legate, repairing to *Barcelona*, found there Two of the King's Gallies ready to receive him and convey him to *Rome*, in order to lay the Articles before the Pope, and return with his Holineſs's final Anſwer to them. He embarked on the 20th of *October*; but the Weather proving very ſtormy, and the Winds unfavourable, he did not reach *Rome* till the Beginning of the following Year. As a Peſtilence then prevailed in that City, and moſt of the Cardinals had retired into the Country, the whole Year 1428 paſſed before the Pope could aſſemble and conſult them concerning the King's Demands. But in the mean time he wrote a moſt kind and obliging Letter to the King, and even granted to him,

[p] Apud Raynald. num. 22.

[q] Wadingus in annalibus minor. ad ann. 1317. num. 48. et ſeq.

Year of Chriſt 1428. at his Requeſt, the Fortreſs of *Peniſcola*, which, at that Time, belonged to the Knights of *Rhodes*, now of *Malta*, who had fortified it at a very great Expence. The following Year the Cardinals came back to *Rome*, and the Articles being by all approved of, the Legate returned to *Spain* to acquaint the King therewith, and ſee they were executed on his Part. He ſet out from *Rome* on the 28th of *January*, and, travelling by Land, arrived at *Barcelona* on the 12th of *May*, and was there received with extraordinary Marks of Honour by the King, who went out to meet him, as he had done at *Valencia*. But he declined, under various Pretences, entering with the Legate upon the Affairs of his Legation. However, being at *Catabayud*, he was at laſt, with great Difficulty, prevailed upon by his Brother *John*, King of *Navarre*, to grant the Legate an Audience, when he had waited for it; and followed him changing daily Places, from the 12th of *May* to the 15th of *June*. In that Audience he declared, that he would revoke none of his Decrees againſt the Authority of the Pope and the Legates of the Apoſtolic See in his Dominions, till the Legate had publicly cleared him from the Accuſation of his having countenanced or promoted the Schiſm of *Peniſcola*. The Legate replied, that he had no Inſtructions with reſpect to that Demand, quite unexpected, and therefore could not comply with it. But the King peremptorily inſiſting upon it, the Negotiation was broken off. The King was to ſet out the next Day to invade the Kingdom of *Caſtile* jointly with his Brother the King of *Navarre*, and the Legate expreſſing a great Deſire to ſee him once more before he pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him, and laid his Dominions under an Interdict, he conſented, at the preſſing Inſtances of his Brother, to admit him juſt as he was mounting his Horſe to head his Army, and proceed on his March. No one expected that this Interview would be attended with any the leaſt Succeſs, the King appearing abſolutely determined to perform none of the Articles till his Demand was complied with. But the Legate had ſcarce begun to put him in Mind of the indefatigable Pains he had taken, and the many Dangers he had expoſed himſelf to, both by Sea and Land, for his Welfare, and the Welfare of his Kingdom, when, becoming at once quite another Man, to the great Aſtoniſhment of all who were preſent, he thanked him in the kindeſt Terms for his Zeal and inceſſant Endeavours to procure his Happineſs and

The Legate returns to Spain.

Year of Chriſt 1429.

The King refuſes to agree to the Articles.

But is ſuddenly changed.

and that of his Kingdom, adding, that to convince him how ſenſible he was of the Obligations he owed him, he would, that Moment, ſign all the Articles, and perform whatever elſe he or his Holineſs ſhould require of him. The Articles were, accordingly, ſigned that Moment by the King, who, though in great Haſte to ſet out with his Army for the Borders of *Caſtile*, would attend the Legate, with the King of *Navarre*, to the Cathedral, and aſſiſt there at the *Te Deum*, &c. ſung with great Solemnity, to return Thanks for ſo ſudden and ſo unexpected an Event, that could only be owing to him, *in whoſe Hand are the Hearts of Kings*. When the Ceremony was over the Legate gave his Benediction to both the Kings; and they immediately began their March [r].

Year of Chriſt 1429.

The Day after the King's Departure all the Edicts he had iſſued, any ways prejudicial to the Authority of the Apoſtolic See or its Legates, were publicly revoked, purſuant to the Order he had left, and Two of his chief Counſellors were ſent to *Peniſcola* to ſettle all Matters there to the Satisfaction of the Legate. Theſe *Clement* received in the moſt obliging Manner, and upon their declaring to him, that it was the King's Will and Pleaſure that he ſhould reſign the Pontificate, and acknowlege *Martin* V. for lawful Pope, he ſolemnly proteſted, that he had accepted that Dignity much againſt his Will, and would, in Obedience to the King, lay it down without Reluctance, nay with Pleaſure. However, to act as true Pope to the laſt, he inſiſted upon his being allowed to promote one *Francis Rovera*, a Man of great Probity and Learning, to the Dignity of Cardinal before his Reſignation, that he might direct, as a Perſon of known Prudence and Diſcretion, his other Cardinals in the Election of a new Pope, when the See became vacant by his Abdication. As *Rovera* acknowleged *Martin* for lawful Pope, he, at firſt, refuſed to accept of that Dignity at the Hands of the Antipope. But *Clement* declaring, that he was determined not to reſign till he had diſtinguiſhed his Pontificate by the Promotion of a Man of *Rovera*'s Merit, the Two Counſellors interpoſed, and obliged him to accept, for the Good of the Church, the offered Dignity. Having therefore conſented, with great Reluctance, to his Promotion, he was created Cardinal of the Holy *Roman* Church, with all the Pomp and Solemnity, that were uſed on the like Occaſion at *Rome*, and all

Abdication of Clement.

Some Circumſtances attending his Abdication.

[r] Raymund. & Bzovius ad ann. 1429.

were

Year of Christ 1429.

were enjoined to reſpect and honour him as ſuch. *Clement* then, placing himſelf upon his Throne in the Attire of High Pontiff, with the Triple Crown on his Head, and all the other Badges of the Pontifical Dignity, he revoked, with great Solemnity, and annulled all the Sentences of Excommunication pronounced by his Predeceſſor *Benedict* XIII. or by himſelf, againſt all who did not acknowlege and obey them, and, in particular, againſt *Odo de Columna*, ſtiling himſelf *Martin* V. reſtored them to all the Rights and Privileges they ever had enjoyed, and declared each of them, and *Odo de Columna* by Name, thenceforth capable of receiving any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity whatever, the Papal not excepted. As for himſelf he ſolemnly proteſted, that he had always had the Unity of the Church above all Things at Heart; that he had accepted the Pontificate with no other View or Deſign but to procure it more effectually; that he had always thought the Way of *Ceſſion* the moſt effectual as well as expeditious, and would have embraced it as ſoon as elected, had he not by others been diverted from it (by King *Alphonſo*, as is ſuppoſed); but, being now at full Liberty to keep his Dignity, or reſign it, he reſigned it with Joy, for the Glory of God, the Good of the Church, and the Peace of his own Conſcience; and now, he added, the See being vacant, the Cardinals may proceed to a new Election. He then came down from his Throne, delivered into the Hands of the King's Commiſſioners the Act of his Reſignation, drawn up in due Form; and, diveſting himſelf of his Pontifical Robes, reſumed his former Habit, that of a Canon, and retired into the Crowd[s]. The Act, or, as ſome call it, the Bull, of *Clement*'s Reſignation, is dated at *Peniſcola* the 26th of *July* 1429, in the Fifth Year of his Pontificate. He muſt therefore have been elected, as we may obſerve by the Way, in 1424, and not in 1423, as is ſuppoſed by the learned *Raymund*.

Martin *elected by his Cardinals.*

As *Clement* had declared the See vacant by his Reſignation, his Cardinals, being in all Three, entered the ſame Day into the Conclave. Theſe were *Ægidius Munox*, his Nephew, Precentor and Canon of *Gironne*, whom he had created Cardinal, *Francis Rovera*, whom he juſt preferred to that Dignity, and *Julianus Dobla*, One of the Four Cardinals, whom *Benedict* had created a little before his Death. As for the other Three Cardinals of *Benedict*'s Creation, *Eximinus*

[s] Apud Raymund. & tom. 12. Concil. col. 406.

Daba

Daha and *Dominic Bonnefoi* were kept Priſoners in *Peniſcola*, being charged with a Deſign of ſetting up a Third Pope. Of Cardinal *Carriere*, whom I have had Occaſion to mention above, no farther Notice is taken by any Hiſtorian, and we know not whether he ever abjured the Schiſm, or what became of him. The Three above-mentioned Cardinals being ſhut up in a Room in the Fortreſs, which they called the *Conclave*, the Doors of the Room were locked, Guards were placed at all the Avenues to it, the *Veni Creator*, &c. was ſung, and every other Order and Ceremony obſerved at *Rome*, in the Election of a new Pope, was punctually complied with in this mock Election on the Rock of *Peniſcola*. The Cardinals had been but a few Minutes in the Conclave, when they elected, with one Conſent, *Odo de Columna*, and acknowleged him for lawful Pope under the Name of *Martin* V. The Election being publiſhed, the Three Cardinals, attended by the Two Commiſſioners, and the Clergy, in a Body, went, in ſolemn Proceſſion, to the chief Church of the Place, to ſing the *Te Deum*, &c. and thank the Almighty for the Unanimity, with which he had inſpired them [r]. Was not all this mere Mockery?

Year of Chriſt 1429.

On the 14th of the following *Auguſt*, *Ægidius Munox*, and his Three Cardinals, hearing that the Cardinal Legate was at *St. Matthew's*, a ſmall Place, diſtant but Three Leagues from *Peniſcola*, repaired thither in order to ſubmit to him and receive Abſolution from the Cenſures they had incurred. Being introduced to the Cardinal, *Ægidius* addreſſed him thus: *Moſt Reverend Father, I and they, who are with me, have heard from Perſons worthy of Credit, that you are a Legate* a latere *of the Apoſtolic See, and of our moſt holy Lord* Martin V. *by Divine Providense Pope: We are therefore come to acknowlege our ſaid Lord Pope* Martin V. *in you as his Repreſentative, for the true Vicar of* Chriſt *upon Earth, and the lawful Succeſſor of St.* Peter, *and to offer ourſelves ever ready to obey his Commands and yours.* When he had done, the Legate, taking him by the Hand, *Do you then promiſe*, ſaid he, *and ſwear, that henceforth you will be faithful and obedient to our moſt holy Lord* Martin V. *by Divine Providence Pope, and to his Succeſſors canonically elected? So I promiſe*, replied *Ægidius*, *and ſo I ſwear.* At theſe Words *Alphonſus Borgia*, One of the Commiſſioners, interpoſed in his Behalf, begged that he might be abſolved, as well as his Companions, from all the Cenſures which they had incurred, might be re-admitted

The Anti-pope and his Cardinals abſolved by the Pope's Legate.

[r] Concil. tom. 22. col. 407. & ſeq.

into

Year of Chriſt 1429.

into the Boſom of the Church, and reſtored to all the Rights and Privileges which they had forfeited, he by aſſuming the Papal Dignity, and they by adhering to him. As they had given the moſt convincing Proofs of an unfeigned Repentance, and the Two Commiſſioners took upon them to anſwer for their future Conduct, the Legate granted them, that Moment, a full and general Abſolution from all Cenſures, and at the ſame Time revoked all the Sentences till that Day pronounced againſt them. The next Day, the 15th of *Auguſt*, being the Feſtival of the Aſſumption of the Virgin *Mary*, the Legate celebrated High Maſs, at which aſſiſted the Three above-mentioned Cardinals, or rather Anticardinals, in the Habit of private Clergymen, having firſt renounced that Dignity in a formal Manner, and delivered all the Badges of it into the Hands of the Legate [u].

His Cardinals reſign their Dignity.

All at Peniſcola *ſubmit.*

As moſt of the Inhabitants of *Peniſcola* had acknowleged *Benedict*, and his Succeſſor *Clement*, but were now deſirous of returning to the Unity of the Church, the Legate repaired thither in Perſon to receive their Submiſſion. They all abjured the Schiſm, owned *Martin* for the only true Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, and were by the Legate re-united to the Church. The Two Anticardinals, *Eximius Daha* and *Dominic de Bonnefoi*, whom the Antipope *Clement* had impriſoned, as has been ſaid, were ſet at Liberty by the Legate; and upon their joining the reſt in ſubmitting to *Martin*, and diveſting themſelves of the Enſigns of their pretended Dignity, they were received again into the Church.

That Place yielded to King Alphonſo.

The Legate, in leaving *Peniſcola*, delivered it up to the King's Commiſſioners, to be held for ever by *Alphonſo* and his Succeſſors. From thence he went to *Tortoſa*, and in a Council, which he had appointed to meet in that City, ſeveral Regulations, ſuggeſted by him to extirpate the Abuſes that had crept into thoſe Churches during the Schiſm, were approved and ordered to be univerſally obſerved [w].

And now the Schiſm was confined to the Territories of the Count of *Armagnac* alone, who had adhered to *Peter de Luna*, and after his Death to *Ægidius Munox* his Succeſſor, affording a ſafe Aſylum to all who refuſed to ſubmit to *Martin*. Being on that Account ſummoned by *Martin* to *Rome*, and not complying with the Summons, he was, on the 4th of *March* of the preſent Year, ſolemnly excommunicated, and his Territories were all put under an Interdict. As all the other

[u] Bzovius & Raynald. [w] Idem ibid.

Princes

Princes therefore, and even his own Pope, had ſubmitted to *Martin*, he was eaſily prevailed upon by the Legate to follow their Example; and he accordingly abjured the Schiſm in the latter End of the preſent Year, and owning *Martin* for the lawful Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, was thereupon abſolved by the Legate from the Excommunication, and all other Cenſures, Pains, and Penalties that he had incurred [x].——As for *Ægidius*, he was, at the Recommendation of King *Alphonſo*, preferred by the Pope to the Biſhopric of *Majorca*, his Anticardinals were all rewarded, for their ready Snbmiſſion, with conſiderable Benefices, and *Alphonſus Borgia*, One of the Commiſſioners, was by the Intereſt of the Legate, who in a great Meaſure owed the Succeſs of his Legation to his Zeal, nominated by the Pope to the Biſhopric of *Valencia*; and we ſhall ſee him afterwards raiſed to the Dignity of High Pontiff under the Name of *Calixtus* III. Thus was an End put at laſt to the preſent Schiſm, known by the Name of *the great Weſtern Schiſm*. It had laſted from the 20th of *September* 1378, when *Clement* VII. was elected in Oppoſition to *Urban* VI. to the 26th of *July* 1429, when *Clement* VIII. the laſt Antipope, reſigned that Dignity, as has been ſaid.

Year of Chriſt 1429. *The Great Schiſm ended.*

Martin, having now no Rival to contend with, made it his chief Buſineſs to unite the Princes of *Germany*, and promote Cruſades againſt the *Huſſites* of *Bohemia*. We have ſeveral Letters of his to the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, to the King of *Poland*, to the Great Duke of *Lithuania*, and to other Princes, exhorting them to join their Forces, and either extirpate thoſe Rebels to the Church, or oblige them to return to her Boſom. The *Huſſite* War broke out ſoon after the Council of *Conſtance*, and was carried on with a dreadful Effuſion of Blood, during the whole Time of *Martin*'s Pontificate, chiefly at his Inſtigation. Of that War, one of the moſt barbarous and bloody we read of in Hiſtory, of the wonderful, I had almoſt ſaid the miraculous, Succeſs that attended the *Huſſites*, under the celebrated *Ziſka*, during the Courſe of it, and the many ſignal Victories, gained by that renowned Commander, over the numerous Armies ſent againſt him, we have a full Detail in *Lenfant*'s *Hiſtory of the Huſſites*; and to him, as ſuch an Account is foreign to my Subject, I refer the Reader.

Martin *ſtirs up the Emperor and other Princes againſt the* Huſſites.

Martin, a little Time before his Death, condemned a Practice that had begun to prevail in moſt Places of *Italy*. Of that Practice and its

Prohibits the Picture of

[x] Apud Bzovium et Raynald. ad ann. 1429.

Year of Chriſt 1430.

the Name of JESUS.

Condemnation we have the following Account from St. *Antonine*, Archbiſhop of *Florence*, who lived at this Time. A *Minorite* of *Siena*, named *Bernardine*, who has ſince been canonized, having a particular Veneration for the Name of JESUS, a Name, *which is above every Name*, and at which *every Knee ſhould bow, of Things in Heaven, and Things in Earth, and Things under the Earth*, he cauſed that Name to be curiouſly painted upon a Board, and expoſed it thus painted to the Adoration of the People in all the Places where he preached. For he was a famous Preacher, and travelling from Place to Place is ſaid to have awakened, with his Sermons, even the moſt hardened Sinners to a Senſe of Religion and a Reformation of their Lives. That new Kind of Worſhip was embraced with great Ardour by the People, the rather as it was recommended by One held in the higheſt Eſteem for his Sanctity; and the Word JESUS was every-where painted with many Ornaments around it, was every-where expoſed to the Adoration of the People, and even carried by the *Minorites* in their public Proceſſions before the Croſs. But that Practice, though promoted and propagated with a pious Intention by its Author, met not, ſays *Antonine*, with the ſame Reception from the Learned as it did from the illiterate Multitude. On the contrary, it was cenſured by them as ſuperſtitious, nay and as idolatrous, or, at leaſt, as calculated to lead the People into Idolatry. As the *Minorites* continued to propagate the ſame Practice, in ſpite of all the Reaſons and Arguments urged againſt it, their Oppoſers applied, in the End, to the Pope; and his Holineſs, after conſulting many Biſhops and all the ableſt Divines, declared, upon the moſt mature Deliberation, the Practice in queſtion to be dangerous, *becauſe the People would be apt to direct their Worſhip to the Name of* JESUS *more than to* JESUS *himſelf*, ordered the *Minorites*, upon that Conſideration, thenceforth to forbear it, and, in order to remove all Danger of Superſtition or Idolatry, prohibited their Pictures [y]. I ſhall leave thoſe, who ſtand up for the Uſe of the Images of our Saviour and the Saints in Places of Worſhip, who pray before them, and carry them, expoſed to the Worſhip of the People, in their public Proceſſions, *&c.* to reconcile ſuch Practices with the preſent Declaration and Prohibition of their infallible Pope. If it was dangerous to expoſe Pictures or Images of our Saviour's Name to the Worſhip of the Peo-

[y] Antonin. parte 3. tit. 22. c. 7.

ple,

ple, it must certainly be more so thus to expose Pictures or Images of our Saviour himself, Objects better calculated to attract the Adoration of the People. Certain it is that the Reason, alleged by the Pope for prohibiting all Pictures of our Saviour's Name, evidently holds good against all Pictures, Images, Figures, and Representations whatever of his divine Person; and, *a fortiori*, of the Saints. Year of Christ 1430.

The following Year *Martin* died of an Apoplexy, on the 20th of *February*, after a Pontificate of Thirteen Years Three Months and Ten Days, reckoning from the Day of his Election, the 11th of *November* 1417. He was buried in the *Lateran* near the Heads of the Apostles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and the following Epitaph, to be seen to this Day, was engraved on his Tomb. *Pope* Martin V. *sat* 13 *Years* 3 *Months and* 12 *Days*. *He died on the* 20*th of* February *in the Year of our Lord* 1431. *He was the Happiness of his Times.* But the Blunder in the Epitaph plainly shews it to have been written long after these Times. For if *Martin* was elected on the 11th of *November* 1417, as he certainly was, and died on the 20th of *February* 1431, as we read in the circulatory Letter of Pope *Eugene* IV. his immediate Successor, and in the Epitaph itself, he could not have sat 12 Days, as is evident, over and above the Thirteen Years and Three Months. *His Death,* Year of Christ 1431.

Great Commendations are bestowed upon *Martin*, by almost all the contemporary Writers. *I have seen* Martin V. says *Gobelinus* in the Preface to the First Book of his *Commentaries*, *have seen* Eugene IV. Nicholas V. *and* Calixtus III. *who were all condemned by the People while they lived, but extolled with great Encomiums after their Death.* The Three Popes, mentioned with *Martin*, were his Three immediate Successors; and those *Commentaries* are generally ascribed to *Æneas Sylvius*, who succeeded *Calixtus* III. under the Name of *Pius* II. *and Character.*

I find Two Things only laid to the Charge of *Martin* by those, who speak less favourably of him, the Love of Money, and Nepotism. But that he was very undeservedly taxed with Avarice, or the Love of Money, sufficiently appears, as was observed by *Antonine*, from the immense Sums he expended in the *Hussite* War, as well as in repairing or rebuilding the Churches of *Rome*, nay, and, in a Manner, rebuilding the City itself, grudging no Expence to embellish his Capital [z]. As to the other Imputation, he certainly preferred, in the Disposal of all lu- *Whether justly charged with Avarice and Nepotism.*

[z] Antonin. chron. parte 3. tit. 22. c. 7.

Year of Chriſt 1431.

crative Employments, his Relations and Nephews to all others, however deſerving, and by that Means left them, at his Death, poſſeſſed of immenſe Wealth. *Martin* ſoon after his Arrival at *Rome* cauſed the Houſe, in the Neighbourhood of the Church of the *Twelve Apoſtles*, which belonged to his Family, and in which he was born, to be pulled down, and a magnificent Palace to be built in its Room. In that Palace he reſided, during the Six laſt Years of his Life, as appears from his Bulls; and there the *Colonna* Family reſides to this Day. *Platina* gives a remarkable Inſtance of this Pope's Conſtancy and Fortitude.

Inſtance of his Fortitude.

He had Two Brothers, whom he tenderly loved, *Jordan* and *Lawrence*. *Jordan*, the Elder of the Two, whom Queen *Joan* had created Prince of *Salerno*, died of the Plague, the other was burnt alive in a Tower ſet accidentally on Fire, and the Pope heard, much about the ſame Time, of the unhappy Fate of the one and the other, without uttering a ſingle Word of Complaint, or betraying the leaſt Symptom of Impatience or Dejection [a]. *Angelus Clavaſius* writes in his *Summa*, that *Martin*, by a very extraordinary Diſpenſation, allowed a Man to marry his own Siſter; and that he advances upon the Authority of St. *Antonine*. But *Antonine*, in the Place quoted by that Writer, ſpeaks only of a Diſpenſation, allowing a Man to marry the Siſter of a Woman with whom he had had a ſecret Intrigue, which would have become public, had the Pope refuſed the Licence, for which the Man had privately applied [b].

The Univerſities of Roſtock *and* Louvain *founded.*

In 1419, *John* and *Albert*, the Two Dukes of *Mecklenburg*, the one of *Guſtrow*, the other of *Schwerin* or *Swerin*, founded an Univerſity at *Roſtock* in that Dukedom, jointly with the Senate of that City, then, as it ſtill is, a *Hanſe Town* or Free City. That Foundation *Martin* not only approved, but, upon the Application of the Two Dukes, granted the ſame Privileges to their new-founded Univerſity as had been granted by his Predeceſſors to thoſe of *Erfort* and *Leipſick* [c]. The preſent Dukes of *Mecklenburg Schwerin* and *Strelitz* are deſcended from the Two Dukes mentioned here. In 1688 died the laſt Duke of *Guſtrow*, and upon the Extinction of that Branch enſued a Law-ſuit between the Two remaining Branches of *Schwerin* and *Strelitz* about the Succeſſion, which laſted till the Year 1701, when it ended in a Treaty

[a] Platin. in vit. Martin V. [b] Antonin. Summa. parte 3. tit. 1. c. 22. [c] Calviſius in chron. ad ann. 1419.

of

of Partition.——In *Martin*'s Pontificate was celebrated the Fifth Jubilee, in 1425, ſay *Ciaconius* and *Bzovius*. But as it was ordained, as has been ſaid, by *Urban* VI. in 1390, the Year of the Jubilee, that other Jubilees ſhould thenceforth be celebrated at the Term of every Thirty-three Years, the Year of 1423 muſt have been that of *Martin*'s Jubilee; and at that Year it is, accordingly, placed by the accurate *Panvinius*. But it was not, it ſeems, celebrated with the uſual Solemnity, and Concourſe of People on Account of the War, that was then carried on, with great Fury, in *Italy*, in *France*, and in *Germany*; and hence it has been mentioned by very few of the contemporary Hiſtorians.—— Year of Chriſt 1431.

In 1425 *John*, Duke of *Brabant*, founded an Univerſity at *Louvain*, with the Conſent and Approbation of *Martin*, who granted to it all the Privileges, enjoyed by other Univerſities, except their having a School of Divinity. But that Privilege was added by the ſucceeding Pope *Eugenius* IV. to the reſt. *Martin*'s Diploma is dated the 9th of *December*, in the Ninth Year of his Pontificate [d].——In 1426 *Martin* made a Promotion of Cardinals, on the 24th of *May*, when Fourteen were raiſed to that Dignity, and among them *Proſper Colonna*, the Pope's Nephew by his Brother, and *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Uncle to the young King *Henry* VI. In 1430 Two new Cardinals were added to the College, on the 8th of *September*, at the Nomination, as is ſuppoſed, of *Alphonſo* King of *Arragon*, the Pope being bound, by One of the Articles of his Agreement with that Prince, to prefer Two to that Dignity out of the Six Perſons whom he ſhould name. Of this Pope we have ſeveral Bulls and Conſtitutions, to be met with in the *Great Bullarium*, a great many Letters, animating the Emperor and other Princes againſt the *Huſſites*, and a Sermon preached at *Rome* on Occaſion of the Tranſlation of the Body of St. *Monica*, the Mother of St. *Auſtin*.——As in the Year 1431 the Seven Years expired, at the Term of which a General Council was to be held, agreeably to the Decrees of the Councils of *Conſtance* and of *Siena*, and *Martin* had choſen the City of *Baſil* for the Place of their Meeting, he appointed *Julian Ceſarini*, Cardinal of *St. Angelo*, to preſide in that Council with the Character of his Legate *a latere*; but did not himſelf live to ſee it aſſembled.

His Promotion of Cardinals.

His Writings.

[d] Vide Lipſium in Lovanio.

EUGENIUS

Year of Christ 1431. MAN. PALÆOLOGUS, JOAN. PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperors of the East.*

EUGENIUS IV.

SIGISMUND, ALBERT II. FRIDERIC III. *Emperors of the West.*

The Two Hundred and Sixth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Election of Eugenius.

MARTIN dying, as has been ſaid, on the 20th of *February* 1431, the Cardinals, in all Fourteen, entered into the Conclave on the 1ſt or the 2d of *March*. But before they proceeded to the Election, they all agreed and ſwore to certain Articles, and among the reſt to the Three following: I. That in the Apoſtolic Letter it ſhould no longer be ſaid *by the Advice*, but *with the Conſent of the Cardinals*. II. That the Pope ſhould create no new Cardinals without the Conſent of the old Ones. III. That One Moiety of the Patrimony of the Church ſhould be divided among the Cardinals. Each of the Cardinals having bound himſelf by a ſolemn Oath to obſerve theſe Articles, in caſe he ſhould be raiſed to the See, they elected, with One Conſent, on the 3d of *March*, according to the moſt probable Opinion, *Gabriel Condelmerius*, Cardinal Preſbyter of *St. Clement*; who, on the 12th of that Month, was crowned with the uſual Solemnity in the Baſilic of *St. Peter*, and took the Name of *Eugenius* IV. He was the Son of *Angelus Condelmerius*, a Citizen of *Venice*, but come of a very ancient Family, and admitted, upon the Promotion of his Son, to the Rank of a Senator or Nobleman. His Mother's Name was *Bariola Coraria*, who lived to ſee her Brother, *Gregory* XII. her Son, *Eugenius* IV. and her Grand-ſon, by her Daughter *Polixena*, *Paul* II. preferred to the Pontifical Dignity. In his Youth he entered into the Order of the Secular Canons of *St. George in Alga*, at *Venice*; was called to *Rome* by his Uncle *Gregory* XII. and by him made Firſt Treaſurer of the Holy *Roman* Church, then preferred to the Biſhopric of *Siena*, and laſtly created Cardinal in 1408. He was employed by his Predeceſſor *Martin* V. againſt the People of the *March* and *Bologna*, who had revolted, but were ſoon reduced, more by his obliging Behaviour, than by Dint of Arms [e].

His Family, Employments, &c. before his Promotion.

[e] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1431. & Antonin. tit. 22. c. 10.

In the very First Days of the Pontificate of *Eugenius* a Quarrel, attended with great Disturbances, broke out between him and the Relations of the deceased Pope, on the following Occasion. *Eugenius* was informed that *Martin* had left an immense Treasure behind him; but that Cardinal *Prosper Colonna*, and his Two Brothers, *Antony* Prince of *Salerno*, and *Edward* Count of *Celano*, had embezzled the Whole, and kept it concealed. Upon that Intelligence *Eugenius* summoned them to give an Account of the Money, and the many valuable Effects, which his Predecessor was possessed of at the Time of his Death, since the See, and not they, was his Heir. As they took no Notice of that Summons, the Pope ordered their Palace to be searched. But they, who were employed on that Occasion, exceeding their Commission, instead of searching, plundered the Palace of all its rich Furniture, and of every Thing else that they thought of any Value. Hereupon the *Colonnas*, flying to Arms with their Friends and Dependents, besieged the Pope in his Palace, and would have seized him, had not the *Roman* People, jealous of the over-grown Power of that Family, joined, almost, to a Man against them. Thus was a Civil War kindled within the Walls of the City. But the *Colonnas* were, in the End, overpowered, and obliged to take Shelter in the Strong Holds, which they possessed in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*; and in the mean time the Pope thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication against the whole Family, deprived them of all Honours, Titles, and Dignities, and declared their Castles, their Lands and Territories all forfeited to the Apostolic See. It is observable, that the same Family had met with pretty much the same Treatment from another Pope, from *Boniface* VIII. about 130 Years before, as has been related in the Life of that Pope[f]. *Eugenius*, finding that he could not, with his own Force alone, oppose the *Colonnas*, who had hired a strong Body of Mercenaries, and even threatened *Rome* with a Siege, had Recourse to the Emperor; and *Sigismund*, interposing his Authority, obliged them to disband their Troops and submit to the Pope; provided his Holiness consented to absolve them from the Excommunication, to reinstate them in all their former Titles, Honours, and Dignities, and receive them again into Favour. All this the Pope readily performed[g]. And thus

Year of Christ 1431.

Quarrels with the Relations of the deceased Pope.

Great Disturbances in Rome.

The Emperor interposes.

[f] See vol. 6. p. 251. 253. Raymund. ad ann. 1431. num. 11.

[g] Blondus decad. 2. l. 9. Platin. in Eugen. IV.

Year of Chriſt 1431.

thus was an End put to the preſent Diſturbances, and the Pope, to his great Satisfaction, left at full Liberty to attend to Affairs of far greater Importance, which he had then on his Hands.

Council of Baſil *opened.*

The Council, appointed by the late Pope to meet at *Baſil*, was, in the mean time, opened in the Cathedral of that City on the 23d of *July* of the preſent Year. But, the Number of Prelates being yet very ſmall, no Seſſion was held till the 24th of *December*. However as their Numbers increaſed, they wrote, by the Advice of their Preſident, *Julian Ceſarini*, Cardinal of *St. Angelo*, a moſt obliging and friendly Letter to the *Bohemians*, that is, to the *Huſſites* of *Bohemia*, inviting them to the Council, and offering them a moſt ample Safe Conduct. The Letter is dated the 15th of *October*, and the Addreſs was, *The holy General Council, lawfully aſſembled in the Holy Ghoſt at* Baſil, *and repreſenting the Church Univerſal, to the Eccleſiaſtics, the Nobles, and the whole People of the Kingdom of* Bohemia, *Peace and Unity in* Chriſt Jeſus *our Lord*. To entice the *Bohemians* to the Council the Fathers promiſed them, in their Letter, a favourable Hearing, as they did not doubt, they ſaid, but they would yield to Reaſon; and, if convinced of any Errors, would readily renounce them. So much Complaiſance to condemned Heretics offended the Pope, pretending that Heretics, whom the Church once had condemned, ſhould no more be heard.

Diſſolved by Eugenius, *and why.*

Under Colour therefore of preventing declared Hereſies from being again brought into Diſpute, by a Letter, dated the 11th of *November*, he impowered his Legate, Cardinal *Ceſarini*, to diſſolve the Council, aſſembled at *Baſil*, and appoint another to meet, in the Term of Eighteen Months, at *Bologna*, which, he ſaid, he would aſſiſt at in Perſon. To juſtify this ſudden and quite unexpected Diſſolution of a Council, ſummoned by his Predeceſſor in Obedience to the Decrees of the Council of *Conſtance*, and approved by himſelf, *Eugenius* added in his Letter, that very few Prelates were yet come; that the War in thoſe Parts between the Dukes of *Auſtria* and *Burgundy* would prevent others from coming, and that many of the Citizens of *Baſil* profeſſed the Doctrine of the condemned and anathematized *Huſs*; which would breed daily Scandals and Quarrels. The Letter was ſigned by Ten Cardinals, among whom were Two preferred to that Dignity by *Eugenius* on the 19th of the preceding *September*, viz. *Francis Condelmerius*,

merius, his Nephew, and *Angelotto Foſchi*, or *Fuſco*, come of an ancient *Roman* Family, Archprieſt of the *Lateran*, and One of the Pope's moſt intimate Friends [h]. Year of Chriſt 1431.

So precipitate a Reſolution in the Pope ſurprized, beyond Meaſure, the Legate. But being a Man of great Diſcretion and Prudence, he concealed it from the Fathers of the Council, and in his Anſwer to the Pope's Letter remonſtrated, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, againſt it, laying before his Holineſs the Scandal it would give to Catholics as well as to Heretics; ſhewing, with great Freedom, the Futility of the Reaſons he had alleged for the intended Diſſolution, and even telling him, in plain Words, that the Council would not be diſſolved, and that he had therefore much better not attempt it, and thus avoid the endleſs Troubles, in which he would find himſelf inevitably involved, if he perſiſted in the Reſolution he had taken, perhaps, not upon the moſt mature Deliberation. But *Eugenius* wanted the Council to meet within his own Dominions, which was the true Reaſon that induced him to diſſolve it, apprehending that were it held any-where elſe, it might prove as fatal to him as that of *Conſtance* had been to his Predeceſſor *John* XXIII. Being therefore deaf to all Remonſtrances, he iſſued a Bull on the 18th of *December*, declaring the Council of *Baſil* diſſolved, and immediately diſpatched a Meſſenger to acquaint the Emperor therewith, as well as with the Reaſons that had moved him to it, the ſame that he had urged in his Letter to the Legate. *Sigiſmund* was come into *Italy* to be crowned at *Milan* with the Iron Crown as King of *Lombardy*, and afterwards with the Imperial Crown at *Rome*. The former Ceremony was performed on the 25th of *November*, not at *Modoetia*, as was uſual, but at *Milan*, by the Archbiſhop of that City. From *Milan* the Emperor repaired to *Placentia*; and there he received the Pope's Letter, with a Copy of the Bull of the Diſſolution of the Council, which no leſs ſurprized him than it had done the Legate. He foreſaw the Diſturbances that would unavoidably attend ſuch a Reſolution, and therefore poſtponing all other Affairs, he wrote, without Loſs of Time, a long Letter in Anſwer to the Pope's. In that Letter, dated at *Placentia* the 9th of *January* 1432, the Emperor firſt confuted One by One, and indeed unanſwerably, all the Reaſons

The Conduct of the Pope diſapproved by the Cardinal Legate.

And by the Emperor.

His Letter to the Pope.

Year of Chriſt 1432.

[h] Concil. Labbei, tom. 12. col. 669. Æneas Syl. Hiſt. p. 50. Edit. Freher. et apud Raynald. num. 21.

Year of Christ 1432.

offered by the Pope to justify the Dissolution of the Council. In the next Place he enlarged upon the many unspeakable Evils, into which his Holiness was, he said, upon the Point of plunging himself, the Catholic Church, and the whole Christian World, by putting off the so much wanted and so long wished for Reformation; when many Bishops were already come from distant Countries to concur with him in bringing so desirable a Work to a happy Issue. He added, that the Bishops would not be disappointed, and that he, as Protector of the Church, could not refuse his Protection to them and the Council. In the last Place he urged, that should the Council be dissolved for inviting the *Bohemians* to it, and promising them a favourable Hearing, they would conclude that the Catholics distrusted their Cause, and thus be confirmed in their Errors. The Emperor closed his Letter with earnestly intreating his Holiness, as he tendered the Welfare, the Peace, the Unity of the Church, and his own Reputation, to revoke his Decree dissolving the Council, and assist at it in Person [i]. This Letter *Eugenius* answered by another dated the 27th of *January*, wherein he assured the Emperor, that it was upon the most mature Deliberation, and with the Consent and Approbation of the Cardinals, that he had dissolved One Council, and called another, and was very confident that when his Highness came to *Rome* to receive the Imperial Crown, and gave him an Opportunity of conferring personally with him, he would entirely approve of his Conduct [k].

The Pope's Answer.

The Council of Basil *declared a lawful Council.*

As the Pope returned no Answer to the Legate's Letter against the Dissolution of the Council mentioned above, he concluded that his Holiness had acquiesced in the Reasons he had alleged; and on the 7th of *December* he appointed the First Session to be held on the 14th of the same Month. In that Session were read, after the usual Ceremonies, the Decrees of the Councils of *Constance* and *Siena*, with the Letters of Pope *Martin* and the present Pope his Successor, ordering Councils to meet at the Expiration of every Seventh Year, and One in the Course of the current Year at *Basil*. The said Council was then declared a General Council, representing the Church Universal, and lawfully assembled to preserve the Purity of the Faith, to reconcile the Christian Princes, and to reform Abuses.

[i] Concil. Labbei, tom. 2. col. 940. 955. [k] In Appendice Concil. col. 943.

In

In the mean time the Pope's Bull of the 18th of *December*, diſſolving the Council, being notified to the Fathers at *Baſil*, inſtead of complying with it, they confirmed, in their Second Seſſion held on the 15th of *February*, the Two following Declarations of the Council of *Conſtance*; viz. *that a General Council, lawfully aſſembled, has its Power immediately from* Chriſt, *which every one, of what State or Dignity ſoever, even the Papal, is bound to obey in Things appertaining to the Faith, to the Extirpation of the Schiſm, and to the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members:* The other, *that whoſoever, of whatever Dignity, even the Papal, ſhall refuſe to obey the Decrees, Statutes, and Mandates of a General Council, lawfully aſſembled, ſhall be duly puniſhed.* To theſe Two Declarations or Decrees of the Council of *Conſtance* the Fathers of *Baſil* added Three of their own, ariſing naturally from them; *viz.* I. That no Power upon Earth, no, not the Papal, can adjourn, tranſlate, or diſſolve the preſent Council aſſembled at *Baſil* without the Conſent of the Council itſelf. II. Nor can any Power upon Earth compel any to retire from the Council, or hinder any from coming to it. III. That none ſhall withdraw from the Council, till it is ended, without a juſt and reaſonable Cauſe, allowed to be ſo by the Deputies of the Council [1].

Year of Chriſt 1432.

Eſtabliſhes the Superiority of Councils over the Pope.

In the Third Seſſion, held on the 29th of *April*, the Biſhop of *Lauſanne*, and the Dean of *Utrecht*, who had been ſent to *Rome* to procure a Repeal of the Decree diſſolving the Council, made their Report; and the Fathers being informed by them that his Holineſs perſiſted in his former Reſolution, they ſummoned him to appear perſonally at the Council in the Term of Three Months, or to ſend Legates with full Powers, if he could not come himſelf, to repreſent him, and act in his Name. At the ſame time the Cardinals were required to attend the Council within the ſaid Term, on Pain of being proſecuted, if prevented by no lawful Impediment, according to the Rigor of the Canons.——In the Fourth Seſſion, on the 20th of *June*, moſt ample Safe Conducts were diſpatched to the *Bohemians*, who had been prevailed upon to yield to the preſſing Inſtances of the Fathers, inviting them to the Council, and aſſuring them of a kind and favorable Reception, with free Liberty to return when they pleaſed. In this Seſſion the Four following Decrees were iſſued, I. That, ſhould

The Pope and the Cardinals ſummoned to the Council.

Decrees iſſued in the Fourth Seſſion.

[1] Acta Victorina Concil. apud Spond. num. 7.

Year of Chriſt 1432.

the Pope happen to die while the Council is ſitting, his Succeſſor ſhall be elected in the Place where it is held, and no where elſe. This Decree was calculated to draw the Cardinals to *Baſil*. II. That no Promiſe, no Oath, no Obligation whatever will be admitted as a lawful Excuſe for not aſſiſting at the Council; and all ſuch Obligations are declared null. III. The Pope ſhall create no new Cardinals while the Council is ſitting. IV. A leaden Seal ſhall be made with the Holy Ghoſt on the One Side, deſcending in the Shape of a Dove, and theſe Words on the other, *The Holy General Council of* Baſil.

Propoſals made by the Pope concerning the transferring of the Council and the Fathers Anſwer.

In the mean time arrived at *Baſil*, on the 18th of *July*, the Archbiſhops of *Coloſſus* and *Taranto*, with the Biſhop of *Magalone*, and One of the Auditors of the Apoſtolic Palace, ſent by *Eugenius* to propoſe to the Fathers, the transferring of the Council, to any Place, ſubject to the Church in *Italy*, which they ſhould chuſe, and where they ſhould enjoy the ſame Liberty as at *Baſil*. They added, that as ſoon as the Place, which his Holineſs left entirely to their Choice, was fixed upon, he would repair to it without Delay, and enter, jointly with them, upon the great Work of the Reformation, beginning with his own Court, nay, and with himſelf; but that his Health, and many weighty Reaſons would not permit him to go out of *Italy*. The Fathers returned Anſwer, that his Predeceſſor had appointed the Council to meet at *Baſil*; that he himſelf had approved and confirmed it; that the Reaſons, which he had offered for diſſolving or transferring it, were mere Pretences; that a General Council has its Authority immediately from *Chriſt*, which the Popes themſelves are bound to ſubmit to, and they therefore begged his Holineſs to lay aſide all Thoughts of diſſolving the Council, and repair to *Baſil* [m].——This paſſed in a General Congregation, and in the Sixth Seſſion, held on the 6th of *September*, *Eugenius* was accuſed of Contumacy by the Promoter of the Council, in not revoking the Diſſolution of the ſaid Council, nor appearing at it in Compliance with his Summons, either in Perſon, or by his Deputies.——In the Seventh Seſſion, on the 6th of *November*, it was ordained, that as the Election of a new Pope was to be made at *Baſil*, ſhould the See become vacant while the Council was ſitting, and ſome of the Cardinals were uſefully employed at a great Diſtance from that City, the Reſt ſhould not enter into the

The Pope accuſed of Contumacy.

[m] Concil. tom. 12. col. 673.

Conclave till Sixty Days after the Deceaſe of the Pope.——In the Eighth Seſſion, held on the 18th of *December*, Sixty Days more were allowed to *Eugenius* to revoke the Diſſolution of the Council; and it was decreed that, if he did not revoke it within that Time, they ſhould proceed againſt him without any further Warning or Citation.——In the Ninth and Tenth Seſſions, held on the 19th of *January*, and the 19th of *February* 1433, *Eugenius* was ſummoned anew, and, upon his not appearing, accuſed again of Contempt or Contumacy; and the Fathers finally determined to ſuſpend him, at their next Meeting, from the Adminiſtration both in Spirituals and Temporals. But he, in the mean time, by a Diploma dated the 14th of *February*, that is, Three Days before the Sixty Days, allowed him in the Eighth Seſſion, were elapſed, confirmed the Council, and appointed Four Cardinals to preſide at it in his Name. But the Fathers maintaining that, as it had been lawfully aſſembled, it wanted not his Confirmation, would not admit the Legates, but inſiſted upon his firſt revoking, in expreſs Terms, the pretended Diſſolution. This *Eugenius* was, in the End, forced to agree to, and by a Bull, dated the 15th of *December* of the preſent Year 1433, he acknowleged the Holy General Council of *Baſil* to have been lawfully aſſembled, and lawfully continued, though he had diſſolved it *for juſt and reaſonable Cauſes*; declared void and null whatever had been done by him, or in his Name, to the Prejudice, or in Derogation of the ſaid Holy General Council; nay, and to ſatisfy the Fathers, he retracted a Letter againſt the Council, which he ſolemnly proteſted not to have been written by him, nor with his Knowlege or Conſent [m].

Year of Chriſt 1432.

He ſubmits, and retracts his Bulls diſſolving the Council.

Year of Chriſt 1433.

The *Bohemians*, or *Huſſites* of *Bohemia*, had been invited to the Council, as has been ſaid above, and in Compliance with that Invitation, they ſent Four Deputies, the moſt learned Men among them, to give an Account of their Doctrine. Theſe made their public Entry into *Baſil* on the 4th of *January* of the preſent Year, were introduced to the Council on the 9th, and the 16th was fixed for the Day, on which they were to lay their Doctrine before the Council, and offer, with all Liberty, what they had to ſay in Defence of it. They made long Harangues, the one after the other, for ſeveral Days together, calculated to explain their Doctrine, and to prove it from the Scripture

The Deputies of the Bohemians *arrive at* Baſil.

[m] Concil. ibid. col. 947.

and

Year of Christ 1433. *Articles they maintained.*

and the Fathers. The chief Articles they undertook to maintain were, that the Euchariſt ought to be adminiſtered to all in both Kinds; that all Crimes, even thoſe of the Eccleſiaſtics, ought to be puniſhed by the Civil Magiſtrates; that the Preaching of the Word of God ſhould be entirely free, and that the Clergy ſhould have no temporal Power nor Dominion. Theſe Articles afforded Matter of Diſpute, for the Space of Fifty Days, between them and the Four Divines, choſen by the Council to anſwer them. But as the Diſputants, during that Time, came to no Agreement, nor was there the leaſt Likelihood of their coming to any, the *Bohemians* took their Leave of the Council, and returned Home. With them the Council diſpatched Deputies to treat with the leading Men of the Party; and many public Conferences were held at *Prague* and other Places concerning the Articles in Diſpute. But the *Bohemians* refuſing to hearken to any Terms till the Article of the Communion in both Kinds was ſettled, the Council was, in the End, prevailed upon by their Deputies to grant them their Requeſt. Accordingly, a Bull was drawn up by the Council and ſent into *Bohemia*, allowing the Prieſts of that Kingdom and of *Moravia* to adminiſter the Euchariſt in both Kinds to all, who deſired it, provided they declared to their Communicants, that *Chriſt is contained entire under either Species*, and that they ought to believe ſo. The *Bohemians* having now obtained what they chiefly inſiſted upon, they agreed, without Difficulty, to the other Articles, as explained and qualified by the Council [n]. Thus were the Differences that had ſubſiſted ever ſince the Council of *Conſtance*, and had coſt many Thouſand Lives, amicably compoſed for the preſent.

Communion in both Kinds granted them.

Year of Chriſt 1434.

Eugenius *obliged to leave* Rome.

In the mean time *Philip*, Duke of *Milan*, pretending to be commiſſioned by the Council to bring the Pope to Reaſon, ſent a numerous Body of Troops to reduce the *March of Ancona*, which they did without Oppoſition. From thence they advanced into the Neighbourhood of *Rome*; and there committed ſuch dreadful Ravages, that the *Romans*, to redeem themſelves from them, began to think of ſeizing the Pope, and delivering him up into their Hands. But he, being privately informed of their Machinations, made his Eſcape, in the Diſguiſe of a Monk, to the *Tyber*, and, imbarking there in a ſmall Boat, got ſafe to *Oſtia* amidſt Showers of Arrows, aimed at him by the

[n] Concil. tom. 12. col. 801, et 978.

Romans

Romans from either Side the River. From *Oſtia* he ſailed to *Piſa*, from thence went to *Florence*, and was received in both Places with extraordinary Marks of Honour. He wrote, on the very Day he arrived at *Florence*, the 23d of *June*, a moſt obliging Letter to the Fathers of *Baſil* to acquaint them with the Revolt of the *Romans*, and his Flight from *Rome*; and at the ſame time to aſſure them that he was unalterably determined to live in perfect Harmony with them, to bury in Oblivion what had bred a Miſunderſtanding between him and them, and thenceforth to love them as his Children, and reſpect them as his Brethren. On the other hand the Fathers, to ſhew that they bore his Holineſs no Ill-will, immediately diſpatched ſome of their Body to *Rome* to mediate a Reconciliation between him and the *Romans*. Their Mediation was attended with the wiſhed-for Succeſs. For the *Romans* not only ſubmitted, out of their great Regard for the Council, but reſtored all the Magiſtrates, whom they had removed, drove the Ring-leaders of the Revolt out of the City, and ſent to beg his Holineſs's Pardon, in the moſt ſubmiſſive Manner, for their paſt undutiful Behaviour °.

Year of Chriſt 1434.

The Council interpoſes in his Favour.

Thus was a perfect Harmony eſtabliſhed between the Council and the Pope; and it ſubſiſted till the Twenty-firſt Seſſion, held on the 9th of *June* of the following Year, when the Fathers, entering upon the great Work of the Reformation, and beginning with the Pope's Court, undertook to correct ſeveral Abuſes that prevailed there, and gave, they ſaid, juſt Cauſe of Complaint as well as of Scandal to the whole Chriſtian World. Theſe were *Expectatives*, *Reſervations*, *Reſignations*, *Annates*, &c. unheard of for many Ages in the Church, and introduced without any apparent Neceſſity. They therefore forbad them, as *oppreſſive* and *ſimoniacal*, to be practiſed for the future, notwithſtanding any Statutes, Bulls, or Decrees whatever to the contrary: They forbad, in like Manner, any Thing to be required, or to be given for the confirming of Elections, Collations, for Inſtitutions, Inveſtitures, or even for the Pall. All, who ſhould, on any Occaſion, or under any Pretence whatever, act contrary to theſe Regulations, were to be puniſhed as guilty of Simony; and the Pope, if he tranſgreſſed them, was to be accuſed to, and called to an Account by, a General Council. The ſuppreſſing of the Annates, One of the chief

Various Abuſes redreſſed by the Council.

Year of Chriſt 1435.

Annates ſuppreſſed.

° Ibid. col. 950. Blond. Decad. 3. l. 5. et 6. Antonin. tit. 22. c. 10.

Branches

Year of Chriſt 1435.

Branches of the Papal Revenue, afforded Matter for many long and learned Debates, ſome maintaining, and others impugning the Lawfulneſs of ſuch an Impoſition. But it was, in the End, declared, by a great Majority, to involve Simony, and as ſuch ſtrictly forbidden p. Theſe Regulations *Eugenius* looked upon as only calculated to make him entirely dependent upon the Council, and oblige him either to ſubmit to them, or beg his Bread, to uſe his Expreſſion, from Door to Door. However, inſtead of annulling them, agreeably to the Advice of ſome of the Cardinals, and diſſolving the Council anew, he wiſely contented himſelf with ſending *Ambroſe*, Prior-General of the *Camalduleſe*, and *Antonius de Sancto Vito*, Auditor of the Apoſtolic Chamber, both held in high Eſteem for their Learning and Probity, to remonſtrate againſt the ſuppreſſing of the Annates, at leaſt, for the preſent, as the Patrimony of St. *Peter* was then over-run by Uſurpers and Tyrants, and he had no other Means of ſubſiſting. The Council returned Anſwer, that the Annates were but a novel Invention, that the Popes had, for many Ages, ſubſiſted, and even ſupported their Dignity without them, and that, if his Holineſs conſented to their being aboliſhed, they would provide for him by ſome other more honeſt and Chriſtian Means q. It does not appear that any Thing was ſo much as offered in Defence of *Reſignations*, *Reſervations*, or *Expectative Graces*, though they brought yearly immenſe Sums into the Apoſtolic Chamber.

Several Regulations relating to the Election of the Pope, to the Number of the Cardinals, their Qualifications, &c. eſtabliſhed by the Council.

Year of Chriſt 1436.

In the Twenty-third Seſſion, held on the 25th of *March* 1436, the Conſtitution of *Gregory* X. concerning the Conclave, which had begun to be neglected, was renewed, and to the Regulations contained in that Conſtitution, the Two following were added by the Council; I. That the Cardinals ſhould promiſe upon Oath to elect the Perſon, whom they judged the beſt qualified for ſo great a Truſt. II. That the Perſon elected ſhould be obliged to accept of the Dignity. It was further ordained, that on the Anniverſary of the Pope's Election or Coronation, the following Profeſſion ſhould be yearly read to him at High Maſs by the oldeſt Cardinal then preſent: "Remember what "St. *Peter* and his Succeſſors have done: They thought of nothing, "had nothing in their View but the Honour of God, the Propagation "of the Faith, the public Weal of the Church, and the Salvation

p Concil. tom. 12. col. 859. et apud Spondan. ad ann. 1435. q Ibid. col. 904.

"and

" and Good of their Children, and at laſt they laid down their Lives Year of Chriſt 1436.
" for their Flock. *Lay not up for yourſelf, or for yours, Treaſures upon*
" *Earth*, &c. *but lay up for yourſelf Treaſures in Heaven*, &c. *Regard*
" *not Blood, nor Country, nor Nation. All are alike the Children of*
" *God, and all committed to your Care* [r]."——In the ſame Seſſion it was decreed, that the Pope ſhould not create any of his Relations, to the Third Degree incluſively, Dukes, Marquiſes, Counts, Feudatories, or Vicars, nor ſhould he appoint them Governors of any Province, City, Town, Caſtle, or any other Place whatever ſubject to the *Roman* Church; that in all Affairs of Importance he ſhould adviſe with the Cardinals; that the Cardinals ſhould be in all but Twenty-four, choſen out of all the Nations of *Chriſtendom*, Men noted for their Learning, their Probity, their Experience in the Management of Affairs, Maſters, Doctors, or Licentiates, not Nephews to the Pope, nor to any Cardinal ſtill living. At the ſame time was renewed and confirmed the Decree ſuppreſſing *Reſervations*, *Reſignations*, *Expectative Graces*, and *Annates*, without any the leaſt Regard to the Remonſtrances of his Holineſs.

Final Rupture between the Pope and the Council.

As *John Palæologus*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and *Joſeph* the Patriarch, had formed a Deſign of uniting the Two Churches, and had agreed to the Aſſembling of a General Council for that Purpoſe, in the Weſt, at which the Prelates of both Nations ſhould aſſiſt; a new Quarrel broke out, the following Year 1437, between the Fathers of *Baſil* and the Pope, about the Choice of a Place where they ſhould meet. For in the Twenty-fifth Seſſion, held on the 7th of *May*, *Florence*, or *Udine* in *Friuli*, was choſen by the Pope's Legates, ſeconded by a ſmall Number of Biſhops; and by the Reſt of the Council *Avignon*, or ſome Place in *Savoy*, or the City of *Baſil*, where the Weſtern Biſhops were already aſſembled. *Eugenius*, however, confirmed the Choice of *Florence*, or *Udine*; which ſo provoked the Fathers of *Baſil*, that in their Twenty-ſixth Seſſion, held on the laſt Day of *July*, they charged him with Mal-Adminiſtration, with Simony, with a Breach of the Oath he had taken at his Election, and a moſt ſcandalous Abuſe of his Power; and *by virtue of the Authority, which they had received immediately from* Chriſt, *over all Perſons of what Rank or Dignity ſoever, the Papal not excepted*, they ſummoned him to appear before them in the Term of Sixty Days, and anſwer the Charges Year of Chriſt 1437.

[r] Ibid. col. 559.

Year of Chriſt 1437.

brought againſt him.——In the Twenty-ſeventh Seſſion, held on the 26th of *September*, they declared the Promotion of *John Viteleſchi*, Archbiſhop of *Florence*, to the Dignity of Cardinal to be null, as having been made by the Pope contrary to the Decrees of the Council.——

The Pope declared contumacious.

The Sixty Days, allowed to the Pope to appear in, being elapſed, the Twenty-eighth Seſſion was held on the 1ſt Day of *October*, when, upon his not appearing either in Perſon, or by Proxies, though Three Times called upon at the Church Door, he was declared contumacious, and it was ordained, that the Council ſhould proceed againſt him as ſuch, notwithſtanding his Abſence, ſince the Summons had been ſufficiently notified to him. This Step gave Offence to ſeveral Princes, and among the Reſt to the Emperor himſelf, and to the King of *England Henry* VI. who, in the Direction of the Letter, which he is ſaid to have written to the Fathers of *Baſil* on this Occaſion, ſtiled them, not the *Council*, but the *Congregation* of *Baſil* [s].

Eugenius *transfers the Council to* Ferrara.

While theſe Things paſſed at *Baſil*, *Eugenius*, being then at *Bologna*, publiſhed a Decree quite unexpected, removing the Council from *Baſil* to *Ferrara*, a Place, he ſaid, far more convenient to the *Greeks*, who, ere it was long, would arrive at *Venice*. This Decree is dated at *Bologna* the 1ſt of *October* of the preſent Year, that is, the very Day on which he had been declared by the Council guilty of Contumacy. In Oppoſition to the Pope's Decree, the Fathers of *Baſil* publiſhed another in their Twenty-ninth Seſſion, held on the 12th of *October*; and by that Decree the Tranſlation of the Council was declared null, and all, whoſe Duty it was to attend General Councils, were enjoined, on Pain of Excommunication, and the Forfeiture of all their Benefices, to repair to *Baſil*. As the Pope had charged them, in his Decree, with ſowing the Seeds of Diſſention between the Head of the Church and its Members, and thus making Way for a new Schiſm, they returned to that Charge the following Anſwer: That the preſent Holy General Council had been aſſembled to reform the Church in its Head and its Members; that they had, purſuant to that laudable Deſign, applied themſelves to the redreſſing of numberleſs Abuſes; but as thoſe Abuſes were very advantageous and profitable to the Apoſtolic See, his Holineſs had made it his Buſineſs to defeat all their Endeavours, and therefore ſhould he obſtinately perſiſt in

That Tranſlation declared null by the Council.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

[s] Acta Patritiana ad ann. 1437.

oppoſing

opposing the necessary Reformation, and thus give Occasion to a new Schism, he would alone be answerable for it. They added, that while he was traducing them, as the Authors of a new Schism, he was himself striving to introduce the most dangerous One, that had ever been known in the Church, that of one General Council in Opposition to another [t]. Year of Christ 1437.

In the latter End of the present Year died of the Palsey, in the 70th Year of his Age, the Emperor *Sigismund*, a Prince endowed with many good Qualities, but who sullied them all with his frequent Adulteries. The Empress was not therein behind hand with him; but they forgave one another. He was succeeded in the Empire by his Son-in-Law, *Albert*, Duke of *Austria* [u]. *Death of the Emperor* Sigismund.

The following Year, 1438, was opened, on the 8th of *January*, the new Council at *Ferrara*, and the First Session held in the Cathedral of that City, at which presided *Nicholas Albergati*, Cardinal Presbyter of the *Holy Cross in Jerusalem*, and were present Five Archbishops, Eighteen Bishops, the Deputies of Two more, and the Superiors of many Religious Orders. In this Session the *Congregation* of *Basil* was declared an unlawful Assembly, and the Synod of *Ferrara* an Oecumenical Council lawfully assembled. On the 8th of *February Eugenius* made his public Entry into *Ferrara*, and in the Second Session, held on the 15th of *February*, at which the Pope presided in Person, and were present Seventy-two Bishops, all, who still remained at *Basil*, were ordered, on Pain of Excommunication and the Forfeiture of all their Dignities and Benefices, to withdraw from that City in the Term of Thirty Days. At the same Time the Governor, Magistrates, Consuls, *&c.* of *Basil* were enjoined, upon the same Penalties, to drive them out of their City at the Expiration of the said Term, and sell nothing to them, not even the necessary Food [w]. *The Council opened at* Ferrara. Year of Christ 1438. *Proceedings against those of* Basil.

In the mean time the *Greek* Emperor, *John Palæologus*, being wholly bent upon uniting the Two Churches, and therefore determined to assist, in Person, at the Council, that was to be held for that Purpose in the West, embarked with his Bishops on board Nine Gallies on the 25th of *November* of the preceding Year, and arrived at *Venice* in the Beginning of *February* of the present. The Doge, the *The* Greek *Emperor and Bishops arrive at* Venice.

[t] Concil. tom. 12. col. 716. [u] Æneas Syl. Hist. Bohem. c. 53. Cochlæus l. 8.
[w] Acta Concil. Horatii Justiniani, part. 1. tom. 13. Concil. col. 896.

Year of Christ 1438.

Senate, and all the Nobility went out in their *Bucentoro*, a well-known Veſſel, to meet him. He brought with him *Joſeph*, the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, the Deputies of the Three other Patriarchs, Twenty-one Prelates of the Firſt Rank, that is, Archbiſhops or Patriarchs, and a great Number of Biſhops, of the dignified Clergy, of Abbots, of Superiors of Religious Orders, with all the Great Officers of his Court; and among them his Brother *Demetrius*, Deſpote of *Morea*. On the 28th of *February* they all left *Venice*, except *Joſeph* the Patriarch, who was indiſpoſed, and, repairing to *Ferrara*, made their public Entry into that City on the 4th of *March*. The Emperor was met at the Gate by all the Cardinals who were then with the Pope, and the Nobility in a Body, and attended by them under a Canopy of Cloth of Gold to the Pope's Palace. The Pope roſe up before he entered the Room, and received him ſtanding. The Emperor offered to kneel, but his Holineſs, embracing him, preſented his Hand to him to kiſs, and making him ſit down on his Left Hand, conferred ſome Time in private with him. From the Pope's Palace he was conducted, in a Kind of Triumph, to another, allotted to him for his Reſidence, and ſo magnificently adorned as to deſerve the Name of *Paradiſe*. On the 8th of *March* the Patriarch arrived, and was the next Day attended from the Port to the Pope's Palace by the Two Cardinals, Twenty-five Biſhops, and all the Nobility. *Eugenius* received him with all poſſible Marks of Eſteem, gave him his Cheek to kiſs, as had been agreed before-hand, and, taking him into his Cloſet, converſed ſome time with him there. From the Audience of the Pope the Patriarch was accompanied by the ſame Biſhops and the Nobility, but not by the Two Cardinals, to the Palace prepared for him. While theſe Things paſſed at *Ferrara*, the Fathers of *Baſil*, wholly intent upon the great and neceſſary Work of the Reformation, iſſued the Three following Decrees in their Thirty-firſt Seſſion, held on the 29th of *January* of the preſent Year: I. That all Law-Suits, uſually carried to *Rome*, ſhall be finally decreed upon the Spot, if the Places where they ariſe be diſtant Four Days Journey from that City. II. That all Reſignations, Reſervations, and Expectatives ſhall be ſuppreſſed for ever, comprehending thoſe that have been already granted; and all ſuch Grants for the future ſhall be deemed null. By the IIId Decree they declared *Eugenius* guilty of Contumacy, and as ſuch ſuſpended him from all Pa-

Repair to Ferarra.

The Emperor and the Patriarch how received by the Pope.

Decrees of the Council of Baſil.

Eugenius *ſuſpended.*

pal

pal Juriſdiction both Spiritual and Temporal, forbidding all Eccleſiaſtics, on Pain of Excommunication and the Loſs of their Benefices, to obey him [x]. Theſe Decrees ſo offended the Preſident, Cardinal *Cæſarini*, who had hitherto diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the reſt by his Zeal for the Council, that, leaving *Baſil* abruptly, he repaired to *Ferrara*, to the inexpreſſible Joy of the Pope. The Fathers choſe *Lewis*, Cardinal of *Arles*, ſo called becauſe Archbiſhop of that City, Preſident in his Room. Year of Chriſt 1438.

As few Biſhops were yet come to *Ferrara*, but more were daily expected, it was propoſed by the *Latin* and agreed to by the *Greek* Fathers, that in the mean time they ſhould hold frequent Conferences about the chief Articles of the Diſagreement between the Two Churches, to facilitate, by that Means, the wiſhed-for Union. Accordingly Twelve were choſen out of either Church, who met twice a Week in the Church of the *Franciſcans*. They began their Conferences, or rather Diſputations, with *Purgatory*, and though they only differed in this, that the *Latins* held the Souls of the Juſt, who had not fully atoned for their Sins in their Life-time, to be purged with real Fire after their Death; while the *Greeks* believed them to be purified, not by real Fire, but by exceeding Grief and Anguiſh; though they diſagreed, I ſay, in that alone, yet they parted after a Two Months Diſpute, juſt as they met, leaving the Queſtion to be reſumed and determined at a more proper Seaſon [y]. *Conferences between the* Greeks *and the* Latins.

In the mean time, the Electors of the Empire and the other *German* Princes, meeting at *Francfort* on the 18th of *March* of the preſent Year, reſolved to obſerve a ſtrict Neutrality in the Quarrel between the Fathers of *Baſil* and the Pope; to ſhow all due Regard to both, and receive no Decrees of either againſt the other. They met again the following *July* at *Nurenburg* to do Homage to *Albert*, the new King of the *Romans*, and at the ſame time to reconcile, if by any Means they could, the Pope and the Council. To this Diet or Aſſembly both the Pope and the Council ſent their Deputes to plead their Cauſe before them. But the King and the Princes, declaring that they had the higheſt Veneration and Eſteem for both, would hearken to nothing alleged by the One againſt the other: They only repreſented to them the many Evils, ariſing from their Diſagreement; exhorting them to *The Princes of* Germany *embrace a Neutrality.*

[x] Ubi ſupra, col. 601, & ſeq. [y] Concil. tom. 13. col. 26.

lay

Year of Chriſt 1438.

lay aſide all Strife and Contention; and, in order to that, propoſed the removing of the Council both from *Baſil* and *Ferrara*, and chuſing a Third Place, where they all ſhould meet, and treat jointly with the *Greeks*; who, they ſaid, would not be very forward in uniting with them, while they continued thus diſunited among themſelves. This Propoſal was immediately communicated to the Fathers of *Baſil* by the Patriarch of *Aquilea*, who was at the Head of their Deputies. But they rejected it with One Accord, alleging that the City of *Baſil* had been choſen by Pope *Martin* and the General Council of *Siena*; that *Eugenius* had confirmed their Choice, and no rational Cauſe had yet been aſſigned, why ſo many Prelates ſhould be put to the Inconvenience of removing to any other Place [z].

Their Propoſal for a Reconciliation.

Rejected by the Fathers of Baſil.

The Fathers of *Baſil* took Care to ſend the Decrees they had made for the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members to all the Chriſtian Princes, to be publiſhed by them in their reſpective Dominions. In *France*, the King, *Charles* VII. cauſed them to be examined in a General Aſſembly of the whole Clergy, convened for that Purpoſe at *Bourges*; and at that Aſſembly he aſſiſted in Perſon with all the great Lords of the Kingdom. The Decrees were there examined, and being, upon the ſtricteſt Examination, approved by all, who were preſent, they were received, with One Conſent, ſome of them without the leaſt Alteration, and others with certain Modifications, ſuited to the Uſages of the *Gallican* Church. Of theſe Regulations or Decrees was compoſed what was afterwards called the *Pragmatic Sanction*, ſo odious to the Court of *Rome*. For by the *Pragmatic* the Council of *Baſil* was owned for a lawful Council, and General Councils were declared ſuperior to the Pope; all *Reſervations*, *Reſignations*, *Expectatives*, *Commendams*, and *Annates* were ſuppreſſed; Elections were reſtored to the Chapters, and Collations to the Ordinaries; Appeals, Excommunications, and Interdicts were regulated; the receiving or giving any Thing whatever, beſides the uſual Fees to the Clerks and Notaries, was ſtrictly forbidden as inexcuſable Simony. Theſe and many other Practices, calculated to draw the Wealth of all other Nations to *Rome*, were aboliſhed by the *Pragmatic*. That *Sanction* was received in the General Aſſembly of the *Gallican* Clergy at *Bourges* on the 7th of *July* of the preſent Year, and the following Year it was enacted into a Law by the

The Pragmatic Sanction *eſtabliſhed in* France.

[z] Acta Patritiana Concil. Baſil, apud Pagi, tom. 4. p. 594.

Par-

Parliament of *Paris* on the 13th of the ſame Month. The Popes left nothing unattempted to get it repealed: But it continued in Force till the Year 1516, when *Francis* I. by an Agreement with Pope *Leo* X. ſubſtituted the *Concordat* in its Room. Year of Chriſt 1438.

The Pope and the Fathers of *Ferrara* had agreed to wait Four Months for thoſe of *Baſil*, and that Time they employed, with how little Succeſs we have ſeen, in Conferences about ſome of the leſs important Articles, in which the *Greeks* and the *Latins* diſagreed. As the Four Months expired on the 8th of *October* of the preſent Year, and not a ſingle Biſhop was yet come from *Baſil*, the Pope declaring, that where he was with the Emperor, meaning the *Greek* Emperor, with the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, the Cardinals, and the other Patriarchs, there was the Church Univerſal, the Firſt Seſſion, at which the *Greeks* were preſent, was held by his Order on that very Day. But that very few Biſhops aſſiſted at this Seſſion, ſufficiently appears from its being held in the Chapel of the Pope's Palace; and no Notice is taken of the Arrival of any more either at *Ferrara* or at *Florence*, whither we ſhall ſee the Council removed in the Beginning of the following Year. In this Seſſion Six Perſons were appointed by the *Greeks*, and as many by the *Latins*, to maintain their own and combat the oppoſite Opinions. By the *Greeks* were choſen, *Mark*, Archbiſhop of *Epheſus*, *Iſidore*, Great Metropolitan of *Ruſſia*, *Beſſarion*, Archbiſhop of *Nice*, *Theodorus Xanthipulus*, great Sacriſtan or Veſtry-keeper of the Church of *Conſtantinople*, *Michael Balſamon*, great Bibliothecarian, and the famous Philoſopher *Gemiſtus*. The Champions on the Side of the *Latins* were, the Two Cardinals *Albergati* and *Ceſarini*, *Andrew*, Archbiſhop of *Coloſſus*, *John*, Biſhop of *Forli*, and Two Monks, Maſters in Divinity. The Points to be argued were, *the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt*, *the Puniſhments of Purgatory*, *the Primacy of the* Roman *Church*, and *whether leaven or unleavened Bread ſhould be uſed in the Euchariſt*. But with reſpect to the Firſt Article, it was in the Firſt Place diſputed, whether it was lawful to add any Thing to a Symbol, propoſed by a General Council for a Rule of Faith. For that the Words, *and from the Son*, were not to be found in the original *Nicene* Creed, but had been added to it by the *Latins*, was notorious and owned by the *Latins* themſelves. This preliminary Queſtion afforded Matter of Diſpute from the Third Seſſion, held on the 14th of *October*, to the Fifteenth, held

The Firſt Seſſion at which the Greeks *were preſent.*

Diſputants appointed and the Points ſettled that were to be diſputed.

Diſputes about adding to the

held on the 8th of *December*. The original *Nicene* Creed being read, where the Holy Ghoſt was only ſaid to proceed from the Father, *Mark* of *Epheſus* quoted a Decree of the Council of *Epheſus*, forbidding any Addition to be made to that Symbol; and by the other *Greeks* Paſſages were quoted, without Number, to the ſame Purpoſe, out of the other Councils, as well as the Fathers both *Greek* and *Latin*. The *Latins* could not queſtion the Authenticity of thoſe Paſſages, but, in order to elude them, they pretended the Words, *and from the Son*, to be no Addition to, but only an Explication of the Symbol, or of the Words, *who proceeds from the Father*. For as all, ſaid they, that is natural and eſſential to the Father is likewiſe natural and eſſential to the Son, when it is affirmed, that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father, it muſt neceſſarily be underſtood, that he proceeds, in like Manner, from the Son. Call it by what Name you pleaſe, replied *Beſſarion* of *Nice*, the Words in queſtion have been certainly added to the Symbol, and are, therefore, in Truth, an *Addition*. He added, that it was not, indeed, contrary to the Prohibition of the Council of *Epheſus* to explain the Symbol, but it evidently was to inſert any Explanations into it, and thus make them a Part of it, and Articles of our Belief. *Andrew* of *Coloſſus* anſwered, that the Prohibition of the Council muſt be underſtood of ſuch Additions only, as were contrary to the Doctrines contained in the Symbol. But that Anſwer *Beſſarion* treated with no ſmall Contempt, ſince it could not be ſuppoſed, as he obſerved, that any would preſume to inſert ſuch Doctrines into a Creed as were repugnant to thoſe that were defined by it.

Year of Chriſt 1438. *Symbol the Words* and from the Son.

While they were engaged in this Diſpute, and not likely to come to any Agreement, Cardinal *Ceſarini* propoſed their leaving the Point in Debate undecided for the preſent, in order to proceed to the main Queſtion. For if we agree in this, ſaid the Cardinal, that the Holy Ghoſt verily proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father, we ſhall not quarrel about allowing a Place to that Article in the Symbol. To this they all agreed, and Twelve were choſen on each Side to diſcuſs that Point. But a contagious Diſtemper breaking out in the mean time at *Ferrara*, the Pope reſolved to tranſlate the Council to *Florence*. That Tranſlation was at firſt ſtrongly oppoſed by the *Greeks*. But they agreed to it, in the End, upon the Pope's promiſing to defray all their Expences, and to ſend, without Delay, 1900 Florins of Gold to *Con-*

The Council transferred to Florence. Year of Chriſt 1439.

ſtantinople

ſtantinople to put that City in a State of Defence againſt the victorious *Turks*. To make good his Word *Eugenius* borrowed 40,000 Florins of the *Florentines*, for which he pawned his Triple Crown; and the Republic promiſed to make him a free Gift of 40,000 more, provided the Council were transferred to their City. The Pope having thus obtained the Conſent of the *Greeks*, the Decree, transferring the Council from *Ferrara* to *Florence*, was publiſhed, by his Order, in the Sixteenth Seſſion, held on the 10th of *January* of the following Year 1439; and before the End of that Month they all arrived in that City, to the great Joy of the *Florentines*, who received the Pope, the Emperor, and the Patriarch with the greateſt Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, and preſented his Holineſs, ſoon after his Arrival, with the Sum they had promiſed. Year of Chriſt 1439.

On the 6th of *February* was held the Firſt Seſſion at *Florence*, being the Seventeenth of the Council; and in that Seſſion, as well as in the Six following, *the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt* was the only Subject of Debate. They argued only from Authority; and by the oppoſite Parties innumerable Paſſages were produced, out of the Councils and the Fathers, in ſupport of their oppoſite Opinions. But as the more they diſputed the farther they were from agreeing, the Emperor, who was for an Union upon any Terms, aſſembling all his Metropolitans in the Houſe of the Patriarch, then greatly indiſpoſed, deſired they would deliberate among themſelves, and find out ſome other Means of concluding the wiſhed-for Union than by Way of Diſputation, which they knew by Experience to be ineffectual. All Diſputes being therefore ſet aſide, and the Doctrine of both Churches, concerning the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, cooly examined, it was found that, in Effect, both held the ſame Doctrine, and only differed in the Terms, with which they expreſſed it. For, according to the *Greeks*, the Father was the Origin of the Son, and from the Father *by* the Son, or *through* the Son, proceeded the Holy Ghoſt, and to proceed from the Father *by* the Son, or *through* the Son, was owned by the Patriarch, by *Baſſarion* of *Nice*, by *Iſidore*, Great Metropolitan of *Ruſſia*, to be the ſame Thing as to proceed *from* the Father and the Son. Accordingly, they publicly declared, that they approved and received the Doctrine of the *Latins*, ſeeing it was, as they had explained it, the ſame with their own. Their Example was ſoon followed by all the reſt, except

The Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt debated in ſeveral Seſſions.

They agree with reſpect to that Article.

Year of Chriſt 1439.

Mark of *Epheſus*, who maintained, to the laſt, the Doctrine of the *Latins* to be very different from that of the *Greeks*, and could never be brought to receive it.

The other Articles ſettled, and the Union concluded.

The Union being thus concluded with reſpect to the chief Article, the others were ſoon ſettled to the Satisfaction of both Parties, the *Greeks* allowing in the ſeveral Conferences they had with the *Latins*, that leavened or unleavened Bread might be indifferently uſed in the Euchariſt; that they who had ſinned and repented, but had not *brought forth Fruits worthy of Repentance*, in their Life-time, underwent, after Death, a temporary Puniſhment; but as to the Nature of that Puniſhment, or in what it conſiſted, it mattered little to know; and both Churches might ſafely hold the Opinion which they had hitherto held. Thus what had afforded them, as we have ſeen, Matter of Diſpute for Two whole Months, is now declared an indifferent Point. As for the Primacy of the *Roman* See, they owned the Pope to be the Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, the Vicar of *Chriſt* upon Earth, the Head of the Church and the Father of the Faithful, and full Power to have been given, in St. *Peter*, to him of feeding, ruling, and governing the Church Univerſal. They would not however allow him to receive Appeals from the other Patriarchal Sees, nor to convene General Councils without the Conſent of the other Patriarchs. Theſe Articles being all agreed to both by the *Greeks* and the *Latins*, the Decree, containing them, was drawn up in both Languages, and, being read in full Council, in *Latin* by Cardinal *Ceſarini*, in *Greek* by *Beſſarion*, it was ſigned on the 6th of *July* by all who were preſent; *Mark* of *Epheſus*, who had always oppoſed the Union, having withdrawn from *Florence* ſome Days before [a]. It was not, as is commonly ſuppoſed, out of any Motive of Religion that the *Greek* Emperor, *John Palæologus*, put himſelf to ſuch an infinite Deal of Trouble on this Occaſion, but chiefly to recommend himſelf to the Pope, and procure, by his Intereſt, powerful Succours from the Weſtern Princes againſt the *Turks*, who had already reduced the far greater Part of his Empire. As for his Biſhops, it appears plain enough from the Acts of the Council, that their Conſent was, in a Manner, extorted by him. Some, perhaps, choſe to enſlave themſelves to the Pope rather than to the *Turk*, and others were convinced by more powerful Arguments than any *Mark* of *Epheſus* could allege.

[a] Acta Concil. Labbei, tom. 13. p. 510. & Acta Patriciana.

Beſſarion

Beſſarion, Archbiſhop of *Nice*, and *Iſidore*, Archbiſhop of *Kiovia* or *Kiow*, and Great Metropolitan of *Ruſſia*, the chief Promoters of the Union, were both created Cardinals. The Patriarch had been always for the Union; but he died before it was concluded, having written, a few Minutes before his Death, and ſigned with his own Hand, a Confeſſion of Faith, declaring that he received and held all the Doctrines, that were received and taught by the Catholic and Apoſtolic Church of *Old Rome*, and owned the Pope of the ſaid *Old Rome* to be the Father of Fathers, and the Vicar of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* upon Earth. He died on the 9th of *June* of the preſent Year, and his Confeſſion bears that Date. The Union being concluded in the Manner we have ſeen, the *Greeks* took their Leave of the Pope, and repairing to *Venice*, embarked there on the 11th of *October*, and arrived at *Conſtantinople*, on the 1ſt of *February* of the following Year. They carried with them the Decree of the ſuppoſed Union; but not a *Greek* of any Note, Eccleſiaſtic or Layman, would receive it; nay, many, and they Prelates of the Firſt Rank, who had ſigned that Decree at *Florence*, retracted at *Conſtantinople*, and even wrote againſt it. The Emperor did all in his Power to maintain his own Work; but he dying, in 1445, the ancient Doctrine of the *Greek* Church was again univerſally received, and that of the Council of *Florence* condemned and rejected; and ſo it is to this Day.

Year of Chriſt 1439.

Death of the Patriarch.

The Union how received at Conſtantinople.

And now to return to the Council of *Baſil*. In the Thirty-third Seſſion, held on the 16th of *May* of the preſent Year, they laid down the Three following Propoſitions as *Truths of the Catholic Faith*. I. *That a General Council, repreſenting the Church Univerſal, is above the Pope and every other Perſon, as has been declared by the Council of* Conſtance *and this of* Baſil, *is a Truth of the Catholic Faith*. II. *That the Pope cannot diſſolve, nor prorogue, nor transfer from one Place to another a General Council lawfully aſſembled, without the Conſent of the ſaid Council, is a Truth of the Catholic Faith*. III. *That he is to be reputed a Heretic, who obſtinately oppoſes the Two foreſaid Truths*. As *Eugenius* had not appeared, in Compliance with his Summons, within the Time preſcribed by the Council, he was, in the Thirty-fourth Seſſion, held on the 25th of *June*, declared guilty of Contumacy, diſobedient to the Commands of the Church Univerſal, a Contemner of the Canons, a Diſturber of the Unity of the Church, a perjured ſimoniacal Schiſmatic, and obſtinate

The Superiority of Councils over the Pope declared an Article of Faith.

Year of Christ 1439.

Eugenius *deposed by the Council.*

ſtinate Heretic; and as ſuch they pronounced him depoſed from the Pontificate, and unworthy of any Degree, Title, Honour, and Dignity; abſolved all from the Obedience they owed him, and declared all Eccleſiaſtics, by what Dignity ſoever diſtinguiſhed, who ſhould thenceforth own or obey him, deprived, *ipſo facto*, of all their Benefices, Honours, and Dignities. *Eugenius* being thus depoſed, ſome of the Fathers were for immediately proceeding to the Election of a new Pope, on Account of the Plague that had broke out in *Baſil*, and raging, with great Fury, ſwept off daily great Numbers of the Inhabitants; and had even the Boldneſs, ſays *Æneas Sylvius*, who was preſent, to attack the Fathers of the Council themſelves, *Auſa eſt etiam aggredi Patres Conciliares*. But it was carried by a great Majority, with their Preſident, the Cardinal of *Arles*, at their Head, that, as by a Decree of the preſent Council, the Electors were not to enter into the Conclave till Sixty Days after the Deceaſe of the Pope, the ſame Regulation ſhould be obſerved in the Caſe of his Depoſition. In the mean time they diſpatched Nuncios to the different Courts of the Chriſtian Princes, to acquaint them with the Depoſition of *Gabriel Condelmerius*, meaning *Eugenius*, and exhort them to comply with their Decree, and cauſe it to be complied with in their reſpective Dominions.

They are excommunicated, and their Acts annulled by the Pope.

Eugenius was not behind hand with the Fathers of *Baſil*. For in his Twenty-ſeventh Seſſion, held at *Florence* on the 4th of *September*, he condemned, by a Conſtitution beginning with the Words, *Moyſes vir Dei*, the Three above-mentioned *Truths of the Catholic Faith*, renewed all the Decrees he had hitherto publiſhed againſt the *Schiſmatic Aſſembly at Baſil*, declared all excommunicated, who had remained at *Baſil* after the Diſſolution of the Council, whether Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* and, in the Plenitude of his Power, annulled all the Conſtitutions, Acts, and Decrees they had publiſhed ever ſince the Council was transferred to *Ferrara*.

Regulations made by the Council concerning the Election of a new Pope.

In the mean time the Fathers of *Baſil* were employed in making Regulations concerning the Election of the new Pope; and the following were agreed to and publiſhed in their Thirty-ſeventh Seſſion, held on the 20th of *October*. I. That all previous Conventions, Oaths, Promiſes, Obligations relating to the Election, ſhould be no-ways binding, but reputed in themſelves null. II. That the Electors ſhould all

all receive the Sacrament before they entered into the Conclave, and ſwear to obſerve what the Council had preſcribed in their Twenty-third Seſſion [b]. III. That the Elect ſhould, in the Term of One Day after his Election was notified to him, acquieſce in it in the Preſence of a Notary and Ten Witneſſes, and, if he did not, the Election ſhould be null. IV. That the Elect ſhould be conſecrated and crowned in the Council, that he ſhould promiſe to obſerve the Decrees of the General Councils, and, in particular, of the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, and uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to have the Decrees of theſe Two Councils carried into Execution. In the ſame Seſſion it was decreed, that beſides the Cardinal of *Arles*, and other Cardinals, if any others ſhould come before the Election, Thirty-two Perſons, Biſhops, or other Eccleſiaſtics, ſhould be admitted, for this Time only, to elect the new Pope together with the Cardinals; that of the Thirty-two, Three ſhould be choſen by the Council; and they ſhould chuſe all the Reſt. The Council accordingly nominated Three, a *Frenchman*, a *Scotchman*, and a *Spaniard*; and to them was afterwards added, at the Requeſt of the *Germans*, One of that Nation. By theſe Four Twenty-eight were choſen out of different Nations; ſo that, beſides the Cardinal of *Arles*, the only Cardinal that was preſent at the Election, the Electors were, in all Thirty-two, *viz.* Eleven Biſhops, Seven Abbots, and Fourteen other Eccleſiaſtics, all Members of the Council [c].

Year of Chriſt 1439.

On the 30th of *October* the Council condemned, in their Thirty-eighth Seſſion, the Conſtitution of *Eugenius Moyſes vir Dei*, as *a ſcandalous Libel*, confirmed the Choice of the Thirty-two Perſons who were to elect the Pope, and ordered them to proceed, without Delay, to the Election. They entered, accordingly, the ſame Day into the Conclave, the Town-Houſe of *Baſil*, and on the 7th Day, that is, on the 5th of *November*, *Amedeus*, Duke of *Savoy*, being found to have Twenty-ſix Votes out of the Thirty-three, his Election was thereupon declared canonical, and confirmed by the Council in their Thirty-ninth Seſſion on the 17th of *November*, no Regard being had to what was by ſome few objected againſt it, *viz.* that he was yet a Layman, that he had been married, that he had Children, that he was Doctor in no Faculty, and could be but very little acquainted with Eccleſiaſtical Matters [d]. *Amedeus*, thus elected, was the Laſt Count and the Firſt

Amedeus, *Duke of* Savoy, *elected.*

[b] See above, p. 248. [c] Acta Concil. tom. 12. col. 616. [d] Acta Concil. ibid.

Year of Chriſt 1439.

His Character.

Duke of *Savoy*. He had ſucceeded to his Father, Count *Amedeus*, ſurnamed *The Green*, in the Year 1384, and had given ſuch Proofs of his Abilities, Knowlege, and Wiſdom, in the Government of his own Dominions, as had made moſt other Princes apply to him as an Oracle in all Affairs of Importance, relating to the Government of theirs. But as his Wiſdom was not of this World only, he looked upon all human Grandeur as mere Vanity, and renouncing his Title, in the Year 1414, when at the Height of his Glory, he put his Two Sons *Lewis* and *Philip* in Poſſeſſion of his Dominions, and retired, with ſome Lords of the ſame Diſpoſition and Age with himſelf, to a Place called *Ripaglia*, pleaſantly ſituated on the Borders of the Lake of *Geneva*. There they took the Eremitical Habit, retaining no other Mark of Diſtinction but a golden Croſs, which they wore on their Breaſts; and, laying aſide all Thoughts of State or worldly Affairs, led an Eremitical Life, without denying themſelves any innocent Pleaſures, *Amedeus* having built for himſelf, and his Companions, a moſt magnificent Habitation, and incloſed a very large Tract of Ground, well ſtocked with all Sorts of Game for their Diverſion.——Some more modern Writers will have *Amedeus* to have embraced a retired and ſolitary Life, not out of any Motive of Religion, but to abandon himſelf, unobſerved and more freely, to all Manner of Debaucheries, leading the ſame Life at *Ripaglia* as was formerly led by the Emperor *Tiberius* in the Iſland of *Caprea*; and from thence they pretend the *French* Proverb, *Faire Ripaille*, that is, to banquet, to feaſt, and to make merry, to have taken its Riſe [e]. But of his pretended Debaucheries not the leaſt Notice is taken by any of the contemporary Hiſtorians. On the contrary *Æneas Sylvius*, who lived at this very Time, beſtows in ſundry Places of his Works the higheſt Commendations upon him for his Piety, his Religion, his Abſtinence, and his Contempt of all the Pleaſures of this World [f]. Indeed no Man can ſuppoſe, that the Fathers of *Baſil* would have choſen One for their Pope, at ſo critical a Juncture, whoſe Character was not, in every Reſpect, irreproachable.

The Election of *Amedeus* being confirmed by the Council, a ſolemn Embaſſy, conſiſting of Twenty-five of their chief Members, was

[e] Deſmarets Tableau des Papes. [f] Æneas Syl. Hiſt. Europ. c. 43. et Concil. Baſil. l. 2. p. 167.

diſpatched

dispatched with the Cardinal of *Arles* at their Head, to acquaint him therewith, and obtain his Consent. He received them with the greatest Marks of Respect and Esteem, thanked them for the Honour they had done him; but pleading his Want of Experience in what concerned the Government of the Church, he begged they would excuse him from taking upon him a Charge, to which he knew himself to be altogether unequal. However, upon the Cardinal's representing to him the many Evils, that would inevitably attend a longer Vacancy, and would be all set down to his Account, he acquiesced in the End; and all the Badges of his new Dignity being delivered to him upon the Spot by the Deputies, he walked, in solemn Procession, with them, attired as High Pontiff, to the Church of the Monastery of *St. Mauritius*, which he had built in his Solitude. There the *Te Deum* was sung with all the Solemnity the Place would allow of; and on that Occasion *Amedeus*, quitting his own Name according to Custom, took that of *Felix* V. From *Ripaglia* he removed a few Days afterwards to *Tonon*, a small Town in that Neighbourhood; and there he continued acting as Pope the remaining Part of this, and the greater Part of the following Year g.

Year of Christ 1439. Amedeus *prevailed upon to accept the Papal Dignity.*

The Cardinal, and the other Deputies, took care to notify immediately to the Council the Consent of *Felix*; and the Fathers, transported with Joy at their having now at their Head a Man of his high Rank, Character, and Connexions, for he was allied to most of the Princes in *Europe*, declared him, in the Fortieth Session, held on the 26th of *February* 1440, to be the only true Pope, and ordered him to be acknowleged by all, as such, on Pain of Excommunication, and other Penalties to be inflicted by the Council. As the Cardinals had all left the Council, except the Cardinal of *Arles*, and sided with *Eugenius*, the Fathers allowed *Felix*, lest he should be a Pope without Cardinals, to create some new Ones, notwithstanding their Decree, forbidding any to be promoted to that Dignity while the Council was sitting. He nominated, accordingly, Five; but Two of the Five declined accepting the Red Hat at his Hands h.

All ordered by the Council to acknowlege him upon Pain of Excommunication.

Year of Christ 1440.

In the mean time *Eugenius* having strengthened his Party with the Addition of Seventeen new Cardinals, among whom was *John Kemp*; at this Time Archbishop of *York*, and afterwards of *Canterbury*, he

Is excommunicated by Eugenius.

g Augustin. Patricius Hist. Concil. tom. 13. p. 1580.

h Acta Patriciana ibid.

held

Year of Chriſt 1440.

held his Twenty-eighth Seſſion at *Florence* on the 23d of *March*, when *Amedeus* of *Savoy* was declared an Uſurper of the Apoſtolic See, a Schiſmatic and Heretic, and all, who adhered to him, who ſupported or countenanced him, were ordered to forſake him in the Term of Forty Days on Pain of incurring, without further Notice, the Sentence of Excommunication, and forfeiting all their Benefices, Titles, and Honours. The Cardinal of *Arles* was excommunicated in particular, was diveſted of his Dignity, and depoſed from his Biſhopric, as the chief Author of the Schiſm [i]. On the other hand the Fathers of *Baſil*, in their next Seſſion, held on the 23d of *July*, declared the Sentence of *Gabriel Condelmerius*, meaning *Eugenius*, a ſchiſmatical ſcandalous, and heretical Libel, thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt all, by what Dignity ſoever diſtinguiſhed, who received it, and forbad, upon the ſevereſt Penalties, any Injury or Violence whatever to be offered either to his Holineſs Pope *Felix* V. or to any who adhered to him.——The next Day, the 24th of *July*, *Felix* made his public Entry into *Baſil*, attended by the chief Members of the Council, by the Magiſtrates of the City in a Body, by all the neighbouring Nobility, and an immenſe Crowd of People. The Ceremony of his Coronation was performed the ſame Day with extraordinary Pomp, as appears from the Account *Æneas Sylvius* has given us of it as an Eye-Witneſs [k].——As *Felix* could yet receive nothing out of the Revenues of St. *Peter*'s Patrimony, the Council, in their Forty-ſecond Seſſion held on the 4th of *Auguſt*, ordered the Fifth Penny for the enſuing Five Years, and the Tenth for the next following Five Years, to be paid to him yearly out of all Benefices, whether ſecular or regular, whether with or without Cure of Souls.

Whoſe Sentence is declared by the Council a ſcandalous Libel.

Felix, *how provided for by the Council.*

Felix being thus crowned, and, for the preſent, ſufficiently enabled to ſupport his Dignity, the next Care of the Council was to get him acknowleged by the Chriſtian Princes. As *Charles* VII. King of *France*, had appointed the Prelates and Lords of the Kingdom to meet at *Bourges*, in order to concert, jointly with him, the moſt effectual Means of reſtoring Peace to the Church, the Council ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to that Aſſembly, and ſo did *Eugenius*; both with a View to gain them over to their Party. The Embaſſadors of both were heard, in a full Aſſembly, for ſeveral Days together; and when they had done, the

Aſſembly of Bourges.

[i] Raynald. ad ann. 1440. [k] Æneas Syl. l. 7.

King,

King, after deliberating Six Days with the Members of the Aſſembly, ordered *Antony Gouch*, Biſhop of *Clermont*, to return them the following Anſwer in his Name; that the moſt Chriſtian King had always had the higheſt Regard for General Councils, and for that of *Baſil* in particular, and had therefore been greatly concerned to hear of any Miſunderſtanding between them and his Holineſs the Pope; that he had moſt earneſtly entreated them, both by Letters and Embaſſies, to ſuſpend their Proceedings againſt his Holineſs; but they, far from paying any the leaſt Regard to his Interpoſition, had even depoſed him, and elected another in his Room; that the King nevertheleſs had forbore coming to any Reſolution, in an Affair of ſo much Importance, till he had heard the Prelates and Lords of his Kingdom, and that, having convened them for that Purpoſe, he had, with their Advice, and upon the moſt mature Deliberation, reſolved to continue in the Obedience of *Eugenius*, and acknowlege no other Pope, but begged, that in order to put an End to the preſent Diviſions, his Holineſs would aſſemble, within a Twelvemonth, a General Council in *France*. As for *Amedeus*, the King, added the Biſhop, deſires the Legates of the Council will inform him, that his Majeſty wiſhes, as being nearly related to him, that he could favour him with a ſafe Conſcience; but as many, and they Men of great Learning and Probity, queſtion the Validity of his Election, he dares not renounce the Obedience of *Eugenius* till the Affair is decided by a General Council, but hopes, that his Kinſman, the Lord of *Savoy*, *Dominus Sabaudiæ*, will act on this Occaſion with his uſual Prudence. The Legates of *Eugenius*, encouraged by this Anſwer, begged that the King would condemn the Council of *Baſil*, as an unlawful Aſſembly, from the Time it had been transferred to *Ferrara*, and would revoke the *Pragmatic Sanction*, conſiſting of Decrees iſſued by that Aſſembly after its Tranſlation. To theſe Demands the following Anſwer was returned, on the 9th of *September*, by the ſame Biſhop of *Clermont* in the King's Name: That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had always held the Council of *Baſil* for a lawful General Council; that they had made many excellent Regulations for the Reformation of the Church, which he and the States of the Kingdom had approved and received; that he had never acknowleged the Aſſembly at *Ferrara* for a lawful Council; and that as to the *Pragmatic Sanction*, he inſiſted upon its being inviolably ob-

Year of Chriſt 1440.

The Anſwer of the King and that Aſſembly to the Legates of both Popes.

They continue in the Obedience of Eugenius.

Year of Christ 1440.

ſerved; but if it was found to contain any real Hardſhips, he would conſent to their being ſoftened in the next General Council [l]. Thus did the Aſſembly of *Bourges* acknowlege the Council of *Baſil* for a lawful Council, though diſſolved by the Pope, and at the ſame time own *Eugenius* for lawful Pope, though depoſed by the Council. They did not queſtion, as we may obſerve by the Way, the Superiority of the Council over the Pope, or a Power in the Council of depoſing him, but continued in his Obedience, becauſe they were not ſufficiently informed of the Circumſtances, attending his Depoſition, to renounce it.

By whom Eugenius *acknowleged, and by whom* Felix.

Eugenius was not only acknowleged in *France*, but in *Italy*, in moſt of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, in *Portugal*, in *Hungary*, and in *England*. On the other hand *Felix* was owned by the People of *Savoy*, by the *Swiſs*, by the Cities of *Baſil*, of *Straſbourg*, of *Cammin*, by *Albert*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Albert*, Duke of *Auſtria*, Brother to *Frideric* III. elected this Year King of the *Romans*. Several Univerſities, without declaring for *Felix*, maintained the Pope to be ſubject to a General Council, and bound to obey their Decrees, *viz.* the Univerſities of *Paris*, of *Vienna*, of *Erford*, of *Cologn*, and *Cracow* [m]. We read of no Univerſity, beſides that of *Salamanca*, offering to aſcertain the Superiority of the Pope over the Council; ſo that the contrary Opinion may be ſaid to have univerſally prevailed at this Time, though many, who held it, continued nevertheleſs to adhere to *Eugenius*, not being ſatisfied that he had been canonically depoſed.

Several Eaſtern Nations conform in the Council of Florence *to the Church of* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1441.

Eugenius, after concluding an Union with the *Greeks*, as has been related above, had ſent Nuncios to invite to his Council the other Eaſtern Nations, that differed in their Belief both from the *Greeks* and the *Latins*. In Compliance with that Invitation *Conſtantine*, Patriarch of the *Armenians*, ſent Four Deputies to aſſiſt at the Council in his Name; and theſe, after ſeveral Conferences with the Three Cardinals, *Antony*, Biſhop of *Oſtia*, *Branda*, Biſhop of *Porto*, and *Nicholas Albergati*, Biſhop of *Bologna*, whom the Pope had appointed; with other learned Divines to inſtruct them, made in the Name of the Patriarch of their Nation and their own, a public Profeſſion of the Faith held and taught by the Holy and Apoſtolic Church of *Rome* [n]. Their Ex-

[l] Pagi Brev. Roman. Pont. l. 4. p. 622. et Clemangius apud eund. Raymund. ad hunc ann. num. 6, 7. [m] Apud [n] Concil. tom. 13. col. 1198.

ample

ample was followed by the *Jacobites*, or *Jacobines*, a very numerous Sect in the East, of whom I have ſpoken elſewhere o; and likewiſe by the *Æthiopians*, or *Abyſſines*, whoſe King or Emperor, *Conſtantine Zara Jacob*, ſent, at the Invitation of *Eugenius*, *Andrew*, Abbot of the Monaſtery of *St. Antony* in *Egypt*, and a Deacon named *Peter*, with the Character of his Embaſſadors, to aſſiſt, in his Name, at the Council. They arrived at *Florence* in the Month of *Auguſt* 1441, were received by *Eugenius*, by the Cardinals and the Council, with extraordinary Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, and frequently admitted to confer with his Holineſs himſelf. At this time the *Æthiopians* all profeſſed the Doctrine of *Neſtorius*; but their Embaſſadors renounced it in the preſent Council, and in the Name of the whole Nation embraced that of *Rome*. However, we find them, as well as the *Armenians* and *Jacobites*, relapſed a few Years afterwards into their ancient Errors. We have a Letter, dated at *Florence* the 4th of *October* of the preſent Year 1441, from *Eugenius* to the Chapter and Canons of *St. Peter*, wherein he recommends to them his beloved Sons, *Andrew*, Abbot of *St. Antony* in *Egypt*, and the Deacon *Peter*, Embaſſadors from *the Great Prince* Conſtantine, *Emperor of the Æthiopians*, coming to *Rome* to ſee the holy Image of our Lord and Saviour, that is, the holy *Veronica* p. Thoſe Princes pretended to come from *Jacob* by King *Solomon* and the Queen of *Sheba*, and thence ſtiled themſelves *Zara Jacob*, that is, the Seed of *Jacob*. Year of Chriſt 1441.

While *Eugenius* was thus ſtriving to raiſe the Reputation of his Council, the *German* Princes aſſembled at *Mentz*, in order to deliberate about the Means of reſtoring Peace to the Church. At this Diet or Aſſembly the Electors and moſt of the other Princes aſſiſted in Perſon; and with them Embaſſadors from *Charles* VII. King of *France*, and from *Frideric* of *Auſtria*, who had been elected King of the *Romans* on the 3d of *March* 1440, in the Room of *Albert* of *Auſtria*, deceaſed. On the 27th of *October* 1439, *Eugenius* ſent Legates, and ſo did the Council, to attend that Aſſembly. The Legates of the Council ſtrove to ſatisfy the Aſſembly, that the Council was above the Pope, that *Eugenius* had been lawfully depoſed, and *Felix* lawfully elected; while on the other hand thoſe of *Eugenius* maintained the Pope to be above the Council, and in the preſent Caſe the Sentence of Depoſition to

What determined by the German *Princes aſſembled at* Mentz.

o Vol. VI. p. 229.

p Concil. tom. 13. col. 1217.

Year of Christ 1441.

have been evidently uncanonical; since by the Canons, Twelve Bishops, at least, ought to concur in the Deposition of any Bishop whatever, and Seven only, said they, were present at the Deposition of the First Bishop of the Catholic Church. The Princes, after hearing both Sides, concluded, that by no other Means could Peace be restored, but by assembling a General Council in a Third Place, either in *France*, or in *Germany*, and leaving to them the Decision of so important a Controversy p. This Resolution was no-ways pleasing either to the Pope or the Council. However, the Council, unwilling to disoblige the *German* Nation, consented at last to the convening of another Council in some other City of the same Nation, that is, of *Germany*, and left the naming of the Place to the King and the Princes.

The Council removed from Florence *to* Rome.

Year of Christ 1442.

As for *Eugenius*, he had, by a Decree, published in his Thirtieth Session, held on the 26th of *April*, removed his Council from *Florence* to *Rome*, to be continued there in the *Lateran* Basilic, *his First and Chief See*, and therefore would not consent to the assembling of a Council any-where else. However, being pressed anew by the King of the *Romans* and the Electors assembled at *Francfort*, he promised to consult the Fathers of the Council, as soon as they met at the *Lateran*, and act as directed by them; though he could not see either the Necessity, or the Expediency of convoking another Council, while one was still sitting, that had performed such wonderful Things q; meaning the short-lived Union of the oriental Churches with that of *Rome*.

Ignominious Peace concluded by Eugenius *with the King of* Arragon.

Year of Christ 1443.

The following Year 1443 a Peace was concluded, to the great Satisfaction, and the no less Dishonour of *Eugenius*, between him and *Alphonso*, King of *Arragon*. They had quarrelled on the following Occasion. *Joan* II. Queen of *Naples*, having no Children of her own, had adopted *Alphonso*, and declared him her Heir and Successor. But that Adoption she afterwards revoked, and to *Alphonso* substituted *Lewis* of *Anjou*, whose Adoption was approved and confirmed by *Martin* V. as has been related in the Life of that Pope r. *Joan* died in 1435, and *Lewis* dying before her, she, by her Will, appointed his Brother *René* of *Anjou* her universal Heir and Successor. That Will *Eugenius* not only confirmed, as Lord Paramount of the Kingdom, but upon

p Acta Patritiana apud Pagi, Vol. IV. p. 628, 629.
q Idem ibid. p. 633.
r See above, p. 215.

Alphonso's

Alphonſo's invading it, ſent a Body of Three thouſand Foot, and the like Number of Horſe, under the Command of General *Vitelleſchi*, Biſhop of *Recanati*, and Patriarch of *Alexandria*, to ſupport the *Angevin* againſt the *Arragonian* Party. On the other hand *Alphonſo*, ſiding with the Council of *Baſil* againſt the Pope, cauſed all their Decrees to be ſtrictly obſerved throughout his extenſive Dominions, would allow none of his Biſhops to aſſiſt either at the Council of *Ferrara*, or of *Florence*; and when *Eugenius* was depoſed by the Council of *Baſil*, he renounced, in Compliance with their Decree, and obliged all his Subjects to renounce his Obedience. *Eugenius* however continued to aſſiſt *René* to the utmoſt of his Power till the preſent Year 1443, when *Alphonſo*, having reduced the City of *Naples* itſelf by conveying into it, through the common Sewer, ſome of his Men, who opened the Gates to the Reſt, his Holineſs thought it high Time to quit the conquered and join the conquering Party. He ſent accordingly *Lewis*, Patriarch of *Aquilea*, with full Power to conclude an Agreement with *Alphonſo* upon the beſt Terms he could obtain, being apprehenſive that the King, having now no Enemy to contend with (for *René* had abandoned the Kingdom upon the taking of *Naples*) might oblige the Subjects of the Eccleſiaſtical State to acknowlege *Felix*. The Agreement was concluded in a few Conferences; and the chief Articles of it were: That *Alphonſo* ſhould acknowlege *Eugenius*, and cauſe him to be acknowleged by all his Subjects for lawful Pope; that he ſhould reſtore all the Places, belonging to the Church, which he had ſeized; ſhould furniſh his Holineſs with Six Gallies againſt the *Turks*, with Four thouſand Horſe and One thouſand Foot to drive *Francis Sforza* out of *Picenum*, and bury in Oblivion all paſt Offences and Injuries. On the other hand, *Eugenius* promiſed to confirm the Adoption of *Alphonſo* by Queen *Joan* II. and to grant him the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom, and all the Rights and Privileges enjoyed by other Kings, with this Clauſe, *though he had reduced it by Dint of Arms*. If *Alphonſo* left no lawful Iſſue, the Kingdom of *Naples* was, by this Treaty, to revert to the Church. But by a ſecret and ſeparate Article, extorted by *Alphonſo*, it was ſtipulated, that his natural Son *Ferdinand* ſhould be legitimated, and that the Kingdom ſhould be ſettled upon him and his Poſterity, in caſe the King himſelf had no lawful Iſſue. *Ferdinand* was, accordingly, legitimated by a ſpecial Bull;

Year of Chriſt 1443.

Year of Christ 1443.

Bull; but the Pope desired, that both the Bull and separate Article might be kept inviolably secret so long as he lived: A plain Proof, as *Spondanus* observes, that he was conscious to himself of his acting a most unjust and iniquitous Part, and cared not with what Ignominy his Memory might be branded after his Death, provided he escaped it in his Life-time [s]. This Treaty was concluded on the 12th of *June* of the present Year, and ratified by the Pope on the 6th of *July*. Thus ended the Reign of the Family of *Anjou* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, when, from the Coronation of King *Charles* I. in 1266, to the Flight of *René* in 1443, they had governed it One hundred and Seventy-seven Years; and thus was it conveyed to the Family of *Arragon*, who held it Seventy-two Years. But the Right *René* claimed to the Crown devolving, upon his Death, to the Royal Family of *France*, as both his Sons died before him, that unhappy Country became the Theatre of a new and more bloody War between those Princes, and *Alphonso*'s Posterity, as we shall see in the Sequel. *Alphonso* no sooner heard, that the Pope had agreed to all the Articles of the Treaty, and signed the Bull legitimating *Ferdinand*, than he notified, by a circulatory Letter, to all his Subjects, that he had been long in Suspence with respect to the Affairs of the Church, and quite at a Loss what Side to take in the present unhappy Divisions, but had learnt at last, by Divine Revelation, that *Eugenius* was the only true and lawful Pope; and he therefore required all his Subjects to obey him as such, and to pay thenceforth no Regard to the Decrees of the Assembly of *Basil*, as being in themselves absolutely null. He had applied to *Felix*, offering to acknowlege him for lawful Pope, provided he confirmed his Adoption, granted him the Investiture of the Kingdom, and furnished him with One hundred thousand Florins to conquer it [t]; and it is not to be doubted but he would have learnt by Divine Revelation, that *Felix* was the only lawful Pope, had he hearkened to his Proposal. But he, more conscientious than *Eugenius*, rejected it, alleging that the Kingdom of *Naples* had been granted by his Predecessors to the Family of *Anjou*; that they had conquered it at their own Expence, and possessed it undisturbed for many Years; that *Lewis* I. of *Anjou* had been adopted by Queen *Joan* I. and his Grandson *Lewis* III. by Queen *Joan* II. both which Adoptions had

[s] Spondan. ad ann. 1443. num. 3. [t] Surita Rer. Arragon. l. 15.

been

been confirmed by the Apoſtolic See; and that *Joan* II. had, upon the Death of *Lewis*, her adoptive Son, appointed his Brother *René* her univerſal Heir and Succeſſor. As for the Adoption of *Alphonſo*, *Felix* added, that it had never been confirmed, nor approved by the Apoſtolic See; that the Queen herſelf had revoked it, not out of Levity, but for very juſt Reaſons; and conſequently that by virtue of her Adoption, upon which alone *Alphonſo* grounded his Claim to the Kingdom, he had no better Right to it, than if ſhe never had adopted him. Theſe very Reaſons were afterwards alleged by *Charles* VIII. of *France*, to juſtify his invading the Kingdom of *Naples*, as Heir to all the Rights of the Family of *Anjou*. Year of Chriſt 1443.

Eugenius, having adjourned his Council, as has been ſaid, to *Rome*, left *Florence* on the 7th of *March* of the preſent Year, and, arriving at *Siena* on the 10th, he remained there till the 14th of *September*, when, at the repeated Invitations of the *Romans*, he ſet out for *Rome*, and entered that City, in a Kind of Triumph, on the 28th of the next Month. The next Day he went in the Attire of High Pontiff to the Church of *St. Peter*, when the Populace crowding round him on Account of a new Tax laid upon Wine, and crying out, *No new Taxes, Holy Father, Death and Deſtruction to thoſe who invent them*, he immediately ordered the Tax to be taken off; and nothing was then heard, but *Long live Pope Eugenius* [u]. He had been but a few Days in *Rome* when he notified to all the Chriſtian Princes, both by his Nuncios and by Letters, that he intended to convene a General Council in the *Lateran* Baſilic.

All this Time the Fathers of *Baſil* continued their Seſſions. *Felix* preſided at them in Perſon, and ſeveral Regulations were eſtabliſhed for the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members. But as they were now reduced to a very ſmall Number, ſome having died of the Plague that broke out in that City, others having withdrawn to avoid it, and the Biſhops, as well as other Eccleſiaſtics, who had Benefices or Preferments in the Dominions of the King of *Arragon*, being ordered by that Prince to quit the Place after his Agreement with *Eugenius*, they held their Forty-fifth and laſt Seſſion on the 16th of *May* of the preſent Year; and in that Seſſion it was decreed, that another General Council ſhould be held at *Lions* in the Term of Three

The Forty-fifth and laſt Seſſion of the Council of Baſil.

[u] Platina in Eugen. IV.

Years,

Year of Chriſt 1443.

Years, or rather that the Council of *Baſil* ſhould be adjourned to, and continued in that City, and all Biſhops, Archbiſhops, Patriarchs, and Cardinals were ordered to attend it, in order to compleat the great and neceſſary Work of the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members ſo happily begun. That the Council might not be thought to be diſſolved, ſome of the Biſhops remained at *Baſil*, and afterwards removed from thence with *Felix* to *Lauſanne*, keeping up, in both Places, the Appearance of a Council till the Year 1449, when *Felix* reſigned the Pontifical Dignity, as I ſhall have Occaſion to relate in the Sequel.

Other Eaſtern Nations receive the Doctrines of Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1444.

In the mean time *Eugenius*, opening his Council in the *Lateran*, received there Deputies, ſent, at his Invitation, by the other Eaſtern Nations, to be inſtructed in the Doctrines, Rites, and Practices of the *Roman* Church; *viz.* by the Nations inhabing *Meſopotamia* between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, by the *Caldeans* and *Maronites*, ſome of whom held the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, and ſome that of *Neſtorius*; but they are all ſaid to have abjured thoſe Errors in the preſent Council, and embraced the Doctrines as well as the Practices of *Rome* [w].

Eugenius *declines aſſembling a new Council.*

Year of Chriſt 1445.

The following Year the Emperor, *Frideric* III. perſuaded that the preſent Schiſm could by no other Means be more effectually extinguiſhed, than by aſſembling another General Council in a Third Place, ſent *Æneas Sylvius*, with the Character of his Embaſſador to *Rome*, to obtain of the Pope the Aſſembling of One in *Germany*. But *Eugenius*, alleging that a new Council, inſtead of healing, would rather increaſe the preſent Diviſions, begged that his beloved Son, the King of the *Romans*, would, in his great Wiſdom, think of ſome other Method more likely to be attended with the wiſhed-for Succeſs [x]. *Æneas*, whom the Emperor ſent on this Embaſſy, and we ſhall ſee raiſed, in the Courſe of a few Years, to the Papacy, had been One of the moſt zealous Sticklers for the Council of *Baſil*, and the Authority of General Councils over the Pope. But, finding that the Affairs of *Eugenius* began to take a favourable Turn, he thought it adviſable to change Sides; and, accordingly, on his Arrival at *Rome*, he acknowleged *Eugenius*, though depoſed by the Council, for lawful Pope, and, condemning his paſt Conduct, moſt humbly begged his Holineſs to forgive it. The Pope, glad to gain a Man of his Learning and Abilities, not only for-

[w] Concil. tom. 13. col. 1222. [x] Æneas Syl. Comment. l. 1.

gave

gave it, but took him into his Protection, and even admitted him to his Confidence. Year of Chriſt 1445.

The Pope depoſes the Two Archbiſhops of Cologn *and* Trevcs.

Æneas was the next Year ſent again by the Emperor to *Rome* on the following Occaſion. The Two Archbiſhops and Electors, *Theodoric de Moerſem* of *Cologn*, and *James Sirik* of *Treves*, having openly declared for *Felix*, were on that Account both depoſed by *Eugenius*. That the other Electors looked upon as an Affront, offered to them, and to the Princes of the Empire in General, and in a Diet held on that Occaſion at *Francfort*, at which were preſent all the *German* Princes, it was agreed, that if *Eugenius* did not revoke his Sentence againſt the Two Archbiſhops, did not eaſe the *German* Nation of the many heavy Burthens laid upon them by the Court of *Rome*, and own the Authority of General Councils as eſtabliſhed and defined by the Council of *Conſtance*, they would approve of his Depoſition, and acknowlege *Felix*. Theſe their Reſolutions they communicated to the Emperor, and at the ſame time earneſtly entreated him to join with them in maintaining the Dignity and juſt Rights of the Empire againſt the daily Encroachments of the Court of *Rome*. *Frideric* anſwered, that he would acquaint the Pope with their Demands, and exhort him to comply with them; but thought it unworthy of them, and even impious to rebel againſt the true Vicar of *Chriſt*, if he did not gratify them by granting what they thought fit to demand. *Æneas Sylvius* was choſen for this Embaſſy, and charged by the Emperor to let the Pope know, that he muſt not make ſo free with the Electors of the Empire, and adviſe him to reinſtate, by all Means, the Two Archbiſhops in their reſpective Sees, ſince the *German* Nation might thus be brought to quit their Neutrality, and acknowlege him for the only true Pope, whereas it was greatly to be feared, that, if he did not reſtore thoſe Prelates, the preſent Diviſions would long continue and be charged upon his Holineſs. *Eugenius* received *Æneas* with all poſſible Marks of Diſtinction, and expreſſing the greateſt Regard for the Electors and Princes of the Empire, and above all for his beloved Son the King of the *Romans*, promiſed to reinſtate the Two Biſhops, as ſoon as he had acquainted the Duke of *Burgundy* therewith, and obtained his Permiſſion. For to the See of *Cologn* he had preferred *Adolph*, Biſhop of *Cleves*, and to that of *Treves John*, Biſhop of *Cambray*, the former the Duke's Nephew, and the latter his natural Brother. The Duke readily

Year of Chriſt 1446.

Their Depoſition reſented by the other Electors.

Year of Chriſt 1446.

The Pope promiſes to reſtore them, and upon what Conditions.

conſented to their Removal; and *Thomas* of *Surzana*, Biſhop of *Bologna*, and *John de Carvajal*, Biſhop of *Placentia*, were thereupon immediately diſpatched into *Germany*, to notify to the Princes, ſtill aſſembled at *Francfort*, that his Holineſs had it now in his Power to reſtore the depoſed Biſhops, and was ready to gratify his beloved Sons, the Electors and Princes of the Empire, in that as well as in their other Demands, provided they, on their Side, departed from their Neutrality, and, acknowleging the only true Vicar of *Chriſt* upon Earth, returned to the Unity of the Church. The Princes renewed their Three former Demands, adding a Fourth to them, *viz.* that in Ten Months Time another General Council ſhould be aſſembled in ſome Town of *Germany*, to complete the neceſſary Work of the Reformation, begun by the Council of *Baſil*. With theſe Demands *Æneas Sylvius* was ſent a Third Time to *Rome*, and on his Return brought a Letter from the Pope, addreſſed to the Princes of the Empire, the Purport of which was, that he ſhould aſſemble another General Council in *Germany* within the limited Time, provided the other Chriſtian Princes approved of it; ſhould revoke his Sentence againſt the Two Archbiſhops, upon their begging Pardon for their paſt Conduct, and acknowleging him for the only true and lawful Pope, and ſhould leave the *German* Nation no Room to complain of the Burthens laid upon them by him, or his Predeceſſors. As to his owning the Authority of General Councils, agreeably to the Definition of the Council of *Conſtance*, he artfully avoided giving a direct and poſitive Anſwer to that Demand, ſaying, that he never queſtioned the Authority of a Council, that was *truly Oecumenical*, taking no Notice of the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, nor of their Definitions, eſtabliſhing the Superiority of General Councils over the Pope. However, as he promiſed to redreſs their Grievances, and reſtore the Two Biſhops, the *German* Princes, after warm Debates in a Diet, held at *Francfort* the following Year 1447, agreed in the End to quit their Neutrality, and acknowlege *Eugenius*. Embaſſadors were, accordingly, ſent to *Rome* to notify this their Reſolution to his Holineſs, and at the ſame Time to own him, in the Name of the whole *German* Nation, for the only true Vicar of *Chriſt* upon Earth. *Eugenius* received the Embaſſadors in Bed, being greatly indiſpoſed, but ordered the Cardinals to terminate the Affair to their Satisfaction; and by them a Bull was drawn up,

The Germans *quit their Neutrality and acknowlege* Eugenius.

Year of Chriſt 1447.

and

and ſigned by the Pope, granting to the *German* Nation, with ſome Modifications, in which the Embaſſadors acquieſced, all their Demands [y]. Year of Chriſt 1447.

Eugenius did not long enjoy the Satisfaction it gave him to ſee the *German* Nation, after ſo long a Neutrality, return to his Obedience: For his Diſtemper increaſing, he died amidſt the public Rejoicings for ſo happy an Event. His Death happened on the 23d of *February* of the preſent Year, when he had governed the Church Sixteen Years wanting ſome Days. He was buried, as he had deſired, in the Floor of the *Vatican* Baſilic; but his Nephew, Cardinal *Francis Condelmerius*, cauſed a magnificent Monument to be afterwards erected to his Memory with a pompous Epitaph, rehearſing the chief Actions of his Life, and, among the reſt, his gaining over the Eaſtern Nations to the Faith of *Rome*, in the following Lines: Eugenius *dies*.

—— Armeni Græcorum exempla ſecuti
Romanam agnorunt Æthiopeſque fidem.
Inde Syri atque Arabes, mundique e finibus Indi.
Magna; ſed hæc animo cuncta minora ſuo [z].

His Epitaph and Character.

He is ſaid by the contemporary Writers to have been a great Encourager of Learning, to have taken great Delight in the Company of the Learned, to have ſpent daily, even in the greateſt Hurry of Buſineſs, ſome Hours alone in his Cloſet, and to have borne, without ever uttering the leaſt Complaint, the many croſs Accidents that befel him. *Raphael* of *Volterra* tells us, that he never lifted up his Eyes in public, but kept them conſtantly fixed on the Ground; and this that Writer learnt, as he ſays, of his Father, who belonged to the Pope's Court [a]. He ſhewed himſelf, during the whole Time of his Pontificate, extremely averſe to a Reformation; and it was, as we have ſeen, to avoid it, and to keep up the prevailing Abuſes, becauſe profitable to his See, that he quarrelled with the Fathers of *Baſil.*——*Eugenius* wrote a Book againſt the *Huſſites* of *Bohemia*, and a great many Letters, Bulls, and Conſtitutions, to be met with in the *Bullarium*.

[y] Cochlæus Hiſt. Huſſit. l. 9. Gobelinus in Comment. l. 2. Raynald. ad ann. 1447. Antonin. tit. 21. c. 11. [z] Apud Platinum in ejus vita. [a] Volaterranus Antropol. l. 22.

Year of Christ 1447. CONS. PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East.*

NICHOLAS V.

FRIDERIC III. *Emperor of the West.*

The Two Hundred and Sixth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Nicholas V. *elected.*

EUGENIUS dying on the 23d of *February*, the Cardinals then at *Rome*, in all Seventeen or Eighteen, entering into the Conclave, as ſoon as they had performed the Exequies of the deceaſed Pope, choſe, with One Conſent, on the 6th of *March*, *Thomas* of *Sarzana*, Cardinal Prieſt of *St. Suſanna* and Biſhop of *Bologna*. He

His Birth, Employments, &c.

was the Son of a poor Phyſician of *Sarzana*, a ſmall Town on the Borders of *Tuſcany* and the State of *Genoa*, and thence called *Thomas of Sarzana*. He ſtudied at *Bologna*, being maintained at that Univerſity by Cardinal *Nicholas Albergati*, who, looking upon him as a very promiſing Youth, took him into his Protection. In Proceſs of Time he proved One of the moſt learned Divines of the Age he lived in, and was employed by *Eugenius* in all the Diſputes between the *Latins* and the *Greeks* in the Councils of *Ferrara* and of *Florence*. In 1446 he was ſent, as has been ſaid above, with *John de Carvajal*, to aſſiſt at the Diet, held at *Francfort* on the 30th of *Auguſt* of that Year; and the Pope, fully ſatisfied with their Conduct on that Occaſion, created them both Cardinals on their Return to *Rome*; and that they might make their Entry into the City as Cardinals, their Red Hats were delivered to them at the Gate. Thus *Platina* [b]. But that Writer was certainly miſtaken in ſuppoſing *Thomas* of *Sarzana* to have been preferred, in one and the ſame Year, to the Biſhopric of *Bologna*, to the Dignity of Cardinal, and to the Pontificate. For he was made Biſhop of *Bologna* on the 27th of *Novembhr* 1445, as appears from a Letter of *Eugenius* quoted by *Sigonius* [c], was created Cardinal on the 16th of *December* 1446 [d], and was raiſed to the Pontificate on the 6th of *March* 1447. The new Pope was enthroned the Day after his Election, taking on that Occaſion the Name of *Nicholas*, out of Gratitude to his generous Benefactor Cardinal *Nicholas Albergati*, and was crowned on the 19th of *March*, with the uſual Solemnity, in the Church of *St. Peter*.

[a] In vit. Nich. V. [c] Sigonius de epiſ. Bonon. l. 4. [d] Æneas Sylv. Comment. l. 1.

As

As *Nicholas* was a Man of great Probity, and of a pacific Diſpoſition, he immediately notified his Promotion to all the Chriſtian Princes, owning himſelf quite unworthy of the Dignity, to which he had been raiſed, he ſaid, much againſt his Will, and offering to reſign it, if thought neceſſary or expedient for the Good of the Church. The Emperor *Frideric* not only acknowleged him upon the firſt Notice he had of his Election, but by an Edict, dated the 22d of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year, ordered all the Subjects of the Empire to obey *Nicholas* V. as the only true Vicar of *Chriſt* upon Earth [d]. On the other Hand, the Pope, by a Concordat, concluded with the Emperor, eaſed the *German* Nation of ſome of the Burthens that his Predeceſſors had laid upon them. *Nicholas* was inclined to aboliſh all the Abuſes they complained of, to redreſs all their Grievances, and reſtore all their Churches to their ancient Liberty. But being diſſuaded from it by the Cardinals, as the Revenues of the Apoſtolic Chamber, and conſequently theirs, would be thereby greatly leſſened, the Emperor, contenting himſelf with what he could obtain, ſigned the Concordat, though judged by the States of *Germany* contrary to the Honour, the Liberty, and the Intereſts of the Empire [e].

Year of Chriſt 1447.

Nicholas *acknowleged by the Emperor.*

Who concludes a Concordat with the Apoſtolic See.

The Example of the Emperor, in acknowleging *Nicholas*, was followed by almoſt all the Chriſtian States and Princes. Among theſe *Charles* VII. King of *France*, who, from the Beginning, had ſpared no Pains to reconcile the contending Parties, aſſembled all the Prelates and Barons of the Kingdom at *Lions*, in order to adviſe with them about the Means of bringing about an Accommodation between the Two Competitors, and thus putting an End to the Schiſm. In that Aſſembly it was reſolved, that an Embaſſy ſhould be ſent to *Felix* at *Lauſanne*, to perſuade him to reſign his Dignity, and to learn of him upon what Terms he would reſign it; and that by another Embaſſy the Terms he required ſhould be communicated to *Nicholas*, and nothing left unattempted to prevail upon him, if they appeared reaſonable, to agree to them. The Embaſſadors found *Felix*, to their great Satisfaction, as ready as they could have wiſhed, to ſacrifice his Dignity to the Peace of the Church, a Dignity, he ſaid, that had been forced upon him, and to which he now knew himſelf by Experience to be altogether unequal. As the Terms he demanded left no Room

Felix *agrees to reſign.*

Year of Chriſt 1448.

[d] Cochlæus apud Raynald. ad ann. 1447. [e] Bzovius ad ann. 1448.

to

Year of Chriſt 1448.

to doubt of his Sincerity, and he took care to demand nothing that was inconſiſtent with the Dignity of his Rival to comply with, the King notified them, by a moſt ſolemn Embaſſy, to *Nicholas*, who, finding them, as he declared, not only juſt and reaſonable, but equally advantageous to both Parties, agreed to them at once. The Terms were, I. That *Felix* ſhould hold the Firſt Place in the College of Cardinals, and be perpetual Legate of the Apoſtolic See in *Germany*. II. That ſo long as he lived he ſhould be allowed to wear the Pontifical Habit with all the Badges of the Pontifical Dignity, except the Fiſher's Ring, and the Croſs upon the Slipper. III. That, if at any Time he ſhould appear before the Pope, his Holineſs ſhould riſe from his Seat to receive him, ſhould kiſs his Mouth, and require of him no particular Mark of Reſpect and Submiſſion. IV. That all Excommunications, Suſpenſions, Interdicts, and other Penalties, inflicted by either Party, ſhould be revoked. V. That all of both Obediences, who were poſſeſſed of any Benefices, Eccleſiaſtical Offices or Dignities, ſhould enjoy them undiſturbed. VI. That the Cardinals of both Parties ſhould retain their Dignities, and be deemed true Cardinals of the holy *Roman* Church. VII. That all Collations and Elections, all Indulgences, Diſpenſations, and other Graces, granted in either Obedience, ſhould be confirmed. VIII. That if Two happened to be poſſeſſed of the ſame Office or Benefice, he, who ſhould be required to reſign, ſhould be provided with another of equal Value. Laſtly, That in the Term of Seven Months *Nicholas* ſhould aſſemble a General Council within the Dominions of the King of *France*.

And upon what Terms.

Three Bulls publiſhed by Felix *before his Reſignation.*

Theſe Conditions being all agreed to by *Nicholas*, *Felix*, who ſtill continued the Council of *Baſil*, with a ſmall Number of Biſhops, at *Lauſanne*, publiſhed, with their Conſent and Approbation, Three Bulls, acting, till the Time of his Reſignation, as true and lawful Pope.

Year of Chriſt 1449.

By the Firſt he revoked all Excommunications and other Cenſures againſt *Eugenius*, *Nicholas*, and thoſe who had adhered to them, or to their Councils. By the Second he reſtored all, who had been deprived, by either of theſe Popes, of their Benefices, Offices, or Dignities, for taking Part with him or with the Council of *Baſil*. By the Third he confirmed all the Acts of his Pontificate, except thoſe that related to the Controverſy between him and his Two Competitors, which he deſired might for ever be buried in Oblivion. Theſe Bulls

were publiſhed by *Felix* on the 5th of *April* 1449, and on the 9th of the ſame Month he renounced, in due Form, the Pontificate, and the Fathers of the Council, approving his Renunciation upon the above-mentioned Conditions, unanimouſly elected *Nicholas* in his Room. On the other hand, *Nicholas* revoked all the Proceedings againſt *Felix* as well as againſt the Council of *Baſil*, and thoſe who had ſided with the one or the other, granted by a particular Bull all *Felix* had demanded, and declared him the Firſt Cardinal of the *Roman* Church, and perpetual Legate of the Holy See in *Germany* [f]. Thus by the Moderation of both Parties was an End put to the Schiſm, Peace reſtored to the Church, and *Nicholas* univerſally acknowleged for the only true and lawful Pope. We may obſerve here, with *Mezeray*, that *Felix* never queſtioned the Legality of his Election, but to the laſt looked upon the Pontificate as a Dignity that belonged to him alone, and could be lawfully conferred on no other till he had voluntarily reſigned it [g].——*Felix*, having laid down his Dignity in the Manner we have ſeen, returned with great Joy to his Solitude at *Ripaglia*, and there led, with his former Companions, a very regular and exemplary Life to the Hour of his Death, which happened not long after his Abdication. Some Writers paint him as a Saint, and tell us of Miracles wrought at his Tomb. But *Æneas Sylvius*, who lived at this Time, contents himſelf with ſaying, that he died with the Reputation of a good Man.

Year of Chriſt 1449.

He reſigns.

His Death.

The following Year 1450 was celebrated the Sixth Jubilee; and though the City was crowded with Pilgrims from all Parts, during the whole Year, yet by the wiſe Regulations of *Nicholas* they were plentifully ſupplied with all Sorts of Proviſions, and at very reaſonable Rates. No Quarrels nor Diſorders were heard of, though moſt of the Pilgrims came from Countries then at War with one another. However, an unforeſeen Accident happened, that gave the Pope great Concern. As the People were One Day crowding upon the Bridge of *St. Angelo*, in order to go to *St. Peter*'s, and receive there his Holineſs's Bleſſing, the Bridge unexpectedly broke down, and Two hundred Perſons periſhed, ſome being drowned, and others trampled to Death in the Crowd. The Pope, not ſatisfied with cauſing their Bodies to be carefully ſought for, and their Exequies celebrated with

The Sixth Jubilee.

Year of Chriſt 1450.

[f] Spondanus ad ann. 1449. [g] Mezeray Abregé Chron. tom. 3. p. 415.

great

Year of Chriſt 1450.

great Solemnity, ordered a Chapel to be built upon the Bridge, and Divine Service to be yearly performed in it for the Reſt of their Souls [h].

The Emperor crowned by Nicholas.

Year of Chriſt 1452.

The Emperor *Frideric*, having ſettled, for the preſent, his Affairs in *Germany*, reſolved to delay no longer his Journey into *Italy*, in order to receive the Imperial Crown at the Hands of the Pope. He ſet out attended by the Flower of the *German* Nobility, and a good Body of Troops, was received, with loud Acclamations, in all the Cities of *Italy* through which he paſſed, and met at *Florence* by Two Cardinals, ſent by the Pope to congratulate him, in his Name, on his Arrival in *Italy*, and conduct him to *Rome*. He made his public Entry into that City with his Conſort the Empreſs *Eleonora* on the 9th of *March*, amidſt the joyful Acclamations of the *Roman* People, was received by the Pope, on the Top of the Steps of *St. Peter*'s, with the greateſt Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, and conducted, with the Empreſs, to the Tomb of St. *Peter*. The following Days they had ſeveral private Conferences; and on the 19th of the ſame Month of *March*, the Day of the Pope's Coronation, both the Emperor and Empreſs were crowned with the uſual Solemnity. His Holineſs choſe that Day, that he might celebrate, he ſaid, at the ſame Time, the Anniverſary of his own Coronation, and that of the Emperor's [i].

Conſtantinople *taken by* Mahomet II.

Year of Chriſt 1453.

The following Year 1453 proved of all, ſince the Foundation of the Chriſtian Religion, the moſt fatal to it. For in that Year, on the 29th of *May*, and in the Fifth Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Conſtantine Palæologus Dracoſes*, was taken the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople* by *Mahomet* II. and forced to ſubmit, with the whole Empire, to the cruel Yoke which it groans under to this Day. I ſhall not dwell here on the melancholy Circumſtances attending that Event, as being foreign to my Subject, but only obſerve, that the Loſs of *Conſtantinople* has by ſome been charged upon the Pope [k]. The Truth is, *Nicholas* had got ready both a Fleet and Land Forces to be ſent to the Relief of the beſieged City; but flattering himſelf, that the *Greeks*, when reduced to the utmoſt Extremity, in order to engage his Protection more effectually, would receive the Decree of the Union, concluded at *Florence* between the Two Churches, he delayed to ſend the wanted Succours; and in the mean time *Conſtantinople* was taken [l].

[h] Æneas Syl. Europa, c. 32. Hiſt. Papal. Ætat. 5. p. 254.
[i] Idem in vit. Frideric III. p. 133.
[l] Platina in vit. Nicol. V.
[k] Hydegger,

However

However that be, certain it is, that *Nicholas* never enjoyed himſelf after the Loſs of that City; nay, his Death is ſuppoſed by the contemporary Writers to have been, in great meaſure, owing to the Concern it gave him, and to the bad Succeſs, that attended all his Endeavours to unite the Chriſtian Princes, againſt the common Enemy, and recover it. For he was wholly employed, during the Three remaining Years of his Pontificate, in reconciling the Chriſtian Princes then at War with one another, and preſſing them by Letters, Nuncios, and Legates, to join all as One Man, and turn their Arms againſt the victorious and inſulting Infidels. Hence nothing occurs in the contemporary Hiſtorians, from this Time to the Time of his Death, but long and tedious Accounts of his unſucceſsful Endeavours to unite the Chriſtian Princes in One common League againſt the Enemies of the Chriſtian Name, and of the Obſtacles he met with in that Undertaking. Year of Chriſt 1453.

Nicholas died on the 24th of *March* 1455, after a Pontificate of Eight Years and Eighteen Days, was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*, and on his Tomb was engraved an Epitaph, commemorating his Virtues, and the moſt remarkable Actions of his Life [m]. The contemporary Writers all ſpeak of this Pope as One of the beſt that ever ſat in the Chair of St. *Peter*. His Liberality to all, eſpecially to the Learned, knew no Bounds. In his Time Men of Letters are ſaid to have flocked, even from the moſt diſtant Countries, to *Rome*, being ſure they ſhould meet there with all the Encouragement they could wiſh for. He ſent proper Perſons all over *Europe* to purchaſe, at any Rate, the faireſt and moſt correct Copies of the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, ſpared no Expence in cauſing the *Greek* Writers to be tranſlated into *Latin*, and thus enriched his Library with the Originals as well as the Tranſlations of all the moſt valuable Books that were to be met with in *Greece*, he being himſelf as good a Judge of Books as any of his Time. The great Encouragement he gave to the Learned has entitled him, and very deſervedly, to a Place among the Firſt Reſtorers of Learning in the Weſt. He was a no leſs generous Friend to the Poor than to the Learned, none having ever applied to him for Relief, whom, if their Wants were found to be real, he did not relieve; nay, he was known to maintain, with private Charities, many

Nicholas *dies*. Year of Chriſt 1455.

His Character.

[m] Apud Platinam in ejus vita.

Year of Chriſt 1455.

decayed Families, whom Shame reſtrained from owning their Poverty, and to have provided their Daughters with Fortunes ſuitable to their Rank. He repaired or rebuilt many of the Churches of *Rome*, and other public Edifices gone to Decay, and, to render the City more auguſt, aſſiſted the Nobility with very conſiderable Sums in rebuilding and adorning their own Palaces. Thus did *Nicholas* diſpoſe of the Revenues of his See, inſtead of heaping up Wealth, as moſt of his Predeceſſors had done, to enrich his Relations [n]. He was an Enemy even to the Appearance of Simony, employed none, and preferred none but Men of Merit, or Men who were recommended to him as ſuch; obſerved the Canons himſelf with the utmoſt Strictneſs, and exacted the ſame ſtrict Obſervance of others; aboliſhed many Abuſes, that his Predeceſſors had either encouraged or connived at, and was only prevented by Death from purſuing the Plan of a general Reformation, which he had formed, and begun with his own Court [o].—With all his good Qualities he was, ſays *Platina*, a little too haſty, and, though never guilty of the leaſt Injuſtice, did ſometimes, in the Tranſport of Paſſion, what he afterwards repented; and would not have done had Good-nature had Time to take Place [p].—He created Eleven Cardinals at Three different Promotions, all Men of great Merit, and not One of his own Relations among them.—As to his Writings he left none, that we know of, beſides ſome Letters, and Bulls, and amongſt theſe the Bull of the Canonization of *Bernardine* of *Siena*, of whom I have ſpoken above [q].

FRIDERIC III. *Emperor of the Weſt.*

CALIXTUS III.

The Two Hundred and Seventh BISHOP *of* Rome.

Calixtus III. *elected.*

NICHOLAS died, as has been ſaid, on the 24th of *March* of the preſent Year 1455, and on the 8th of *April* the Cardinals, in all Fourteen, unanimouſly elected Cardinal *Alphonſo Borgia* in his Room. He was come of an ancient and noble Family in the

[n] Platina et Onuphrius in vit. Nicol. V. Script. rerum Italic. [o] Vit. Nicol. V. apud Muratori in [p] Platina in vit. [q] See above, p. 234.

Dioceſe

Year of Chriſt 1455.

Dioceſe of *Valencia*; had adhered at Firſt to *Peter de Luna*, who ſtiled himſelf *Benedict* XIII. and had been made by him Canon of *Lerida*. Being known in that Station to *Alphonſo*, King of *Arragon*, he was honoured by that Prince with his Confidence, and a Place among his Privy Counſellors. Upon the Death of *Benedict* he was employed by the King to perſuade the Antipope, *Clement* VIII. whom *Benedict*'s Cardinals had choſen in his Room, to reſign his new Dignity; and being attended therein with the wiſhed-for Succeſs, he was, at the Recommendation of the King, preferred by Pope *Martin* to the See of *Valencia* [r].

His Birth, Preferments, &c. before his Promotion.

The new Pope took the Name of *Calixtus* III. and was crowned, with the uſual Ceremonies, on the 20th of *April*. But, being no leſs grieved and alarmed at the taking of *Conſtantinople* than his Predeceſſor, he wrote, even before his Coronation, to all the Chriſtian Princes, repreſenting to them the Danger, that all *Chriſtendom* was expoſed to, of being over-run by thoſe Barbarians, and exhorting them to join in a common League againſt the common Enemy. We have a Letter of his upon this Subject to *Charles* VII. King of *France*, dated the 8th of *April*, the very Day of his Election [s]. But his Endeavours proving all unſucceſsful, he cauſed a ſmall Fleet of Thirteen Gallies to be built with the voluntary Contributions of the Faithful, and the Tenths, that ſome Princes had allowed him to raiſe in their Dominions, and gave the Command of it to *Lewis*, Cardinal of *Aquilea*, who, being joined by the Fleet of the Knights of *Rhodes*, retook ſome of the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*, and gained other ſmall Advantages over the Enemy. As *Mahomet* advanced daily without Oppoſition, and had entered *Servia* at the Head of a numerous and victorious Army, *Calixtus* cauſed a Cruſade to be preached all over *Europe*, granting a plenary Indulgence, or Forgiveneſs of all Sins, to all who ſhould take the Croſs, and to ſuch as ſhould contribute towards the maintaining of thoſe who took it, Indulgences in Proportion to the Sums they did contribute. A conſiderable Army being thus raiſed, they marched, in Queſt of the Enemy, under the Conduct of the famous *Hunniades*, and the no leſs famous *Minorite John de Capiſtrano*, the one a great General, and the other a great Saint. The *Turks* had laid Siege to *Belgrade*, the Capital of *Servia*, and reduced the Place to great Straits,

Strives in vain to unite the Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turks.

[r] See above, p. 233. [s] Concil. tom. 13. col. 457.

Year of Chriſt 1456.

The Turks *defeated at* Belgrade.

notwithſtanding the vigorous Reſiſtance they met with. But the Chriſtian Army, encouraged by *Capiſtrano*, carrying at their Head a Croſs, in lieu of a Standard, and promiſing them certain Victory, fell upon them with ſuch Reſolution and Intrepidity, as obliged them to raiſe the Siege, and betake themſelves to a precipitate Flight with the Loſs of Six thouſand Men, *Onuphrius* ſays Sixty thouſand killed upon the Spot, and of all their military Stores and Ammunition. This Victory was gained on the 6th of *Auguſt*, the Day of the Transfiguration of our Lord, which the Pope ordered to be thenceforth obſerved as a grand Feſtival [t].

Calixtus *ſtirs up ſome* Mahometan *Princes againſt the* Turks.

For this Victory the Pope cauſed the *Te Deum* to be ſung with great Solemnity in *Rome*, acquainted all the Chriſtian Princes with it, and failed not, on that Occaſion, to entreat and exhort them anew, as they tendered the Welfare of the Chriſtian Religion and their own Safety, to join their Forces, and fall jointly upon the Enemy, before they had Time to recover from their preſent Fright and Conſternation. But of them he could obtain nothing beſides fair Words, and Promiſes which they never intended to perform. Thus the Chriſtian Army, inſtead of improving the Advantage they had gained, which might have proved fatal to the Enemy, were obliged, for Want of Supplies both in Men and Money, to diſband, and leave the Conquered to purſue their Conqueſts quite unmoleſted [u].—*Calixtus*, finding the Chriſtian Princes all ſo backward to engage in a holy War, reſolved to recur to the *Mahometan* Princes, who, as he was informed by his Miſſionaries, looked with a jealous Eye on the late Conqueſts of the *Turks*. He ſent, accordingly, *Lewis* of *Bologna*, a *Franciſcan* Friar, with many rich Preſents to *Uſumcaſſanus*, Lord of *Perſia* and *Armenia*, and to the *Cham* of the *Tartars*, to apprize them of the Conqueſts *Mahomet* had made, and was daily making in the more Weſtern Parts of the World; to repreſent to them the Danger they themſelves were in of becoming a Prey to ſo potent and ſo ambitious a Neighbour, if they ſtopt not, in Time, the Career of his Victories, and to offer them therein all the Aſſiſtance the High Prieſt of the Chriſtians could afford them. Thoſe Princes, adds *Platina*, hearkened to the Friar, and, at his Perſuaſion, brought great Calamities upon the *Turks* [w]. But it does not appear that the *Turks* were diverted, by thoſe Calamities,

[t] Platina in vita Calixti. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Idem ibid.

from

from purſuing the War againſt the Chriſtians with the ſame Vigour, as if they had to deal with no other Enemy; ſo that the Pope, in ſpite of all his Endeavours, had the Mortification to hear daily of ſome new Acquiſition they had made without Oppoſition, or of ſome new Advantage they had gained over thoſe who oppoſed them. Year of Chriſt 1456.

Calixtus owed, as we have ſeen, all his Preferments to King *Alphonſo*. But no ſooner was he raiſed to the Papal Chair, than he began to quarrel with his Benefactor. We have ſeveral Inſtances of the greateſt Favourites of Princes becoming, when raiſed to the Popedom, their moſt bitter Enemies, as if the Papacy cancelled all Obligations, or the Popes thought it beneath them to acknowlege any. In the preſent Caſe ſome lay the Blame on the Pope, and ſome on the King. The former tell us, that the King, in the Letter he wrote to the Pope to congratulate him upon his Promotion, gave him ſome friendly Advice relating to the Government of the Church, and that the Pope, provoked at the King's taking upon him to direct him, highly reſented it, and returned the following Anſwer to the Embaſſadors who brought the Letter, *Let your Maſter govern his own Kingdom, and not concern himſelf with the Government of the Church, but leave it to me.* This blunt and unexpected Anſwer from one, whom the King had raiſed from a private Condition to his preſent high and exalted Station, firſt prejudiced him, ſay thoſe Writers, and not a little, againſt his Holineſs. Others ſay, that *Alphonſo*, preſuming upon the many Obligations the Pope owed him, demanded many Things that his Holineſs could not grant with a ſafe Conſcience; that he diſpoſed of all the beſt Benefices in his Dominions unknown to the Pope, and, generally ſpeaking, to the higheſt Bidders, without any Regard to their Characters, or Learning, preferring Perſons quite illiterate, and even Children, when they came up to his Price, and that the Pope's interpoſing his Authority, and putting a Stop to ſuch ſcandalous and illegal Practices, was originally the Occaſion of the Miſunderſtanding between his Holineſs and the King [x]. But what, moſt of all, provoked the King, was the Pope's refuſing to grant the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Ferdinand*, his natural Son, and to confirm the Bull of his Legitimation, which *Alphonſo* had obtained, or rather extorted from Pope *Eugenius*, as has been related in the Life of that Pope. The King

Miſunderſtanding between the Pope and the King of Aragon.

To what owing.

[x] Platina ibid. et Hiſt. General d'Eſpagne, tom. 4. p. 129.

had

Year of Chriſt 1456.

had reſolved to oblige *Calixtus* to confirm that Bull, as he had obliged *Eugenius* to grant it, and to invade with that View the Eccleſiaſtical State, and either drive the Pope from *Rome*, or beſiege him in it. He had made the neceſſary Preparations for that Expedition, but died before he could carry it into Execution, leaving by his laſt Will, as he had no Children lawfully begotten, the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Ferdinand*, and the Kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Sicily*, with his other Dominions, to his Brother *John*, King of *Navarre*.

Calixtus *revokes the Bull legitimating* Ferdinand.

Calixtus had formed a Deſign of placing his Nephew, *Peter Borgia*, whom he had already created Duke of *Spoleti*, upon the Throne of *Naples*; and it was with that View he had refuſed to confirm the Bull of *Eugenius* legitimating *Ferdinand*. He therefore no ſooner heard of the Death of *Alphonſo*, than he revoked the Bull of *Eugenius*, as having been obtained by Force and Menaces, and conſequently in itſelf null; declared the Throne vacant, and devolved, as a Fief of the Church, to the Apoſtolic See; thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt all, who ſhould acknowlege him for King, or obey him as ſuch, and abſolved thoſe from their Oaths, who might already have ſworn Allegiance to him.

His Intrigues to place his Nephew on the Throne of Naples.

Ferdinand took care to acquaint the Pope with the Death of his Father by a moſt ſubmiſſive and friendly Letter, to aſſure him of his inviolable Attachment both to his Perſon and his See, and implore his Protection; and it was upon the Receipt of his Letter that the Pope iſſued the Bull I have juſt mentioned. As moſt of the Lords of the Kingdom acknowleged him, notwithſtanding that Bull, out of the great Regard they had for the deceaſed King his Father, the Pope cauſed Papers to be poſted up in ſeveral Places of the Kingdom, notifying to the Clergy, to the Nobility, and the People, that *Ferdinand* was not the Son, no, not even the natural Son of *Alphonſo*. What Foundation this had in Truth, or whether it had any, we know not; but coming from One, who had ſpent the greateſt Part of his Life at the King's Court, and muſt have been acquainted with what was ſaid, or done there, it ſtartled many; and ſome of the Nobility, as well as the Clergy, openly declared againſt the new King. Thus would a Civil War have been kindled in the Bowels of the Kingdom, had not the Death of the Pope very ſeaſonably prevented it.

Calixtus died on the 6th of *Auguſt* 1458, after a Pontificate of Three Years and Four Months wanting Two Days, and was buried, without an Epitaph, in *St. Peter*'s. The contemporary Writers all ſpeak of him as a Man of very uncommon Parts, of great Addreſs and Experience, and One of the beſt Canoniſts of his Time. In Nepotiſm he far exceeded all his Predeceſſors. Two of his Nephews he created Cardinals, the Third he made Duke of *Spoleti*, and ſtrove, as we have ſeen, by the moſt ſcandalous Intrigues, to procure him a Kingdom, not ſcrupling, for the Sake of aggrandizing his Family, to kindle a War in the Heart of *Chriſtendom*, at the very Time he was exerting all his Zeal in exhorting the Chriſtian Princes to make up their Differences, and turn their Arms, for their common Safety, againſt the common Enemy [y].——*Calixtus* granted a Three Years Indulgence to all, who, at the Tolling of the Bell about Noon, ſhould ſay Three *Pater-Noſters* and Three *Ave-Maries* for the Succeſs of the Chriſtian Arms againſt the *Turks*; and hence came the Cuſtom, that obtains to this Day in all *Roman* Catholic Countries, of Tolling the Bell Morning, Noon, and Evening, when the People, in ſome Places ſtanding, and in ſome kneeling, even in the public Streets, repeat Three Times the Angelic Salutation [z]. This Pope has only left ſome Letters and Bulls to be met with in *Labbe*'s Councils and *Cherubini*'s Bullarium.

Year of Chriſt 1458. *His Death.*

FRIDERIC III. *Emperor of the Weſt.*

PIUS II.

The Two Hundred and Eighth BISHOP *of* Rome.

IN the Room of *Calixtus* was unanimouſly elected on the 19th of *Auguſt*, and crowned on the 3d of *September*, the celebrated *Æneas Sylvius Picolomini*, whom the late Pope had preferred to the Dignity of Cardinal a little before his Death. The Family *Picolomini* was, and ſtill is, One of the moſt illuſtrious Families of *Siena* in *Tuſcany*. But his Father *Æneas Sylvius*, and his Mother *Forteguerra*, being driven out by the popular Faction with the Reſt of the Nobility, he was

Pius II. *elected.*

[y] Summont. Hiſt. Neapol. tom. 3. l. 5. p. 243.

[z] Platina in vit.

born

Year of Chriſt 1458.

His Birth, Education, Employments, &c. before his Promotion.

born in a ſmall Village of that Dioceſe, and he there learnt the Firſt Rudiments of the *Latin* Tongue. His Father's Circumſtances did not allow him to ſend his Son to the Univerſity, his Eſtate having been confiſcated by the prevailing Faction, and he himſelf reduced to earn his Bread with the Sweat of his Brow. But his Friends and Relations generouſly contributing towards the Education of ſo promiſing a Youth, he was ſent by them to the Univerſity of *Siena*, and maintained there at their Expence. As he gave many Proofs, during the Courſe of his Studies, of a very extraordinary Genius, and even publiſhed, while yet a Student, ſeveral Poems, ſome in *Latin*, ſome in *Italian*, that were received with great Applauſe, Cardinal *Capranica*, hearing of him as he paſſed through *Siena* in his Way to the Council of *Baſil*, took him with him in the Character of his Secretary. He eſpouſed with great Zeal the Cauſe of the Council againſt Pope *Eugenius*, made many learned and elegant Speeches in that auguſt Aſſembly to prove the Superiority of a General Council over the Pope, and was, in Conſideration of his Zeal as well as his Parts, appointed their Secretary, and employed in all Affairs of Moment, as One upon whom they could ſafely rely. *Felix* upon his Election, and the Depoſition of *Eugenius*, choſe *Æneas* for his Secretary. He was afterwards honoured with the ſame Employment in the Court of the Emperor *Frideric*, who, being taken with his Parts, preſented him with a Poetical Crown, that is, I ſuppoſe, made him his Poet Laureat, diſtinguiſhed him with the Dignity of Senator, admitted him to his Intimacy, and undertook nothing without previouſly conſulting him. He, on his Side, took Care to cultivate by all Means the Friendſhip of ſo powerful a Friend, flattering himſelf that it might raiſe him One Day to the Pinnacle of Grandeur. When the Emperor embraced a Neutrality, he embraced it with him; and when the Emperor ſhewed himſelf inclined to favour *Eugenius* againſt the Council and *Felix*, he openly declared againſt both; and being ſent by *Frideric* with ſome Propoſals to *Rome*, he laid hold of that Opportunity to condemn his paſt Conduct, and beg his Holineſs to forgive it, and receive him into Favour. *Eugenius* readily granted him his Requeſt, but died ſoon after, and the See of *Trieſte* in *Iſtria* becoming at the ſame Time vacant, *Æneas* was preferred to it by his Succeſſor *Nicholas* V. and in 1453 tranſlated from thence by the ſame Pope to the vacant See of *Siena*,

Siena, his native Country. He was employed, after the Death of *Nicholas*, both by his Succeſſor *Calixtus* III. and the Emperor in various Negotiations, and upon his Return to *Rome* created Cardinal by *Calixtus*, and, after that Pope's Death, elected by the Cardinals, with One Conſent, to ſucceed him, taking on that Occaſion the Name of *Pius* II. [a]. Year of Chriſt 1458.

Endeavours to unite the Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turks.

Pius, no leſs alarmed than his Predeceſſor at the Rapidity of the *Turkiſh* Conqueſts, and no leſs intent upon uniting the Chriſtian Powers againſt the common Enemy, ſummoned with that View, ſoon after his Election, all the Chriſtian Princes to meet at *Mantua*, and there deliberate with him on the moſt effectual Means of ſaving the Church, themſelves, and their lateſt Poſterity, from the more than *Ægyptian* Bondage with which they were threatened. The Council was appointed to meet on the 1ſt of *June* of the following Year 1459; and the Pope ſet out from *Rome* on the 18th of *February*. But as he ſtopt in the ſeveral Cities and States, through which he paſſed, to make up their Differences, he did not reach *Mantua* till the 27th of *May*, and the Council was opened on the 1ſt of *June*. At this Council the Pope himſelf preſided, and *Platina* tells us, that all the Chriſtian Princes aſſiſted at it either in Perſon, or by their Embaſſadors, but that their jarring Intereſts rendered all the Endeavours of the Pope to unite them quite ineffectual; ſo that the Council broke up without coming to any Reſolution, and the *Turks* were ſuffered to purſue their Conqueſts without Interruption.

Council of Mantua. Year of Chriſt 1459.

Pius *revokes the Bull of* Calixtus, *againſt* Ferdinand, *King of* Naples.

Pius had no ſooner taken Poſſeſſion of the See than he revoked the Bull of his Predeceſſor *Calixtus*, declaring the Kingdom of *Naples* devolved to the Church, confirmed the Bull of King *Ferdinand*'s Legitimation, and upon that Prince's reſtoring *Benevento*, *Terracina*, and ſome other Places that his Father had taken, he granted him the Inveſtiture, and ſent Cardinal *Latino* to crown him; which Ceremony was performed, with great Solemnity, in the City of *Barletta* on the 4th of *February* of the preſent Year. *Ferdinand*, on his Side, promiſed to aſſiſt the Pope againſt all his Enemies with the whole Strength of his Kingdom, and gave *Mary*, his natural Daughter, in Marriage to *Antony Picolomini*, his Holineſs's Nephew, with the Dutchy of

[a] Platina et Anton. Caman. in vit. Pii. II.

Year of Chriſt 1459.

Amalfi and the County of *Celano* for her Portion [b]. The Pope, not ſatisfied with confirming all the Bulls of his Predeceſſor *Eugenius* in favour of *Ferdinand*, and revoking thoſe of *Calixtus* againſt him, ordered the Clergy and the Barons, on Pain of Excommunication, to acknowlege him, and no other, for their lawful Sovereign, abſolved ſuch of them, as had ſworn Allegiance to *René* of *Anjou*, from that Oath, and the following Year, when *John* of *Anjou*, the Son of *René*, invaded the Kingdom, his Holineſs ſent a Body of a Thouſand Horſe and Five hundred Foot, under the Command of his Nephew *Antonio Picolomini*, to the Aſſiſtance of *Ferdinand*. The Pope's Partiality for that Prince, and his concurring with him to drive the *French* quite out of *Italy*, ſo provoked their King, *Charles* VII. and the whole Nation, that they could never be prevailed upon any-ways to contribute towards carrying on the War againſt the *Turks*, which they knew the Pope to have above all Things at Heart.

And ſupports him in the Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom.

Forbids Appeals from the Apoſtolic See.

Year of Chriſt 1460.

The following Year the Pope thought fit to condemn the Maxim, for which he had been many Years ſo warm a Stickler, the Superiority of a General Council over the Pope. The Bull, condemning that once his favourite Maxim, is dated the 18th of *January* of the preſent Year 1460, and begins with the following Words, *Execrabilis et priſtinis temporibus inauditus*, &c. " An execrable and unheard-of " Abuſe in all ancient Times, has lately crept in, being countenanced " by ſome through a Spirit of Rebellion, and in order to avoid the " Puniſhment due to their Crimes, I mean the Abuſe of appealing " from the *Roman* Pontiff, *Chriſt*'s Vicar upon Earth, to whom it " was ſaid in the Perſon of St. *Peter*, *Feed my Sheep*, *Whatſoever thou " ſhalt bind upon Earth*, &c. to a future Council. This all, who are " in the leaſt acquainted with the Canons, muſt look upon as contrary " to the eſtabliſhed Laws of the Church. By theſe Appeals the Apoſ- " tolic See is reſtrained from doing Juſtice to thoſe, who recur to it, " all are at Liberty to commit, with Impunity, what Crimes they liſt, " the Diſcipline of the Church is trampled under Foot, the Hierarchy " overſet, and every Thing muſt fall into Diſorder and Confuſion. " Beſides, how abſurd is it to appeal to what does not exiſt, and, perhaps, never will? We therefore condemn, upon the moſt mature " Deliberation, all ſuch Appeals; pronounce, declare, and define

[b] Summont. l. 5. p. 243. et Caman. vita Pii II.

" them

" them to be contrary to the Canons, and in themſelves null; and Year of Chriſt 1460.
" order, that, for the future, no One ſhall preſume, under any Pre-
" tence whatſoever, to appeal from our Judgment, or from that of
" our Succeſſors. If any One ſhall act contrary to this our Ordinance,
" after Two Months from the Day of its Publication in our Chancery,
" he ſhall, by what Dignity ſoever diſtinguiſhed, the Royal, Imperial,
" and Pontifical not excepted, incur, *ipſo facto*, the Sentence of Ex-
" communication, from which none but the Pope himſelf ſhall have
" Power to abſolve him, except at the Point of Death. All Univer-
" ſities, Colleges, Notaries, Witneſſes, and every other Perſon, who
" ſhall aſſiſt at ſuch Appeals, or be any-ways concerned in them, ſhall
" be liable to the ſame Penalty [c]." No Man can be ſo little verſed in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory as not to know this Bull, to uſe the Words of the Continuator of *Fleury*, to be repugnant to the Canons, and contrary to the ancient and univerſal Practice of the Church.

Strives to get the Pragmatic Sanction *revoked in* France. Year of Chriſt 1461.

Pius had, from the Beginning of the Pontificate, uſed his utmoſt Endeavours with repeated Applications to *Charles* VII. King of *France*, to get the *Pragmatic Sanction*, of which I have ſpoken above [d], revoked, as highly derogatory to the Honour and the Dignity of the Apoſtolic See. But the only Anſwer he could obtain of *Charles* was, that the *Pragmatic* conſiſted of the very Decrees of the Council of *Baſil*, which he himſelf had approved, had penned, and perhaps ſuggeſted when Secretary to that great Aſſembly, and they had been received with One Conſent, and obſerved, for the Space of Twenty-five Years, by the whole *French* Nation. In 1461 *Charles* died, having ſtarved himſelf to Death, which *Pius* no ſooner heard, than he diſpatched a Nuncio into *France* to condole with his Son and Succeſſor, *Lewis* XI. for ſo melancholy an Event, and, at the ſame time, congratulate him upon his Acceſſion to the Crown. But the chief Buſineſs of the Nuncio was to procure, upon any Terms, the Abolition of the *Pragmatic Sanction*; and he had ſeveral Conferences with the King's Miniſters and the King himſelf upon that Subject. The Pope's Demand was rejected, by all to a Man, in the King's Council; but nevertheleſs the King was, in the End, either ſoothed or frightened into a Compliance with it, and a ſolemn Embaſſy was ſent to *Rome* to revoke

[c] Concil. tom. 13. p. 1801. [d] See above, p. 240.

Year of Chriſt 1461.

the *Pragmatic* in his Name[e]. However, as both the Univerſity and the Parliament proteſted againſt its Revocation, it continued to be obſerved throughout the Kingdom as before till the Year 1516, when the Concordat between *Leo* X. and *Francis* I. took place.

Strives in vain to unite the Chriſtian *Princes againſt the* Turk.

The Two following Years were wholly employed by the Pope in ſtriving to unite the *Chriſtian* Princes againſt the *Turks*, who had already made themſelves Maſters of almoſt all *Greece*; and we have a great many Letters of his to the different Kings and States of *Chriſtendom*, repreſenting to them, with great Eloquence, the Danger that threatened them of being enſlaved by the worſt of Tyrants, and painting, in the moſt affecting Manner, the deplorable Condition, which they were reduced to, who had been obliged to ſubmit to ſo galling a Yoke, and which, he ſaid, would ſoon be their own, if they joined not in time to avert it. But his Endeavours proving all unſucceſsful, he ordered a Fleet to be equipped at *Ancona*, with a Deſign to embark on it in Perſon, flattering himſelf that the *Chriſtian* Princes, though deaf to his Exhortations, would be aſhamed to remain quiet and inactive at Home, while the Vicar of *Chriſt*, notwithſtanding his Age and Infirmities, thus expoſed himſelf, for their Safety, to all the Dangers and Inconveniences of a War. While he was buſied, beyond what his Strength could bear, in making the neceſſary Preparations for his intended Naval Expedition, he was taken ill, and being adviſed by his Phyſicians to repair to *Siena* for the Benefit of his native Air, he pub-

Publiſhes his Bull of Retractation.

Year of Chriſt 1464.

liſhed, before he left *Rome*, his famous Bull of *Retractation*. In that Bull, addreſſed to the Univerſity of *Cologn*, the Pope condemns and retracts all he had ſaid, writ, or done, at the Council of *Baſil*, any-ways prejudicial to the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, as intirely owing to Ignorance or his Want of Diſcernment; exhorts all to reject, as erroneous, what they meet with in his Works in the leaſt repugnant to the Power, which *Chriſt* himſelf has lodged in the Hands of his Vicar upon Earth, and requires them, if they prefer Truth to Error, to reject the Sentiments of *Æneas Sylvius*, and adopt thoſe of *Pius* II[f].

The Pope returned, after a ſhort Stay at *Siena*, to *Rome*, and being there informed that the *Turks* were upon the Point of laying Siege to *Raguſa* in *Dalmatia*, he immediately ſet out for *Ancona*, though ſo indiſpoſed as to be obliged to travel in a Litter. He left *Rome* on the

[e] Mathieu vie de Louis XI. [f] Concil. tom. 13. p 1407.

18th

18th of *June*, and, arriving at *Ancona* about the Middle of *July*, he had the Satisfaction of being there joined by a Squadron of Eleven Gallies from *Venice*, commanded by the Doge, *Chriſtopher Maurus*, in Perſon. But being quite ſpent with the Fatigues he had undergone, and a continual Fever, with which he had been long afflicted, inſtead of embarking he was obliged to betake himſelf to his Bed, and died Two Days afterwards, that is, on the 14th of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year 1464. When he found his End approached, he would have extreme Unction adminiſtered to him, though he had received it before, *viz.* when he was infected with the Plague at *Baſil*, and warmly diſputed, ſays *Platina*, *acerrime diſputavit*, with *Lawrence Roverella*, Biſhop of *Ferrara*, pretending that extreme Unction ought not to be iterated g. A little before he expired he repeated the *Athanaſian Creed*, declaring his Belief of every Article it contained. He ordered his Body to be carried back to *Rome*, which was done accordingly, the whole Court attending it in deep Mourning. His Exequies were performed with the uſual Solemnity in the Church of *St. Peter*, and his Remains depoſited there near the Head of the Apoſtle St. *Andrew*, which had been ſent to him out of *Peloponneſus*. On his Tomb was engraved the following Epitaph, *Pius II. Pontifex maximus, natione Tuſcus, patria Senneſis, gente Picolhominea*, &c. that is, *Pius II. High Pontiff, by Nation a Tuſcan, by Birth a Seneſe, of the Picolomini Family. He ſat only Six Years, but acquired, in ſo ſhort a Pontificate, everlaſting Glory*. All the memorable Actions of his Life are then rehearſed, and among the reſt his aboliſhing the *Pragmatic Sanction* in *France*, which he did not aboliſh, as we have ſeen.

Year of Chriſt 1464. *Equips a Fleet with a Deſign to embark on it in Perſon, but is prevented by Death.*

Platina, who lived at this Time in *Rome*, has honoured the Memory of this Pope with a Panegyric of ſeveral Pages, repreſenting him as endowed, to the higheſt Degree, with every Virtue becoming a great Prince and a great Pope. He was, to do him Juſtice, poſſeſſed of many Virtues. But the Character *Mezerai* gives him, in a few Words, fits him perhaps better than that of *Platina*. No Man, ſays that Writer, ever laboured more than *Æneas Sylvius* to reſtrain the Power of the Pope within the Boundary of the Canons, and no Pope ever ſtrove more than Pope *Pius* II. to extend that Power beyond all Bounds

His Character.

g Platina in vit.

in

Year of Christ 1464

in Oppoſition to the Canons as well as to Reaſon [h]. *Platina* himſelf tells us, that *Pius* took no Notice of Lampoons levelled at his Perſon, but was inexorable if they reflected, in the leaſt, upon his Authority, that he made it his Study to enhance the Majeſty of his See, and that he ſpared neither Kings, Dukes, nor People, invading the Rights of the Church or the Clergy, but never ceaſed to proſecute them with War, Cenſures, Interdicts, Anathemas, and Curſes, till they gave the required Satisfaction. But, not to rob him of the Praiſe that is due to him, he was no Lover of Money, was never guilty of Simony, or any ſimoniacal Practices, was a warm Friend to the Poor, a generous Encourager of Learning, a moſt zealous Promoter of a War againſt the Infidels, and would, notwithſtanding the very bad State of his Health, have expoſed himſelf, for the Good of Chriſtianity, to all the Hardſhips of a moſt dangerous War. He was of an amorous Diſpoſition, and ſeems to have indulged it, in his youthful Days, without Reſtraint. He had a natural Son, and from the ludicrous Account he gives of him and his own Amours, one would conclude, that he looked upon Tranſgreſſions of that Nature only as venial Sins, or no Sins at all [i]. The Poems and Epigrams, which he writ in his Youth, were for the moſt Part calculated to kindle in the Breaſts of his Readers the impure Deſires that burnt in his own.

His Writings.

Pius was a moſt elegant *Latin* Writer, and left a great Number of Works behind him, moſt of them written before his Promotion. Of theſe the following have reached our Times; Two Books of Memoirs of what paſſed at the Council of *Baſil* from the Depoſition of *Eugenius* to the Election of *Felix*; the Hiſtory of the *Bohemians* from their Origin to the Year 1458; an Abridgment of the Decads of *Blondus Flavius*, who flouriſhed in 1440; Two Books of Coſmography; Two Diſcourſes in Praiſe of *Alphonſus*, King of *Arragon*, and Notes upon the Hiſtory of that Prince written by one *Antonio*, a Poet of *Palermo*; a Poem upon the Paſſion of our Saviour; Treatiſes upon the Education of Children, upon Grammar and Rhetoric, and a Topography of *Germany*; a Treatiſe on the *Roman* Empire, and another upon bad Women or Proſtitutes; Two Anſwers to the *French* Embaſſadors, charging the Pope in the Council of *Mantua* with Partiality and Injuſtice in ſiding with *Ferdinand*, and granting him the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of

[h] Mezerai abreg. chron. tom. 3. p. 456. [i] Æneas Sylvius, ep. 15.

Naples,

Naples, to the Prejudice of *René* of *Aujou*, who had an unqueſtionable Right to that Crown; a Bull of Retractation, and One againſt Appeals from his See, and 432 Letters upon different Subjects. We have the Hiſtory of *Pius* II. in Twelve Books, bearing the Name of his Secretary *John Gobelinus*, but commonly ſuppoſed to have been written by *Pius* himſelf. His Letter to the Sultan *Mahomet* II. exhorting him to embrace the *Chriſtian* Religion, has given great Offence to *Du Pleſſis-Mornay*[k]. But I can diſcover nothing in it *unworthy of a* Chriſtian, *or a* Chriſtian *Biſhop*.—*Platina* has given us ſeveral of this Pope's Sayings or Apophthegms, and among the reſt the following, *Marriage has, for good Reaſons, been taken away from the Prieſts; but, for much better Reaſons, it ſhould be reſtored to them*[l]. The Reformation reſtored it, and conſequently has, at leaſt, with reſpect to that Article, the Sanction of a great and learned Pope. It is to be obſerved, that this Paſſage has been eraſed out of moſt of the Editions of *Platina*, but is to be found in the Firſt, that of *Cologn* in 1479, and in that now before me, printed likewiſe at *Cologn* in 1611. It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that the Pieces, written by *Æneas Sylvius* at the Time of the Council of *Baſil*, are all prohibited on Account of their diſplaying the enormous Corruptions of the *Roman* Church, and urging the Neceſſity of a Reformation in its Head and Members; which Reformations, by the by, he never once thought of when he himſelf became the Head.

Year of Chriſt 1464.

FRIDERIC III. *Emperor of the Weſt.*

PAUL II.

The Two Hundred and Ninth BISHOP *of* Rome.

AS the deceaſed Pope was greatly indiſpoſed when he ſet out for *Ancona*, he ordered, by a ſpecial Bull, the Conclave to be held at *Rome* for the Election of his Succeſſor, in what Place ſoever he ſhould die. The Cardinals therefore, then preſent, at *Rome*, in all Nineteen, having performed his Exequies, entered into the Conclave in the *Vatican* Palace. But, before they proceeded to the Election, they drew up ſome Articles, declaring they would elect no One, who

Articles agreed to by the Cardinals before the Election.

[k] Myſtere d'iniquité, p. 542. [l] Platina in vit.

did

Year of Christ 1464.

did not ſwear to obſerve them in caſe the Election fell upon him. The chief of theſe Articles were, That he ſhould reform the Abuſes that prevailed in the Court, and the corrupt Manners of the Courtiers: That in the Term of Three Years he ſhould hold a Council to unite the *Chriſtian* Princes againſt the *Turk*, and effectually remove the Diſorders, that reigned uncontrouled in the Church: That he ſhould not increaſe the Number of Cardinals beyond Twenty-four, ſhould create none who were not above Thirty Years of Age, not thoroughly acquainted with the Civil and Canon Law as well as the Scriptures, and of all his Relations he ſhould prefer One only to that Dignity: That he ſhould condemn no Cardinal, nor confiſcate his Goods, without the Approbation and Conſent of the other Cardinals: That he ſhould not alienate any Part of the Patrimony of St. *Peter* without the Concurrence of the Cardinals: That he ſhould engage in no War, ſhould make no Treaties, ſhould grant the Tenths to no Princes, ſhould impoſe no new Taxes, nor increaſe the old Ones, without conſulting the Cardinals: That he ſhould truſt none but Eccleſiaſtics, and ſuch of them as were no-ways related to him, with the Government of the moſt important Places: That he ſhould not give the Government of a Town and its Caſtle to the ſame Perſon, nor the Command of the Army of the Church to any of his own Family. Laſtly, that he ſhould cauſe theſe Reſolutions to be read monthly in a full Conſiſtory, and allow the Cardinals to meet yearly by themſelves, in order to enquire whether they have been punctually complied with, and, if it appeared that they have been neglected, to remind his Holineſs of his Oath [m].

Paul II. *elected.*

The Cardinals, having all taken, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, the required Oath, proceeded to the Election; and on the 30th of *Auguſt* was elected, by a great Majority, *Peter Barbo*, Cardinal of *St. Mark*. He was come of an ancient Family in *Venice*, was the Son of *Nicholas Barbo* and *Polyxena*, the Siſter of Pope *Eugenius* IV. and had from his early Years been brought up for Mercature, which at *Venice* was not, as *Platina* obſerves, incompatible with Gentility: He had already put all his Things on board in order to proceed on a Voyage; but hearing, before he embarked, that his Uncle was raiſed to the Papacy, he changed his Mind, and thinking he ſhould thrive better in the Eccleſiaſtic State than in the Mercantile, he reſolved to quit the latter and

[m] Bzovius ad ann. 1464, et Quirini in vita Paul. II.

embrace

embrace the former [n]. Such was his *Call* to the Miniſtry; and ſuch is the *Call* of many others. He now betook himſelf to Study, and though he made but very little Progreſs in the Sciences, he was in the Courſe of a few Years preferred by his Uncle to the Archdeaconry of *Bologna*, to the Biſhopric of *Cervia*, to the Office of Apoſtolic Prothonotary, and laſtly to the Dignity of Cardinal. His Addreſs and obliging Behaviour recommended him, upon the Death of *Eugenius*, to the Favour of the Three ſucceeding Popes, *Nicholas* V. *Calixtus* III. and *Pius* II. He had Tears at Command, and to them he never failed to recur, when he could, by no other Means, obtain the Favours he ſued for; whence *Pius* II. uſed pleaſantly to call him *Our Lady of Pity*. Men of all Ranks and Conditions had free Acceſs to him while Cardinal, and he made it his Study to gratify, ſo far as it lay in his Power, all who applied to him. Being thus become extremely popular, the News of his Election was received with extraordinary Applauſe by the whole *Roman* People. As he was not a little vain of his Perſon, being One of the moſt handſome and comely Men of his Time, he was for taking the Name of *Formoſus* II. which Word imports *handſome* or *beauteous*: But, being diſſuaded from it by the Cardinals, he choſe the Name of *Paul* II. He was crowned with extraordinary Pomp in the Church of *St. Peter* on the 24th of *October* [o].

Year of Chriſt 1464.

The new Pope declaring, from the very Beginning of his Pontificate, for *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, againſt the Family of *Anjou*, ſent a conſiderable Body of Troops to aſſiſt that Prince in utterly extirpating the *Angevin* Faction, which had begun to revive in the Kingdom, many of the Barons being diſſatisfied with the arbitrary Government of *Ferdinand*. The Rebels were ſoon obliged to quit the Kingdom or ſubmit, and Peace being thus reſtored, the Pope, who loved Money, as *Platina* informs us, applied to the King, while the Obligations he owed to his Holineſs were yet freſh in his Memory, for the Payment of the Arrears of the Tribute, that was to be paid yearly by the Kings of *Naples*, but had yet never been paid either by him or his Father *Alphonſo*. The King returned Anſwer, that his Holineſs's Demand was very unſeaſonable; that, having been engaged in a very expenſive War ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown, he was not, at preſent, in a Condition to comply with it, but would, as ſoon as his Holineſs re-

Miſunderſtanding between him and Ferdinand, *King of* Naples.

Year of Chriſt 1465.

[n] Platina in vita [o] Idem ibid. & Bzovius ad ann. 1464.

Year of Christ 1465.

ſtored to him the City of *Benevento*, and all the other Places, that were held by the Church within the Limits of the Kingdom, and conſequently belonged to the Crown. The Pope threatened the King with Excommunication, and the Kingdom with a general Interdict. But *Ferdinand* having in the mean time ſent a Body of Troops to lay Siege to *Benevento*, the Pope, not able to repel Force by Force, ſent Cardinal *Rovarella* to accommodate Matters. The Cardinal had ſeveral Conferences with the King, but was in the End obliged to acquieſce in his promiſing to pay what was, *in Juſtice*, due to the Apoſtolic Chamber, when he conveniently could p.

Platina *impriſoned, and why.*

Paul, looking upon the Abbreviators, that is, thoſe whoſe Buſineſs it was to abbreviate the Bulls and Letters of the Popes, as uſeleſs, diſcharged them all ſoon after his Election, though moſt of them Men of great Learning and known Abilities. As they had purchaſed their Place, *Platina*, who was One of them, having with great Difficulty obtained an Audience of the Pope, repreſented to his Holineſs how ungenerous it was to diſmiſs them, though guilty of no Neglect in their Office, without returning to them the Purchaſe-Money, and begged that the Affair might be referred to the Auditors of the *Rota*. *To the Auditors of the Rota!* replied the Pope with great Wrath, *doeſt thou ſummon us before Judges! Doeſt thou not know that all Laws are lodged in our Breaſt*, in ſcrinio pectoris noſtri: *Sentence is given, and all ſhall obey it: I am Pope, and have a Power to approve or condemn at my Pleaſure the Actions of all other Men.* *Platina* applied for another Audience, but not being able to obtain it, when he had waited ſeveral Nights (for the Pope, he ſays, tranſacted no Buſineſs in the Day-time) and deſpaired of ever getting Admittance, he wrote and ſent in to the Pope the following Letter. "If you have thought it lawful to "deprive us of what we had lawfully purchaſed, it muſt be law-"ful for us to complain of the Injury and Injuſtice you have done us. "As you, therefore, will not hear us, we ſhall apply for Redreſs to "the different Kings and Princes, and exhort them to convene a "Council, in order to call you to an Account for treating us, in De-"fiance of all the Laws of Juſtice and Equity, in the Manner you "have done." This Letter was conſtrued by the Pope into High Treaſon, and *Platina*, being immediately ſeized and loaded with Irons,

p Platina & Summont. tom. 3. p. 474.

was confined in a high Tower, expoſed to all the Winds, without Fire, though in the Depth of Winter. When he had been kept Four whole Months in this painful Priſon, *Francis Gonzaga*, Cardinal of *Mantua*, his particular Friend, obtained, not without great Difficulty, his Releaſe, but upon Condition that he ſtirred not out of *Rome* [q], the Pope probably apprehending that he might apply to the Chriſtian Princes, and, by laying his Complaints before them, prejudice them againſt him. The Pope bore *Platina* ever afterwards a ſecret Grudge, of which we ſhall ſoon ſee the woeful Effects. Year of Chriſt 1465.

The Pope depoſes the King of Bohemia.

As *Podiebrad*, King of *Bohemia*, had favoured the *Huſſites* ever ſince his Acceſſion to that Crown, and continued to favour them, inſiſting upon the Sacrament being adminiſtered to all in both Kinds, the Pope, after repeated Monitories, thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him, abſolved his Subjects from their Allegiance, and declaring that he had forfeited his Kingdom as a Heretic, granted it to the King of *Hungary*, and cauſed a Cruſade to be preached all over *Germany* againſt *Podiebrad*, a *Chriſtian* Prince, while the *Turk* purſued his Conqueſts without Oppoſition. As great Indulgences were granted to all who took the Croſs, a numerous Army was ſoon raiſed. But as it chiefly conſiſted of undiſciplined Rabble, the King, marching againſt them as ſoon as they appeared in the Field, put them, with great Slaughter, to Flight at the very firſt Onſet, and in a few Days returned triumphant to *Prague*, carrying with him ſuch Numbers of Priſoners as far exceeded that of his Army. After this Defeat the Pope was obliged to content himſelf with renewing his Anathemas, and declaring, as he did by a ſpecial Bull, *George Podiebrad*, ſtiled King of *Bohemia*, a Rebel to the Church, and as ſuch incapable of holding any Dignity whatever [r]. Year of Chriſt 1466.

Who defeats the Army ſent againſt him.

A new Perſecution againſt Platina.

The following Year the Pope was privately informed by ſome, who wanted to recommend themſelves to his Favour by their Zeal for his Safety, that a Conſpiracy was hatching againſt him by a *Roman* Citizen named *Callimachus*, and that it would be ſoon ripe for Execution, ſince *Lucas Tertius*, who, being baniſhed from *Rome*, had retired to *Naples*, had been lately ſeen, with a numerous Band of other Exiles, in the Woods of *Veletri*, but Twenty Miles diſtant from *Rome*, and waited, no doubt, there to join, upon the Firſt Notice, the Conſpirators in the Year of Chriſt 1467.

[q] Platina in vita. [r] Platina & Annales Siles. ad hunc ann.

Year of Chriſt 1467.

City. This Information ſo alarmed the Pope, that, not allowing himſelf Time to enquire what Foundation it had in Truth, he ordered all, whom he ſuſpected of Diſaffection to his Perſon or his Government, to be immediately ſecured, and the unhappy *Platina* among the Reſt. His Houſe was, accordingly, ſurrounded in the Night by a Troop of armed Men, who, breaking open the Door, ruſhed in, and not finding *Platina* himſelf, ſeized One of his Domeſtics, *Demetrius* of *Lucca*, who informed them, being compelled to it by dreadful Menaces, that his Maſter ſupped that Night at Cardinal *Gonzaga*'s. Upon that Intelligence they flew to the Cardinal's Palace, and entering the very Room where *Platina* ſat with the Cardinal, dragged him from thence, and carried him to be examined by the Pope himſelf, who waited for him. He knew not yet what Crime he had been arraigned of, but when the Pope charged him with being concerned in a Conſpiracy, that *Callimachus* had formed againſt him, he not only vindicated his own Innocence without betraying the leaſt Symptom of Fear or Guilt, but that of *Callimachus* too, ſhewing him to be of all Men the moſt unfit to plan a Conſpiracy, and much more to head one. When he had done, the Pope, turning to one *Vaneſius*, who belonged, it ſeems, to his Court, *Nothing*, he ſaid, *but the Rack, will make this Man ſpeak the Truth.* He was therefore immediately carried by *Vaneſius* to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and the following Night tortured with the utmoſt Barbarity. While he was groaning on the Rack, and ready to expire amidſt the moſt exquiſite Torments, the mercileſs Prieſt, for *Vaneſius* was of that Order, diverted himſelf in talking of Love-Affairs with a young Man, named *Sanga*, who was preſent, aſking him what young Lady had preſented him with the fine Collar he wore. He now and then interrupted his Diſcourſe with the young Man about his Amours, and ſuch-like Subjects, to interrogate the unhappy Wretch, almoſt at the laſt Gaſp on the Rack, concerning the Conſpiracy and his Accomplices, threatening to double his Torments, if he ſpoke not the Truth. But as he continued to proteſt that he knew nothing of a Conſpiracy, and verily believed that the pretended Plot was a mere Fiction, he was at laſt taken off the Rack, and carried to a Room in the Caſtle, where he would have died of Pain and Hunger, had not a *Roman* Knight, who, being charged with Murder, had been confined in the ſame Room, generouſly aſſiſted him both with Food and Medicines. Many

others

others were taken up upon groundleſs Suſpicions, in all about Twenty, and tortured ſo unmercifully, though nothing could be proved againſt them, that moſt of them died on the Rack. When many innocent Men had thus loſt their Lives, or the Uſe of their Limbs, by the Torments they had been made to undergo, it appeared at laſt, upon a ſtrict Enquiry, ſo plain, as to ſatisfy the Pope himſelf, that no Conſpiracy had been dreamt of, that the whole was an Invention of the Court-Sycophants, and that *Lucas Tertius*, who was ſaid to have been ſeen in the neighbouring Woods of *Veletri*, which moſt of all alarmed his Holineſs, had never ſtirred from *Naples*. The Pope, now delivered from all his Fears, ſent his Phyſician to comfort *Platina*, and let him know that, in a ſhort Time, he ſhould be ſet at Liberty. But upon *Platina*'s aſking, when? The Phyſician, who was a Man free from all Guile and Deceit, anſwered, that it could not be done ſo very ſoon, leſt they, whom his Holineſs had treated with ſo much Severity as guilty, ſhould be thought innocent, and he be thereupon arraigned of Cruelty and Injuſtice. To avoid that Imputation, and keep the Priſoners ſtill confined, a new Charge was brought againſt them, that of Hereſy. As Learning began to revive at this Time in *Italy*, a Society of learned Men was eſtabliſhed at *Rome* under the Name of the *Academy*. They frequently met, and had Diſputations concerning different Subjects, in order to come at the Truth by hearing all that could be ſaid for or againſt them. At ſome of theſe Meetings the Immortality of the Soul, and the Divine Attributes, had been the Subjects of their Diſputes, ſome impugning and ſome maintaining them: And from thence the Pope took Occaſion to charge them with Hereſy, as if they queſtioned the Truth of thoſe fundamental Articles of the Chriſtian Belief. The Priſoners therefore, as moſt of them were Members of that Society or Academy, were ordered to be kept more cloſely confined than ever. One *Pomponius Lætus*, a great Promoter of the Academy, was charged with changing the Chriſtian Names of ſuch as entered into the Society into *Pagan* ones; a Cuſtom that ſtill obtains in all the *Italian* Academies. Upon that Accuſation *Pomponius* was arreſted at *Venice* by the Pope's Order, and ſent Priſoner to *Rome*, as if he had renounced Chriſtianity, and embraced Paganiſm. *Platina* tells us, that it was cuſtomary for the Fellows of this Society to aſſume the Names of ſuch of the old *Greeks* and *Romans* as had excelled

Year of Chriſt 1467.

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excelled in any Branch of Literature, in order to excite themſelves to an Imitation of thoſe whoſe Names they bore. But *Pomponius*, when examined in relation to this Cuſtom, contented himſelf with telling his Examiners, that it neither concerned them nor the Pope by what Name he called himſelf, ſo long as there appeared therein no evil Deſign or Intention. *Platina*, upon his Examination, declared, that he firmly believed all the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, that no Word had ever dropt out of his Mouth contrary to the Apoſtles Creed, or that ſavoured of Hereſy, and that he had conſtantly gone to Confeſſion, and received the Sacrament once a Year. He owned that the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion had been ſometimes the Subject of their Diſputes, but added, that they ought no more to be arraigned or ſuſpected of Hereſy on that Account, than the Divines, urging in their Diſputes the Objections of the Unbelievers, in order to elucidate the Truth by ſolving them: The Charge of Hereſy was found in the End to be no leſs groundleſs than that of Treaſon. But the Priſoners were, by the Pope's Order, nevertheleſs detained a whole Twelvemonth, to perſuade the World that they were not quite innocent of the Charge brought againſt them; and thus palliate his Holineſs's Injuſtice and Cruelty [s].

Some particular Actions of this Pope.

Nothing occurs worthy of Notice in the Four remaining Years of *Paul*'s Pontificate, beſides his receiving and treating with the utmoſt Magnificence the Emperor *Frideric*, come to fulfil a Vow he had made to viſit the Tombs of the Apoſtles; his making up the Differences of the *Italian* States and Princes, and thus reſtoring Peace to that Country; his quarrelling with *Robert Malateſta*, Lord of *Rimini*, and laying Siege to that City without being able to reduce it; his ordering the Jubilee to be celebrated every Twenty-fifth Year; his ſtriving, but in vain, to unite the Chriſtian Princes againſt the victorious Infidels, and his endeavouring, with no better Succeſs, to get the Revocation of the *Pragmatic* confirmed in *France*. He died ſuddenly of an Apoplexy in the Night of the 25th of *July* 1471, no one being preſent to afford him any Aſſiſtance. He had held a Conſiſtory that Day, had ſupped late at Night, according to his Cuſtom, and eat at Supper Two very large Melons, *Duos prægrandes pepones*, a Fruit, which he was extremely fond of. He held the See Six Years, Ten Months,

His Death. Year of Christ 1471.

[s] Platina in vit.

and

and Twenty-six Days, died in the Fifty-fourth Year of his Age, and was buried in *St. Peter*'s with a pompous Epitaph engraved on the Monument, erected over his Remains by his Nephew Cardinal *Barbo*, Patriarch of *Aquilea*. As to his Character, *Platina* charges him with Avarice and Simony, with selling all Offices for ready Money, with putting up to Sale all vacant Benefices, and even Bishoprics, and disposing of them, without Regard to Merit, to the highest Bidders. But the immense Sums he expended, even according to *Platina* himself, in Buildings; in receiving and entertaining the Emperor and other Princes who came to *Rome* in his Time; in relieving the Poor, especially the Widows, the Orphans, and the decayed Nobility; in purchasing, at any Rate, Jewels and precious Stones of all Kinds to adorn the Papal Crown; and even in exhibiting public Shews for the Entertainment of the *Roman* People, sufficiently clear him from the Imputation of Avarice. He was greedy of Money, says a contemporary Historian, and little cared by what Means he got it, but was too fond of Pomp and Shew to hoard it up in his Coffers [t]. He ordained by a public Decree that none, but Cardinals, should wear Red Caps, and presented them all with fine Scarlet Cloth to caparison their Horses when they rode; that the Church of *Rome*, says *Mornay du Plessis*, might at last be brought to a perfect Similitude of the Whore described in the Apocalypse. *Paul*, says *Platina*, instead of lessening the Grandeur of the Court, as all wise Men thought he ought, encreased it beyond Measure; and adds, that to make a more august Appearance, he loaded the Papal Crown with such Quantities of precious Stones, that one would have rather taken him for the *Phrygian* Goddess *Cybele* with Turrets on her Head, than for the Vicar of *Christ*, who taught, by his Example, the Contempt of all worldly Grandeur. He is called by *Genebrard an Enemy to Learning* [u], and very deservedly. For he not only suppressed all the Academies, or Societies established for the Improvement of the Sciences, threatening to treat all, who frequented them, as Heretics, but exhorted the *Romans* to content themselves with having their Children taught to read and write.——By a manifest Breach of the Oath, which he had taken before and had confirmed after his Election, he created Eleven Cardinals during the Six Years of his Pontificate, and among them his Two Nephews. He observed

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His Character.

[t] Mathieu Hist. de Louis XI. l. 5.

[u] Geneb. in Chron.

no

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no better the other Articles he had ſworn to, pretending all Promiſes, Oaths, and Conventions, calculated to limit the unlimited Power veſted by *Chriſt* himſelf in his Vicar upon Earth, to be void and in themſelves null.

FRIDERIC III. *Emperor of the Weſt.*

SIXTUS IV.

The Two Hundred and Tenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Sixtus IV. *elected.*

IN the Room of *Paul* II. was unanimouſly elected by the Seventeen Cardinals then in *Rome Francis della Rovere*, a *Franciſcan* Friar, or *Minorite*. His Election happened on the 9th of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year 1471, when the See had been vacant Fourteen Days. At his Election he took the Name of *Sixtus* IV. and was crowned under that Name on the 25th of the ſame Month of *Auguſt*.

His Birth and Employments before his Election.

He was deſcended, according to the moſt probable Opinion, from the very ancient and noble Family *Della Rovere* of *Savona* in the State of *Genoa*, but was born in a Village named *Cella*, about Five Miles diſtant from *Savona*, whither his Parents had retired to avoid the Plague then raging in that City. He embraced, when yet very young, a religious Life among the *Franciſcans*, and being endowed with very uncommon Parts, he ſoon became, by conſtant Application, one of the moſt learned Men of the Order, was choſen, when not yet Thirty Years of Age, to teach Philoſophy and Divinity in the moſt renowned Univerſities of *Italy*, and ſo acquitted himſelf in theſe Employments as to be univerſally looked upon as a Kind of Prodigy. When he had done teaching, he was raiſed by his Superiors to the chief Employments of the Order, and having diſcharged them all with uncommon Applauſe, was at laſt created General of the whole Order. Being known in that Office to the famous Cardinal *Beſſarion*, and to *Francis Gonzaga*, Cardinal of *Mantua*, he was, upon their Recommendation, preferred by *Paul* II. to the Dignity of Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula* on the 18th of *October* 1467, and, upon the Death of *Paul*, raiſed to the Pontificate, in the Fifty-third Year of his Age, by the Intereſt of the ſame Cardinals, and that of the Cardinals *Latinus Urſini* and *Roderic Borgia*, both

both leading Men in the Conclave [w]. From the *Vatican* the new Pope went to the *Lateran*, to be crowned there, not on Horſeback, as was uſual, but in a Sedan, which had nigh coſt him his Life. For the Horſemen, who attended the Pope, having trampled upon ſome of the Populace in clearing the Way, a furious Battle thereupon enſued between them and the Multitude; and they, who carried the Sedan, ſetting it down in the Height of the Fray to ſhelter themſelves in the Crowd from the Showers of Stones, diſcharged at the Guards by the enraged Mob, his Holineſs was left in imminent Danger of being knocked on the Head, or ſtifled in the Crowd. But Cardinal *Urſini*, a *Roman*, and a great Favourite of the *Roman* People, interpoſing, they were appeaſed, and prevailed upon to diſperſe [x]. Year of Chriſt 1471.

As the *Turks* had made themſelves Maſters of *Boſnia*, *Iſtria*, and great Part of *Dalmatia*, and threatened *Italy* itſelf with an Invaſion, *Sixtus*, in the Letter he wrote to the Chriſtian Princes to acquaint them with his Promotion, took care to repreſent to them their common Danger, and at the ſame time invite them to aſſiſt at the Council, which he intended to aſſemble very ſoon in the *Lateran*, in order to provide, jointly with them, for their common Safety. But the Pope and the Emperor diſagreeing about the Place where the Council ſhould be held, and neither yielding to the other, *Sixtus*, laying aſide all Thoughts of a Council, reſolved, with the Advice of the Cardinals, to ſend Legates into all the Chriſtian Kingdoms to reconcile the Princes then at War, and promote a general League againſt the inveterate Enemies of the Chriſtian Name. Purſuant to this Reſolution Cardinal *Beſſarion* was ſent into *France*, Cardinal *Roderic Borgia*, at this Time Chancellor of the Apoſtolic See, and afterwards Pope under the Name of *Alexander* VI. was ſent into *Spain*, and Cardinal *Barbo*, Patriarch of *Aquilea*, into *Germany* and *Hungary*. To each of theſe Legates were aſſigned Five hundred Florins of Gold a Month out of the Apoſtolic Chamber; which obliged the Pope, as he was at the ſame time daily importuned by the Creditors of the Four preceding Popes, to diſpoſe of the Jewels and precious Stones, which his Predeceſſor had purchaſed at an immenſe Expence, and had only left Five thouſand Florins in the Treaſury. The Legates ſpared no Pains to compoſe *Strives to unite the Chriſtian Princes againſt the* Turks.

[w] Onuph. in Sixto IV. [x] Idem ibid.

Year of Chriſt 1471. the Differences of the Princes, to whom they were ſent; but their Endeavours were no-where attended with the leaſt Succeſs [y].

What Succeſs attended the Fleet ſent againſt them. The Pope, now deſpairing of being able to arm the *French*, the *Spaniards*, or the *Germans* againſt the common Enemy, had Recourſe to thoſe, whom it more nearly concerned to oppoſe them, to the *Venetians*, and to *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*. The *Venetians* ſupplied him with Fifty Gallies, and the King of *Naples* with Twenty-four. To theſe *Sixtus* added Twenty-four of his own. But the only Exploits, performed by this mighty Fleet of Ninety-eight Gallies in the Space of Two Years, were the recovering of *Smyrna*, and the breaking of an Iron Chain, which the *Turks* had laid croſs the Mouth of another Harbour. They attacked the Place, but being repulſed by the *Turks* they ſoon raiſed the Siege, contenting themſelves with the Glory of having broken the Chain, which they carried with them in Triumph to *Rome*; and it was ſtill to be ſeen in the Time of *Onuphrius*, hanging before the Door of *St. Peter*'s Church, as a Trophy, or Token of ſo ſignal a Victory [z].

Year of Chriſt 1472.

Sixtus *clears the Eccleſiaſtical State of the petty Tyrants.* The Pope, diſcouraged with the little Succeſs his Fleet had met with in the Expedition againſt the *Turks*, though it had coſt him One hundred Sixty-five thouſand Florins, reſolved to turn his Arms againſt the petty Tyrants, who held ſeveral Cities with their Territories, that belonged to the Church, and governed them as independent Sovereigns. With that View he raiſed a numerous Army, and being powerfully aſſiſted by *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, with whom he had entered into an offenſive and defenſive Alliance, he ſoon cleared the State of thoſe Uſurpers, and, re-uniting the Places they poſſeſſed to the Apoſtolic See, doubled, almoſt, by that Means, his yearly Income [a].

Year of Chriſt 1474.

Year of Chriſt 1475.

He celebrates the Jubile. As *Paul* II. had reduced the Jubile to every Twenty-fifth Year, that Solemnity was kept by *Sixtus* in 1475, that being the Twenty-fifth Year ſince the Celebration of the laſt under *Nicholas* V. in 1450. *Rome* was not ſo crowded with Pilgrims at this as it had been at moſt other Jubiles, on Account of the War, that moſt Chriſtian States and Kingdoms were, at this Time, engaged in with one another. But to no other Jubile came ſo many ſovereign Princes, as are ſaid to have

[y] Idem ibid. et Bzovius ad ann. 1472. [z] Onuph. ibid. [a] Idem ibid. et Ciaconius.

come

come to this. Theſe were *Chriſtiernus*, King of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, the King of *Boſnia*, and *Walachia*, *Charlot*, Queen of *Cyprus*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, with his eldeſt Son *Alphonſo*, Duke of *Calabria*. *Ferdinand* had quarrelled, as we have ſeen, with the late Pope about the Arrears of the Sum, which he was to pay yearly into the Apoſtolic Chamber, as Feudatory of the Apoſtolic See; and it was, as moſt Authors ſuppoſe, chiefly to accommodate that Difference with *Sixtus* himſelf, that he came to *Rome*. The Pope received and entertained both him and his Son, with the utmoſt Magnificence, in the Apoſtolic Palace, during their Stay in *Rome*, and not only remitted all the Arrears of the Tribute, but, by a ſpecial Bull, abſolved the King from the Obligation of paying any for the future, only requiring him to ſend yearly in lieu of the ſtipulated Sum, a white *Spaniſh* Genet, as an Acknowlegement of his holding his Crown of the Apoſtolic See [b]. This Cuſtom is ſtill obſerved; and on St. *Peter*'s Feſtival a white Genet is yearly preſented to his Holineſs by the Embaſſador of the King of *Naples* in his Maſter's Name. Year of Chriſt 1475.

Occaſion of the Quarrel between Sixtus *and the* De Medicis.

Sixtus had long borne a ſecret Grudge to the Two Brothers *Lawrence* and *Julian de Medicis*, who at this Time governed in the Republic of *Florence*. His Holineſs had refuſed to confer the Dignity of Cardinal upon *Julian*; which ſo provoked both him and his Brother *Lawrence*, that when the Pope undertook to extirpate the petty Tyrants throughout the Eccleſiaſtical State, they ſupported them under-hand both with Men and Money; and, beſides, being informed that the Lord of *Imola*, in *Romagna*, was forced by his Neceſſities to diſpoſe of that Lordſhip, and that the Pope was about purchaſing it for One of his Nephews, they, to prevent its falling into his Hands, as he was already become One of the moſt powerful Princes of *Italy*, ſupplied the Owner with all the Money he wanted, and thus diſappointed the Pope of the intended Purchaſe. This Conduct *Sixtus* highly reſented, and being a Man of a moſt violent and vindictive Temper, and One, who ſtuck at nothing to aggrandize the very numerous Tribe of his Nephews and Relations, he concluded a ſecret Treaty with *Francis de Pazzi*, a wealthy and powerful Citizen of *Florence*, who was at the Head of the Party againſt the *De Medicis*. The chief Articles of that

[b] Onuph. in Sixto IV. et Summont. Hiſt. Neap. tom. 3. p. 474.

Year of Chriſt 1476.

Sixtus *enters into a Conſpiracy againſt them.*

Treaty were, That the Two Brothers ſhould be aſſaſſinated, and that upon their Death the Pope ſhould diſpoſe of the Republic as he thought proper. But that his Holineſs might not be thought to have been privy to ſo wicked an Attempt, or, as an Hiſtorian expreſſes it, to have opened his *ſacred* and *holy Ears* to ſo horrible a Plot, the managing of it was committed to *Jerome Riario*, the Son of One of the Pope's Siſters, upon whom, it is ſuppoſed, that he intended to beſtow the City and Republic of *Florence*, ſhould the Conſpiracy take Effect. *Jerome* in the Firſt Place engaged *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, to ſend an Army into *Tuſcany* under the Command of his Son *Alphonſo*, to protect the Conſpirators, whether their Attempt was, or was not, attended with Succeſs. In the next Place he communicated the whole Affair to One *John Baptiſt Monteſecco*, a bold enterprizing Man, and an avowed Enemy to the *De Medicis*; and by him the Time and Place were ſettled with the other Conſpirators for carrying their Deſign into Execution. As they knew that the Two Brothers would aſſiſt at Maſs in the Church of *St. Reparata* on *Sunday* the 26th of *April*, that Day and Place were pitched upon, and the Elevation of the Hoſt was to be the Signal for the Conſpirators to fall upon them. Accordingly at that Signal *Bernard Bandini*, falling upon *Julian*, mortally wounded him with a Stilletto, and *Francis de Pazzi* diſpatched him with repeated Blows as he lay on the Ground. *Lawrence*, being but ſlightly wounded by *Monteſecco*, fled into the Veſtry, and the Sextons ſhutting immediately the Door, he was ſaved, by that Means, from the Fury of the other Conſpirators.

Julian De Medicis *murdered, but* Lawrence *eſcapes.*

Year of Chriſt 1477.

Moſt of the Conſpirators taken and executed.

The Report of ſo black an Attempt ſpread in a Moment all over the City; and the Friends of the *De Medicis*, hearing that *Julian* was killed, but *Lawrence* had eſcaped, flew to Arms, and, in the Height of their Rage, hanged, on the Spot, ſuch of the Conſpirators as fell into their Hands. Among theſe were *Francis de Pazzi*, *James Poggi*, Son of the famous Hiſtorian of that Name, *Bernard Bandini*, a Prieſt named *Stephen*, and *Bartholomew Salviati*, Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, but a Native of *Florence*, and an Enemy to the Family *De Medicis*.—That Prelate, to encourage the Conſpirators with his Preſence, had aſſiſted with them at Maſs in his Pontificals on the Day appointed for the Execution of their Deſign; and with them he was hanged in his Pontificals by the enraged Multitude. The Pope had ordered *Raphael Riario*,

Riario, Nephew to *Jerome*, a Youth but already a Cardinal, to repair from *Piſa*, where he was purſuing his Studies, to *Florence*, that he might be at hand to take the Conſpirators, when they had executed their Deſign, into his Protection, and the Protection of the Apoſtolic See. But the Cardinal, finding that *Lawrence* had eſcaped, and the Conſpirators were all executed as ſoon as taken, inſtead of protecting others flew himſelf for Protection to the High Altar. But he was dragged from thence by the incenſed Populace, and would have undergone the ſame Fate as the other Conſpirators, had not *Lawrence* generouſly interpoſed in his Behalf. He was however committed to Priſon. But *Lawrence* interpoſing again in his Favour, he was, after a few Days Confinement, ſet at Liberty. *Monteſecco* was likewiſe executed; but being firſt put to the Torture, it appeared from his Confeſſion upon the Rack, that the Pope was the chief Author and Promoter of ſo execrable a Plot [c].

Year of Chriſt 1477.

Moſt Authors are of Opinion, that it was not ſo much to wreak his Vengeance upon the Family *De Medicis*, that the Pope countenanced that Conſpiracy, as to make himſelf Maſter of the Republic of *Florence*, and grant it to his Nephew *Jerome Riario*, as a Fief of the Apoſtolic See; and *Onuphrius* tells us in expreſs Terms, that *Sixtus* entered into the Conſpiracy upon Condition that, if it ſucceeded, he ſhould be allowed to diſpoſe of the Republic to whom he pleaſed. However that be, the Pope no ſooner heard that the Conſpiracy had not been attended with the wiſhed-for Succeſs, that *Lawrence de Medicis* was ſtill alive, and that the Archbiſhop had been put to Death, and the Cardinal impriſoned, than he thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Lawrence*, though the Cardinal owed to him both his Life and his Liberty, and it did not appear that he had been any-ways acceſſory to the Death of the Archbiſhop. At the ſame time he put the whole City under an Interdict, declaring that he would not take it off, till they had driven out of their Republic the Tyrant *Lawrence de Medicis*. But no Regard being paid by the *Florentines* to the Interdict, he reſolved to employ againſt them his temporal as well as his ſpiritual Weapons. And thus was a War kindled by the Pope in *Italy*, at the very Time that the *Turkiſh* Fleet was hovering on the Coaſt, and threatening a Deſcent. The King of *Naples*, ſiding

Lawrence de Medicis *excommunicated, and the City interdicted.*

Year of Chriſt 1478.

The Pope declares War againſt the Florentines.

[c] Machiavel. Hiſt. Floren. l. 8. Comines Memoir. l. 6. Paulus Æmil. in Ludov. XI.

with

Year of Chriſt 1478.

with the Pope, ſent a conſiderable Body of Troops to his Aſſiſtance under the Command of his Son *Alphonſo*, Duke of *Calabria*. On the other hand the *Venetians*, the Dukes of *Mantua* and *Ferrara*, and *Lewis Sforza*, who at this Time governed the State of *Milan* as Guardian to his Nephew *John Galeazzo*, declared for the *Florentines*, being all alike jealous of the Power and Deſigns of the Pope, who ſeemed to have nothing leſs in his View than to ſubject to his See the many ſmall Principalities, into which *Italy* was divided. At the ſame time *Lawrence de Medicis* diſpatched, in the Name of the Republic, ſome of the chief Citizens into *France* to acquaint the King, *Lewis* XI. with the Subject of the Quarrel between him and the Pope, and to crave his Protection. *Lewis*, ſhocked at the Account the Embaſſadors gave him of the Proceedings of the Pope againſt the *De Medicis* and the *Florentines*, eſpouſed their Cauſe very readily, aſſured them of his Protection, and ſent immediately *Philip de Comines* with a Body of Three hundred Horſe to their Aſſiſtance [d].

But is forced to conclude a Peace, and upon what Terms.

Year of Chriſt 1479.

Lewis, having thus taken *Lawrence de Medicis* and the *Florentines* into his Protection, ſent the following Year a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Rome*, at the Head of which was *Gui d'Arpajon*, Viſcount *de Lautrec*. Their Inſtructions were to require the Pope, in the King's Name, to revoke the Sentence of Excommunication, to take off the Interdict, and forbear all further Hoſtilities againſt the *Florentines*. If he complied not with theſe Demands, they were to notify to him, that the King would appeal to a General Council, and inſiſt upon his aſſembling one; that he would cauſe the Pragmatic Sanction to be ſtrictly obſerved throughout his Dominions, and would ſuffer no Money to be conveyed from thence to *Rome*. The Embaſſadors met with a more favourable Reception from the Pope than they had Reaſon to expect, but found him unalterably determined, in ſpite of the King's Menaces, to purſue the War againſt the *Florentines*, till they gave him due Satisfaction for the Death of the Archbiſhop, and the Impriſonment of the Cardinal. But *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, being, in the mean time, prevailed upon by *Lawrence de Medicis* to conclude a ſeparate Peace with the Republic, the Pope, unable to withſtand alone the united Forces of the *Florentines* and their Allies, was glad to come to an Agreement with them; and, by the Interpoſition of the Emperor, of the King

[d] Onuph. in Sixto, et Comin. ubi ſupra.

of *France*, and the other Chriſtian Princes, an Agreement was accordingly concluded upon the following Terms; that all Places, taken by either Party, during the War, ſhould be reſtored; that the *Florentines* ſhould, by a ſolemn Embaſſy, aſk his Holineſs's Pardon for having put to Death an Archbiſhop, and impriſoned a Cardinal; that, to atone, in ſome Degree, for ſo enormous a Crime, they ſhould furniſh and maintain Fifteen Gallies againſt the *Turks*, and that the Pope, on his Side, ſhould abſolve them from the Interdict, and all other Cenſures, and receive them again into Favour [d]. Theſe Articles were all executed before the End of the preſent Year. Year of Chriſt 1479.

Thus was Peace reſtored to *Italy*, but it was ſoon ſucceeded by a far more dangerous War. For the *Turks* having laid Siege to the City of *Rhodes*, but been obliged to raiſe it by the vigorous Reſiſtance they met with from the Knights of *St. John of Jeruſalem*, then Lords of that City and Iſland, they unexpectedly appeared with a formidable Fleet before *Otranto* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. Some Writers tell us that they were encouraged by the *Venetians*, jealous of the too great Power of King *Ferdinand*, to invade his Dominions [e]. Be that as it may, the *Turks*, having landed a numerous Body of Foot, and Five thouſand Horſe, laid cloſe Siege to the Place, and, having taken it by Storm after a Two Months Siege, plundered it, and, enraged at the Reſiſtance they had met with, put the whole Garriſon, and Eight hundred Citizens, to the Sword. Their having thus got Footing in *Italy* ſo alarmed the *Italian* Princes, that ſome of them, inſtead of defending the Country, thought of abandoning it. *Sixtus*, among the Reſt, had reſolved to leave *Rome*, and retire to *France*. But being ſomewhat recovered from his Fear, he immediately diſpatched Legates and Nuncios to the Courts of all the Chriſtian Princes to apprize them of his Danger, and implore their Aſſiſtance. At the ſame time *Alphonſo*, Duke of *Calabria*, returning with the Army under his Command from *Tuſcany*, and being joined by all the Barons of the Kingdom and their Vaſſals, the *Turks*, inſtead of laying Siege, as they intended, to *Brindiſi*, thought it adviſeable to fortify themſelves in *Otranto*, and there wait for a Body of Twenty-five thouſand Men, that was in full March to join them. *Alphonſo* beſieged the Place with a ſupe- Otranto *taken by the* Turks. Year of Chriſt 1480.

[d] Volaterran. l. 5. Brutus Hiſt. Florent. l. 7. Onuph. in Sixto. Bzovius ad ann. 1480.
[e] Galat. de Situ Japigiæ, et Amorat. Miſcell. Diſ. 8.

rior

Year of Christ 1480.

rior Force both by Sea and Land; and he daily received new Succours from the Christian Princes, especially from the Pope, and the Kings of *Hungary*, *Portugal*, and *Spain*. On the other hand the Besieged made a most obstinate Defence, killed, in their frequent Sallies, great Numbers of the Besiegers, and, expecting daily the promised Reinforcement, would hearken to no Terms, though reduced to the utmost Extremity. But, fortunately for *Italy*, *Mahomet* died in the mean time, *viz.* on the 3d of *May* 1481, and the *Turks* in *Otranto*, apprehending that, upon his Death, the Reinforcement they expected might be countermanded, and otherwise employed, thought it advisable to surrender the Place, which they could no longer hold; and, accordingly, honourable Terms being granted to them, it was on the 10th of *August* of the present Year delivered up to *Alphonso* by the commanding Bashaw, who, to the inexpressible Joy of all *Italy*, immediately embarked his Troops, and set Sail for *Constantinople* [f].

And retaken by the Christians.

Year of Christ 1481.

New Disturbances in Italy *fomented by the Pope.*

Year of Christ 1483.

The Fear of the *Turk* being thus removed for the present, the *Italian* Princes, jealous of each other's Power, began anew to quarrel among themselves; and the Pope, instead of interposing to accommodate their Differences, took Part sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other, not scrupling to change Sides, and abandon his Allies, when it suited his Interest so to do. Thus a War breaking out, upon the Retreat of the *Turk*, between the *Venetians*, the *Genoese*, and some other free States of *Italy* on the one Side, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, the King of *Naples*, the *Florentines*, and *Lewis Sforza*, Regent of the State of *Milan*, on the other; *Sixtus* sided with the former: And thus was all *Italy* involved in a new and most bloody War. In this War *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, highly provoked at the Pope's inviting *René*, Duke of *Anjou*, into *Italy*, to make good his Claim to that Kingdom, sent his Son *Alphonso* into the Dominions of the Church at the Head of a numerous Army to lay Siege to *Rome*, and take his Holiness himself Prisoner. But *Alphonso* being met, in the Neighbourhood of *Veletri*, by the Pope's Army under the Command of *Robert Malatesta*, and a Battle thereupon ensuing at a Place called *Campo Morto*, the King's Army received a total Overthrow, most of his Officers were either killed or made Prisoners, and carried in Tri-

[f] Bonfinius, Decad 4. Brutus Hist. Florent. l. 7. Onuph. in Sixto.

umph

umph into *Rome*, *Alphonſo* himſelf having narrowly eſcaped falling into the Enemy's Hands g. Year of Chriſt 1483.

When this War had been carried on Two Years without any conſiderable Advantage on either Side, a Peace was concluded to the entire Satisfaction of both Parties. But *Sixtus* was too fond of War to live long in Peace. As the *Venetians*, therefore, had ſeized on ſome Territories claimed by the Duke of *Ferrara*, he took that Pretence to declare War againſt them; and entering into an Alliance with the King of *Naples*, with the *Florentines*, and *Lewis Sforza* of *Milan*, threw all *Italy* again into the utmoſt Confuſion, when they had ſcarce begun to taſte the Sweets of Peace and Tranquillity. The *Venetians* ſuffered greatly in this War. But when the Pope thought he had them at his Mercy, his Allies, growing as jealous of his Power as he was of the Power of that Republic, concluded a Peace with them quite unknown to him, being well apprized that he would leave nothing in his Power unattempted to obſtruct it. As he had promiſed himſelf great Advantages from this War, he was ſo affected with the News of a Peace being concluded without his Conſent or Knowlege, that it brought upon him a moſt violent Fit of the Gout, a Diſtemper to which he had been long ſubject; and it put an End to his Life in Five Days Time, when he had held the See Thirteen Years and Four Days, and had lived Seventy Years and Twenty-two Days. The Circumſtances of his Death gave Occaſion to ſeveral ingenious Compoſitions, and among the Reſt we read the Three following:

Sixtus *makes War upon the* Venetians.

His Death. Year of Chriſt 1484.

To what owing.

Non potuit ſævum vis ulla extinguere Sixtum:
Audito tandem nomine pacis, obit.

Dic unde, Alecto, pax iſta refulſit, et unde
Tam ſubito reticent prælia? Sixtus obit.

Pacis ut hoſtis eras, pace peremptus obis.

Sixtus carried Nepotiſm to the moſt ſcandalous Height, all the Oppreſſions, Rapines, Murders, and Violences, of which he was guilty, being wholly owing to his immoderate Affection for his Ne-

His Character.

g Brutus in Hiſt. Florent. Onuph. in Sixto. Bzovius ad ann. 1481.

Year of Christ 1484.

phews and Relations, and his Desire of enriching and aggrandizing them. He was scarce warm in the Chair, when he created Two of them Cardinals, *Julian della Rovere*, his Brother's Son, and *Peter Riario*, the Son of his Sister, though the former was but Twenty-eight Years of Age at the Time of his Promotion, and the latter only Twenty-six. Of *Julian* I shall have Occasion to speak in the Sequel under the Name of Pope *Julius* II. As for the other, he enjoyed his new Dignity Two Years only: But affecting all the Grandeur of a great Prince in his Equipage, in his Entertainments, and in public Sports, he spent, in so short a Time, Two hundred thousand Florins of Gold, and left a Debt of Seventy thousand. His Brother *Jerome Riario* was created by the Pope Prince of *Imola* and *Forli*, and married to *Catherine*, the natural Daughter of the Duke of *Milan*, whose younger Son *Ascanius* was, on that Account, preferred to the Dignity of Cardinal. *Leonard della Rovere*, another of the Pope's Nephews, was married to the natural Daughter of *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, and made upon that Marriage Governor of *Rome*. But he dying soon after, that Government was given to *John della Rovere*, the Brother of Cardinal *Julian*, and with it the Principalities of *Sora* and *Sinigalia*. *John*, being thus become a Prince, married *Joan*, the Daughter of *Frideric* of *Montefeltro*, Duke of *Urbino*, and had by her a Son, named *Francis Mary*, who by the Death of *Frideric*, as he had no other Child, and of his Brother *Guidobaldi*, who had none, succeeded to the Dukedom. And thus did the Pope's Family become Lords of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, which, upon the Extinction of that Family, reverted, as a Fief of the *Roman* Church, to the Apostolic See. *Sixtus* took care to provide for all his other Nephews and Relations; and that, indeed, seems to have been his first and chief Care. His other Nephews *Christopher*, *Dominic*, *Jerome Bassus*, *Raphael*, were all created Cardinals in the Course of his Pontificate, though *Raphael* was but Seventeen Years of Age when preferred to that Dignity. In short, he left not one of his very numerous Relations, how distant soever, unprovided for, though most of them had no other Merit to recommend them, but their being related to him, which was, indeed, of all other Recommendations by far the most powerful.

His Nepotism.

As the several Wars that *Sixtus* was engaged in (for he is said to have made War upon the whole World) the many stately Edifices he erected,

erected, the Pomp and Grandeur in which he lived, and above all the Extravagance of his Nephews, had quite drained his Coffers, he ſtuck at nothing to repleniſh them, exacting, under various Pretences, ſuch Sums of the Clergy, as ſcarce left them enough for their own Subſiſtence. He was not even aſhamed to expoſe all the Employments and Offices at Court to public Sale, nay and to eſtabliſh a great many new Ones, which were all ſold to the higheſt Bidder. Thus all Bulls and Patents, that had before been diſpatched by few Perſons, paſſed now through the Hands of many, and, as all had purchaſed their Places, all were to be paid for their *unneceſſary* Trouble by thoſe, in whoſe Favour the ſaid Bulls and Patents had been granted.——But, after all, to give this Pope his Due, no Man was more generous in relieving the Diſtreſſed than he. The Prince of *Morea*, the Deſpot of *Albania*, the Queens of *Cyprus* and *Boſnia*, being forced by the *Turk* to abandon their Dominions, were kindly received by him, and maintained, at a great Expence, ſuitably to their Rank. He rebuilt from the Foundation the Hoſpital of the Holy Ghoſt, placed the Foundlings in it, maintained them at his own Expence, and gave proper Fortunes to ſuch of the Girls as choſe to marry. This, if I miſtake not, is the firſt Inſtance that occurs in Hiſtory of ſuch a truly charitable Foundation, and the Hoſpital of *S. Spirito* in *Rome*, is to this Day the moſt famous, and, perhaps, the beſt endowed in all *Chriſtendom*. He took particular Care of the decayed Nobility, allotted them a proper Habitation, where they lived together by themſelves, and ſupplied them with all the Comforts as well as the Neceſſaries of Life. He repaired many, I may ſay, moſt of the chief Churches in *Rome*, erected a great Number of ſtately Edifices, reſtored the decayed Aqueducts, rebuilt the *Pons Janicularis* over the *Tyber*, known to this Day, as ſome of its Arches ſtill remain, by the Name of *Ponte Siſto*, and, in ſhort, he left, at his Death, the City ſo improved, that One would have thought he had made it the whole Buſineſs of his Pontificate to beautify and adorn it. But what moſt of all redounds to his Glory, and muſt render immortal the Name of *Sixtus* IV. was his founding the *Vatican Library*, that ineſtimable Collection of all the moſt uſeful and valuable Books in the different Branches of Literature. For by him ſuch Books were purchaſed, and at any Rate, in all Parts of the then known World, and placed in his new Library; Men well verſed

Year of Chriſt 1484.

In his Time all Offices venal.

His Charities and public Works.

Founds the Vatican Library.

Year of Chriſt 1484.

in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* Languages, were appointed, with conſiderable Salaries, to take Care of them, and Funds were aſſigned for adding ſuch others to them, as ſhould be judged by the Library-keepers worthy of a Place in ſo valuable a Collection [h]. *Platina*, who had ſuffered ſo much under *Paul* II. was appointed One of the Library-keepers, and in that Office he died in 1481, being at the Time of his Death in the 60th Year of his Age.——*Sixtus* created, during the Thirteen Years of his Pontificate, no fewer than Thirty-four Cardinals, and among them *John Baptiſt Cibo*, who ſucceeded him under the Name of *Innocent* VIII. and *John*, the Third Son of *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Arragon*.

His Writings. That *Sixtus* was a learned Writer is allowed by all who ſpeak of him; and indeed the Writings he left behind him ſufficiently ſhow it, *viz.* a Treatiſe on the Blood of *Chriſt*, another on the Power of God, a Third *De futuris contingentibus*, and a Fourth upon Indulgences granted for the Relief of the Souls in Purgatory. But what gained him moſt Credit was the Piece he writ to reconcile the *Thomiſts* and *Scotiſts*, or the Followers, in School Divinity, of *Thomas Aquinas* and *Scotus*, ſhewing, that in Subſtance they agreed, and only differed in the Mode of Expreſſion. Of this Pope we have 135 Letters upon different Subjects, and ſeveral Bulls, by One of which he forbad the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin *Mary* to be thenceforth diſputed, and by another he confirmed that of his Predeceſſor, appointing the Jubilee to be celebrated every Twenty-fifth Year [i].——As for the Charge, brought againſt him by ſome Proteſtant Writers, *viz.* his having granted a Permiſſion to the Family of the Cardinal of *St. Lucia* to indulge themſelves in the Sin againſt Nature, during the Three hot Months of the Year, *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, it has been unanſwerably confuted by the learned *Bayle* [k]. *Sixtus* was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*, before the High Altar, with an Epitaph, recording all the chief Actions of his Life, the Time of his Death, and the Years, Days, and Hours he had lived. For he is ſaid there to have died on the 13th of *Auguſt* 1484, Five Hours after Sun-ſet, when he had lived Seventy Years Twenty-two Days and Twelve Hours.

[h] Onuph. in Sixto. Bzovius ad ann. 1481. Bonfinius Decad. 6. [i] Wadding. Bibliothec. Ord. Minor. [k] Bayle Crit. Dict. art. Sixto IV. rem. C.

INNOCENT

FRIDERIC III. *Emperor of the West.*

INNOCENT VIII.

The Two Hundred and Eleventh BISHOP *of* Rome.

SIXTUS was ſucceeded, after a Vacancy of Sixteen Days, by *John Baptiſt Cibo*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Melfi*, from his having been preferred from that Biſhopric to the Dignity of Cardinal. He was raiſed to the See on the 29th of *Auguſt* by the Suffrages of Twenty-four Cardinals out of Twenty-eight, was crowned on the 12th of the following *September*, and on that Occaſion took the Name of *Innocent* VIII. in Memory of his Countryman *Innocent* IV. a Native of *Genoa* as well as himſelf. For the preſent Pope's Family, ſaid to have come originally from *Greece*, had, for ſeveral Ages, made a ſhining Figure in that Republic. His Father, *Aaron Cibo*, had ſerved with great Reputation, in the Wars of *Naples*, firſt under *René*, of *Anjou*, and, upon his Retreat, under his Competitor *Alphonſo* of *Arragon*, and had been honoured by both with a conſiderable Command in the Army. His Son, born in 1432, was greatly favoured both by *Alphonſo*, and *Ferdinand*, *Alphonſo*'s Son and Succeſſor. However he left that Court, to try his Fortune at *Rome*; and he had not been long in that City, when *Philip*, Cardinal of *Bologna*, Brother to Pope *Nicholas* V. taken with his Parts and Addreſs, received him into his Family; and ſo pleaſed was the Cardinal with his whole Behaviour, that at his Death he left him his ſtately Palace of *St. Lawrence in Lucina*. At the Recommendation of the ſame Cardinal he was preferred by *Paul* II. to the Biſhopric of *Savona*, was ſoon afterwards tranſlated by *Sixtus* IV. to that of *Melfi*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and on the 7th of *May* 1473 was by the ſame Pope created Cardinal. That Dignity he chiefly owed to *Julian della Rovere*, Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, and Nephew to *Sixtus*; and it was by the Intereſt which *Julian*, and Cardinal *Roderic Borgia*, then Chancellor, had in the Conclave, that, upon the Death of *Sixtus*, he was raiſed to the See in his Room [1].

Year of Chriſt 1484. Innocent VIII. *elected.*

Birth, Employments, &c. before his Promotion.

Innocent's firſt Care, after his Coronation, was to promote Peace and Union among the Chriſtian Princes, and appriſe them of the Danger

Strives to unite the Chriſtian

[1] Onuph. in Innoc. VIII.

which

Year of Chriſt 1484.

Princes againſt the Turks.

which they were all alike threatened with; the Enemy, whom they ſuffered thus to purſue his Conqueſts unmoleſted, aiming at nothing leſs than to eſtabliſh upon the Ruins of their States, Kingdoms, and Dominions, an univerſal Monarchy, and with it the moſt deteſtable of all Superſtitions. But his Endeavours to reconcile the *Chriſtian* Princes, and unite them againſt the common Enemy, were attended with no better Succeſs than thoſe of his Predeceſſors; and indeed no Wonder, *Innocent* himſelf quarrelling with *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, and putting all *Italy* in a Flame, at the very Time he was exhorting the *Chriſtian* Princes to Concord and Unity.

Quarrels with the King of Naples.

Year of Chriſt 1485.

Sixtus had remitted to *Ferdinand*, as has been ſaid above, the Arrears of the Tribute due to the Apoſtolic Chamber, and contented himſelf with the King's preſenting him thenceforth yearly on *St. Peter*'s Day with a White *Spaniſh* Genet. The King therefore, upon the Firſt Notice he had of *Innocent*'s Promotion, applied to him for the ſame Favour, alleging the great Expence he had been at in driving the *Turks* out of *Otranto*, and the neceſſary Charge of keeping conſtantly on foot a numerous Army for the Defence of his Kingdom, the Bulwark of *Italy*. But by no Reaſons, no Remonſtrances, could his Holineſs be prevailed upon either to remit the Arrears of the Tribute, or to content himſelf, for the future, with the Genet in lieu of the uſual Sum. On the other Hand, the King refuſing to pay a Debt and Tribute, from the Payment of which the late Pope had been pleaſed to abſolve him, ſeveral ſmart Letters paſſed between him and the Pope; and it was apprehended that an open Rupture ſoon would enſue. This encouraged the diſcontented Barons of the Kingdom, who had formed a Deſign of depoſing *Ferdinand*, and excluding his Son *Alphonſo* from the Succeſſion, to impart that their Deſign to the Pope, and engage his Holineſs in the Plot. As this good Pope had ſeveral natural Children, and flattered himſelf, that theſe public Diſturbances would afford him the Means of providing for them all, he very readily took Part with the Rebels, promiſing them all the Aſſiſtance in his Power to carry their Deſign into Execution, and a ſafe Aſylum in his Dominions, ſhould it not be attended with the wiſhed-for Succeſs. To procure the Aſſiſtance of *France*, and thus ſecure the Succeſs of the Undertaking, he reſolved to reſtore the Kingdom to the Family of *Anjou*. As none of that Family were now remaining but *René*, Duke of *Lorrain*, the Son

Joins the Rebel Barons againſt him.

of *Violante*, Daughter to *René* the Elder, the Pope ſent to invite him to come with all Expedition, and conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, promiſing to aſſiſt him with his Spiritual as well as his Temporal Arms, and grant him the Inveſtiture, provided the Duke, in his Turn, promiſed to beſtow certain Lordſhips and Honours upon his Son *Francis*, commonly called *Franciſchetto*. But *René*, mindful of the bad Succeſs, which his Anceſtors had all met with in their Wars for that Kingdom, thanked the Pope for his kind Offer, but declined it [m]. Year of Chriſt 1485.

The Conſpiracy of the Barons diſcovered by the King.

In the mean time *Ferdinand*, receiving private Intelligence of the Deſigns of the Barons, ordered One of them, the Count of *Nola*, to be arreſted. The Count had the good Luck to make his Eſcape; but his Wife and Children were taken, and carried Priſoners to *Caſtel Nuovo* in *Naples*. The Barons, alarmed at their Impriſonment, flew to Arms, and, openly ſhaking off the Yoke, invited all true Lovers of their Country to join them, and redeem themſelves, their Wives, and their Children from the ſlaviſh Condition which they had been reduced to by Two lawleſs Tyrants. As both *Ferdinand*, and his Son *Alphonſo*, to whom *Ferdinand* had yielded the Reins of the Government on Account of his Age and Infirmities, were univerſally hated for their Cruelties and Oppreſſions, People flocked from all Parts to join the Barons; inſomuch that *Ferdinand*, inſtead of marching againſt them, choſe to treat with them, in order to gain Time, and grant them what Terms ſoever they ſhould demand, being determined to obſerve them no longer than he could break them with Safety. *Antonetto Sanſeverino*, Prince of *Salerno* and High Admiral of the Kingdom, was appointed by the Barons to treat, in their Name, with the King; and though the Terms he demanded were ſuch as no Man could expect the King would ever agree to, yet he very readily agreed to them all, pretending a great Deſire to leave the Kingdom in Peace at his Death. The Prince, pretending to believe him ſincere, deſired that *Frideric*, his Second Son, might be ſent to *Salerno*, where the chief Barons were aſſembled, in order to put the laſt Hand to the Treaty. *Frideric* was ſent accordingly, and received by the Barons with the greateſt Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem. He was a Prince endowed with every princely Virtue, of a mild Diſpoſition, humane, beneficent, and had, by his obliging Behaviour to all, gained the Hearts of the whole Nation. The

[m] Mich. Rie. de reg. Sic. & Neap. l. 4. p. 36.

Barons

Year of Chriſt 1485.

They offer the Crown to his Second Son.

Barons therefore, hearing that *René* of *Anjou* had refuſed the Crown when offered to him by the Pope, had reſolved to diſpoſe of it to *Frideric*, and it was with that View, under Colour of having the Treaty with the King ſigned by him, that they deſired he might be ſent to *Salerno*. The Barons had ſeveral Conferences with him before they diſcovered to him their real Deſign. But the Prince of *Salerno*, having One Day invited him to meet the Barons in his Palace, and placed him in an eminent and ſtately Seat in the Middle of the Aſſembly, addreſſed him in the following Terms: "You are no Stranger "to the cruel, oppreſſive, and tyrannical Government of your Father "*Ferdinand*, and your Brother *Alphonſo*, Duke of *Calabria*. Their "illegal and arbitrary Proceedings have obliged us to take up Arms in "our own Defence, and ſhake off the Yoke, which we could no "longer bear. However the Regard we have for your Family will "not allow us to recur to any other; and we, therefore, now offer to "you the Crown, which your Father and your Brother have juſtly for-"feited by an open Violation of the eſtabliſhed Laws of the Kingdom. "Your mild, compaſſionate, and humane Diſpoſition, the Deſire you "have ſhown on many Occaſions of obliging all, and your ſtrict Ob-"ſervance of the Laws trampled upon by thoſe, who, at preſent, go-"vern us, have won to you the Affections of all Ranks of People, and "we are all, to a Man, ready to ſtand by you to the laſt Drop of our "Blood. Our Happineſs depends upon you. If you accept of our "preſent Offer, you will make us a happy People, and fix the Crown "in your Family. If you decline it, the World will excuſe our ſeek-"ing a Remedy, for the many Evils we groan under, where we can "find it [n]."

Who refuſes it.

Frideric heard the Prince of *Salerno* without ever offering to interrupt him, or betraying the leaſt Averſion to the Propoſal; inſomuch that the whole Aſſembly believed that the Offer was not diſpleaſing to him, and he would accept of it. But, riſing up when the Prince had done, he thanked the *noble Aſſembly* for the good Opinion they entertained of him, and the Honour they had done him; but added, to their great Surpriſe and Diſappointment, that he would with Joy accept of the Crown at their Hands, could he perſuade himſelf, that they had a Power to diſpoſe of it; but as he was convinced, that his Father,

[n] Idem ibid. p. 38.

and

and after him his elder Brother, had an undoubted Right to it, he could not deprive them of their Inheritance without a more notorious Breach of the Laws than any they complained of. He added, that from his Conduct, while a private Man, they could not judge of that, which he might purſue, when raiſed to the Throne; that many had been thought worthy of a Crown before they wore it, and moſt unworthy when they wore it; that he himſelf ſhould, in many Inſtances, be obliged to tread in the Footſteps of his Father and his Brother, and do the ſame Things that had drawn the Hatred of the Nation upon them. He cloſed his Speech with exhorting them to continue ſteady in their Allegiance, pawning his Word and Honour for the religious Obſervance of the Terms which the King his Father had agreed to [o].

Year of Chriſt 1485.

The Barons, provoked beyond Meaſure at their Diſappointment, would not allow *Frideric* to return to his Father, but kept him cloſely confined, under a ſtrong Guard, in *Salerno*, and, ſetting up the Pope's Standard, declared him their only lawful Lord and Sovereign. Hereupon *Innocent*, who had nothing leſs in his View, as moſt Authors ſuppoſe, than to conquer the Kingdom, and beſtow it upon his Son *Franciſchetto*, not only approved of what the Barons had done, but, openly eſpouſing their Cauſe, left nothing unattempted to ſtir up the other States of *Italy* againſt *Ferdinand*, eſpecially the *Venetians*, promiſing them a large Share of the Kingdom, provided they aſſiſted him to conquer it. But that wiſe Republic, unwilling to provoke *Ferdinand* at the preſent Juncture, when he had a numerous Army on foot to defend his Kingdom againſt the *Turk*, with his Son *Alphonſo*, a moſt valiant and experienced Commander at their Head, declined entering into an Alliance againſt him; but, being jealous of the King's Power, they promiſed to aſſiſt his Holineſs underhand. As no Room was left to doubt of the Barons being encouraged in their Rebellion by the Pope, nor of his Holineſs's ambitious Views, *Ferdinand* ordered the Duke of *Calabria* to march, without Delay, to the Borders of the Eccleſiaſtical State, and at the ſame time aſſembling, on the 12th of *November* of the preſent Year, the Heads of the People, of the Nobility and the Clergy, he laid before them the unjuſt and unwarrantable Proceedings of the Pope in joining his Rebel Subjects againſt him, and attempting, by encouraging their Rebellion, to deprive him and his Poſ-

They proclaim the Pope their Lord and Sovereign.

Who openly eſpouſes their Cauſe.

His Conduct how reſented by the King.

[o] Idem Ibid. p. 40.

Year of Chriſt 1485.

terity of a Kingdom which his Predeceſſors had all confirmed to him; and that, in order to raiſe from the Duſt, to ennoble and aggrandize his baſe-born Children, and at a Time when he himſelf was exhorting all *Chriſtian* Princes to ſacrifice their Feuds and Animoſities to the public Good, and join againſt the common Enemy. When he had ſpoken thus, he cauſed a Manifeſto to be read, declaring that it was not his Intention to make War upon the Holy See, but only to maintain the juſt Rights of his Crown againſt the Encroachments of the Rebel Barons, and of his Holineſs, their Accomplice and Ally. At the ſame time the King iſſued a Proclamation, ordering Eccleſiaſtics of all Ranks, poſſeſſed of any Benefice or Benefices in the Kingdom, and then reſiding at the Court of *Rome*, to preſent themſelves before him in the Term of Fifteen Days, and then to go and reſide at their Benefices, on Pain of having their Revenues ſequeſtered. With this Order all complied but the Archbiſhop of *Salerno*, and the Biſhops of *Melito* and *Teano*, whoſe Rents were ſequeſtered accordingly, and Collectors were appointed by the King to receive them [p].

Rome beſieged by the King's Troops.

In the mean while the Duke of *Calabria*, entering with his Army the Territories of the Church, defeated, in ſeveral Encounters, the Troops ſent by the Pope to oppoſe him, and, advancing to the very Gates of *Rome*, laid cloſe Siege at the ſame time to the City and the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, whither the Pope had retired. As the Army of the Barons was not in a Condition to face *Alphonſo*'s, and the *Roman* People begun to mutiny for Want of Proviſions, all the Avenues to the City being ſtrictly guarded by the Enemy, the Pope, deſpairing of Relief, and dreading to fall into the Hands of *Alphonſo*, thought it adviſable to come to an Agreement with the King. Accordingly, a Treaty was ſet on foot, and ſoon concluded, upon the following Terms: I. That the Pope ſhould abſolve the King from the Cenſures he might have incurred. II. That he ſhould oblige the Barons to lay down their Arms, or abandon their Protection. III. That the King ſhould, on his Side, pay the uſual Tribute. IV. That he ſhould forgive the Barons upon their ſubmitting, ſhould receive them into Favour, and bury in Oblivion all paſt Offences. Laſtly, That he ſhould oblige *Virginius Urſini*, who had joined him againſt the Holy See, to come bare-headed and bare-footed, with a Rope about his Neck, to aſk his

The Pope obliged to conclude a Peace, and upon what Terms.

Year of Chriſt 1486.

[p] Idem, p. 47. & Giannoni Hiſt. Neap. l. 28. c. 1.

Holi-

Holineſs's Pardon on his Knees. The Barons knew by Experience that *Ferdinand*'s Word was not at all to be relied on, that no Treaties could bind him, and therefore refuſed to ſign the preſent Treaty, unleſs *John*, King of *Arragon*, *Ferdinand*'s Uncle, and his Son *Ferdinand*, afterwards ſurnamed *the Catholic*, and then King of *Sicily*, took upon them, as Guarantees, to ſee the Articles of it performed. To this both Kings readily agreed, and the Treaty was thereupon ſigned by the Barons, on the 12th of *Auguſt* 1486, in the Preſence of the Embaſſadors of both [q]. However, it was not long ere *Ferdinand*, paying no Regard to a Treaty ſo ſolemnly concluded, cauſed, under various Pretences, the leading Men among the Barons to be impriſoned, and put to Death. We ſhall ſee in the Sequel *Ferdinand* of *Sicily*, when become King of *Arragon* and *Caſtile*, alleging the Breach of this Treaty as One of the Motives that induced him to drive the Family of King *Ferdinand* from the Throne of *Naples*, and annex that Kingdom to his own Crown. Year of Chriſt 1486.

As for the Pope, he no ſooner heard of the Impriſonment of the Barons, than he ordered the Biſhop of *Ceſena*, his Nuncio at the Court of *Naples*, to remonſtrate againſt ſo manifeſt a Breach of ſo ſolemn a Treaty, and threaten the King with Excommunication and Depoſition, if he did not immediately ſet the Priſoners at Liberty. But *Ferdinand*, who had already cauſed many of them to be put to Death, not intimidated in the leaſt by the Pope's Menaces, ordered the reſt to be ſtrangled privately in Priſon, and their Bodies to be conveyed away by Night, in Sacks, and thrown into the Sea, leſt the Pope ſhould take Occaſion from the Execution of ſo many Perſons of the firſt Rank, were it known, to ſtir up the People, and raiſe a new Rebellion againſt him. Thus were theſe Executions kept ſome Time concealed. But a Gold Chain, which One of the Priſoners, *Jerom Sanſeverino*, Prince of *Biſignano*, uſed to wear about his Neck, being found in the Cuſtody of the Executioner, it was concluded from thence that he, and with him all the reſt, had been diſpatched in Priſon. Hereupon *Innocent*, provoked beyond all Meaſure at the Cruelty and Treachery of the King, not only pronounced, with great Solemnity, the Sentence of Excommunication and Depoſition againſt him, but declared the Kingdom of *Naples* to belong of Right to the Royal Family of *France*, and invited the King, *Charles* VIII. to come and conquer it. But *Charles* being

The Barons put to Death, contrary to the Articles of the Peace, and the King excommunicated by the Pope.

Year of Chriſt 1487.

[q] Conſtanzo, l. 20. apud Giannoni, l. 28. c. 1.

Year of Christ 1487.

then otherwise employed, and the States of *Italy* refusing to take Part in this Quarrel, *Ferdinand* continued to reign undisturbed either by the *French* or his own Subjects, in spite of the repeated Excommunications thundered out by his Holiness against him [r].

Some particular Actions of Innocent.

Year of Christ 1488.

Innocent spent the Four remaining Years of his Pontificate in striving, but with very little Success, to recover the several Cities, belonging to the Church, that private Persons had made themselves Masters of, and governed as their own; in clearing the Ecclesiastical State from Thieves, Robbers, Assassins, and other Malefactors, who had fled thither, from the neighbouring States, as to a safe Asylum; and in erecting several stately Buildings, and, among the rest, a magnificent Villa, or House of Pleasure, for the Use of his Successors, which from its pleasant and extensive View was stiled *Belvedere*. We are told, that, in repairing the Church, called *of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem*, Part of the Title of our Saviour's Cross in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* was found in the old Wall, having been placed there, as is said, about One thousand Years before, by the Emperor *Valentinian*, the Founder of that Church.——The most remarkable Event of the Four last Years of *Innocent*'s Pontificate was, his receiving at *Rome*, and keeping there as his Prisoner *Zizini*, or, as others call him, *Zizim*, Brother to Sultan *Bajazet*, the Son and Successor of *Mahomet* II. *Zizini* had, upon the Death of his Father, set up for himself; but his Brother having gained a compleat Victory over him near *Prusia* in *Bithinia*, he fled for Refuge to the Island of *Rhodes*, then possessed by the Knights of that Name. *Peter Daubusson*, at that Time Grand Master of the Order, sent him to the King of *France*, by whom he was soon afterwards delivered up to the Pope, to be employed by his Holiness in the War, which he was then exhorting the *Christian* Princes to undertake against his Brother *Bajazet*. He was received at *Rome* with all the Marks of Honour due to a Sovereign Prince; was attended to the Pope's Palace by several Cardinals, and presented to his Holiness, in a full Consistory, by the Grand Prior of *Rhodes* and the *French* Embassador [s]. *Spondanus* tells us, that he kneeled before the Pope, and kissed his Foot, uttering some Words, in his own Language with great Indignation [t]. But *Matthew Bossi*, Canon of *Verona*, who was present, assures us, that he could by no

Zizini, *Brother to* Bajazet, *delivered up to* Innocent.

Year of Christ 1489.

[r] Surita Annal. l. 20. c. 66. Constanzo, l. 20. c. 17. Camillo Porzio Congiura de Baroni. [s] Onuph. in Innocent VIII. [t] Spondanus ad ann. 1489.

Means,

Means, not even by Menaces, be brought to ſubmit to ſuch Acts of Humiliation [u]. However that be, he was kept Priſoner at large, in the *Vatican* Palace, ſo long as *Innocent* lived; and left the Pope, grudging the Expence neceſſary to maintain him, ſhould grant him his Liberty, *Bajazet* remitted yearly to *Rome* the Sum of Forty thouſand Crowns of Gold for his Subſiſtence; nay, and, to court the Favour of the Pope, he ſent him the Head or Iron of the Spear, believed to be that which our Saviour's Side was pierced with on the Croſs [w]; and as ſuch it is worſhipped to this Day in *St. Peter*'s Church at *Rome*.

Year of Chriſt 1490. *How treated.*

As great Preparations were carrying on, at this Time, in *France* by *Charles* VIII. with a Deſign to invade the Kingdom of *Naples*, claimed by him, as lawful Heir to the Family of *Anjou*, *Ferdinand*, who had hitherto made no Account of the Sentence of the Pope, excommunicating and depoſing him, reſolved to accommodate Matters with his Holineſs upon the beſt Terms he could get, and have his Title to the Kingdom confirmed by the Apoſtolic See. *Innocent*, now wholly bent upon a *Turkiſh* War, was not averſe to an Accommodation, and an Agreement was concluded, on the 28th of *January* 1491, upon the following Terms: That the King ſhould pay yearly the uſual Tribute; ſhould diſpoſe of no Benefices nor Biſhoprics without his Holineſs's Knowlege and Conſent; and ſhould indemnify the Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtics, whoſe Revenues had been ſequeſtered on Account of their not complying with the King's Ordinance, requiring them to withdraw from the Court of *Rome*. On the other hand, the Pope was to revoke all the Cenſures that the King had incurred, and confirm the Bull of his Predeceſſor, *Eugenius* IV. in Favour of his Family againſt the Pretenſions of the Houſe of *Anjou*. Purſuant to this Agreement, *Innocent*, who had iſſued a Bull but Four Years before, declaring the Right of the Family of *Anjou* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, publiſhed another on the 4th of *June* of the preſent Year, acknowleging *Ferdinand* for lawful King of *Naples*, and ordaining that he ſhould be ſucceeded by his Son *Alphonſo*, and, in caſe *Alphonſo* died before his Father, by *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Capua*, *Alphonſo*'s eldeſt Son. Upon the Publication of this Bull, the Duke of *Capua* went to *Rome* to do Homage, and take the uſual Oath of Fidelity to his Holineſs, in his Father's Name

The Pope and King Ferdinand *reconciled.*

Year of Chriſt 1491.

[u] Boſſi, ep. 30. [w] Onuph. in Innoc. VIII.

and

Year of Chriſt 1491.

and his own, and was received by *Innocent* and the College of Cardinals with all poſſible Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem [x].

Death and Character of Innocent.

Year of Chriſt 1492.

Innocent died ſoon after the Concluſion of this Treaty, that is, on the 25th of *July* of the preſent Year 1492, when he had held the See Seven Years Ten Months and Twenty-ſeven Days, and was buried in the Chapel, which he had erected in the Church of *St. Peter*, for the holy Spear. On his Tomb were engraved the following Words, alluding to the Name of *Innocent*, *Ego autem* INNOCENTIA *mea ingreſſus ſum*; *redime me*, *Domine*, *et miſerere mei*. His Manners did not anſwer that Name, it being agreed on all hands, that he led a moſt profligate Life, at leaſt, before his Promotion. *Onuphrius* allows him to have had *ſeveral* natural Children; no fewer, ſays *Marullus* in his famous Epigram, than Sixteen, Eight Sons, and as many Daughters. The Epigram runs thus:

His natural Children.

Quid quæris teſtes ſit mas an fæmina Cibo?
Reſpice natorum, pignora certa, gregem.
Octo nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas;
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma Patrem.

I need not tell the Reader, that the Poet here alludes to the Uſe, that was ſaid to have been made of the perforated Chair after the ſuppoſed Election of Pope *Joan* [y]. *Joly*, in his Remarks upon *Bayle*'s Dictionary under the Article *Innocent*, maintains him to have had only Two illegitimate Children. However that be, only Two of them ſurvived, as *Onuphrius* informs us, his Promotion to the Pontifical Chair, *viz.* *Francis* and *Theodorina*. *Francis* he married to *Magdalen*, the Daughter of *Lawrence de Medicis*, One of the moſt beautiful Women of her Time, and *Theodorina* to *Gerard Uſumari*, a wealthy Nobleman of *Genoa*: To *Francis* he granted, on Occaſion of his Marriage, ſeveral Caſtles and Lordſhips in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and is ſaid to have heaped immenſe Wealth upon *Gerard*.—As he was a great Lover of Money, he eſtabliſhed, after the Example of *Sixtus*, his immediate Predeceſſor, a vaſt Number of new Offices, and, expoſing them to public Sale, repleniſhed, by that Means, his Coffers

[x] Conſtanz. l. 20. c. 17. Raynald. ad ann. 1491. et Surita, l. 20. c. 13. [y] Hiſt. of the Popes, Vol. IV. p. 258, 259.

quite

quite drained with the *Neapolitan* War [z].—What we read in *Raphael* of *Volterra*, *viz.* that *Innocent* permitted Maſs to be celebrated in *Norway* without Wine, becauſe it was either frozen, or burned into Vinegar before it could be uſed in that cold Country, has been unanſwerably confuted by the very learned *Benedict* XIV. in his Treatiſe *De Canonizatione*.——By this Pope Eight Cardinals only were created, during the Seven Years of his Pontificate; and among them were *Lawrence Cibo*, his Brother's natural Son, whom he had preferred before to the Archbiſhopric of *Benevento*, and *John de Medicis*, the Son of *Lawrence*, and Brother to his Son's Wife, though he had not yet completed the Thirteenth Year of his Age [a]. Of him I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak, at length, in the Sequel under the Name of *Leo* X. —*Innocent*, though ſaid to have been a Man of Learning, left no Writings, that we know of, behind him, beſides ſome Letters and Bulls. By One of his Bulls, dated at *Rome* the 2d of *March* 1486, he confirmed the Marriage of *Henry* VII. with *Elizabeth* of *York*, the eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* IV. *notwithſtanding their being related within the Fourth Degree of Affinity, and, perhaps, of Conſanguinity.* By another he declared the Children, who ſhould be born of that Marriage, legitimate in virtue of that Diſpenſation, commanded all to obey *Henry* as their lawful King, on Pain of Excommunication, from which none could abſolve them but the Pope himſelf, except at the Point of Death, and enjoined them, upon the ſame Penalty, to acknowlege the Children *Henry* might have by a Second Wife, in caſe *Elizabeth* died without Iſſue. This Bull too is dated at *Rome* the 27th of the ſame Month of *March* of the ſame Year 1486 [b].

Year of Chriſt 1492.

[z] Onuph. in Innoc. VIII. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Rymer. Fœdera, &c. tom. 12. p. 294, 297.

ALEXANDER

FRIDERIC III.
MAXIMILIAN III.
Emperors of the Weſt.

ALEXANDER VI.

The Two Hundred and Twelfth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1492.

His Birth, Education, Preferments, and Life before his Promotion to the Pontificate.

IN the Room of *Innocent* was unfortunately choſen *Roderic Borgia*, whoſe Pontificate was, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel, a continued Series of the blackeſt Crimes, of Murder, Rapine, Perfidiouſneſs, Luſt and Cruelty. He was the Son of *Godfrey Lenzolio*, a wealthy Nobleman of *Valencia*, by *Joan Borgia*, Siſter to *Calixtus* III. As the *Borgian* Family was more conſpicuous than that of *Lenzolio*, *Godfrey*, with the Conſent of *Calixtus*, changed the original Name of his Family for that of *Borgia*, which from him was tranſmitted to all his Deſcendents. His Son *Roderic* gave, from his tender Years, Proofs of an extraordinary Genius, and an uncommon Capacity, but at the ſame time betrayed a Diſpoſition of Mind ſo cruel and wicked, that one might have foreſeen what Fruit ſuch a Tree would produce, when it grew to produce any. When he had attained to the Eighteenth Year of his Age, he betook himſelf to the Study of the Law, and, in a very ſhort Time, outſhining moſt others of that Profeſſion, he was employed, as an Advocate, in the moſt intricate Caſes, and ſoon acquired, by that Means, a conſiderable Fortune. But growing tired of the Retirement and conſtant Application, indiſpenſably required in one of his Profeſſion, he, all on a ſudden, bid adieu to the Law, and, being taken with the Gaiety of a military Life, appeared in the World in a military Character. Being now free from all Reſtraint, and at full Liberty to gratify his Paſſions, he fell in Love with a Widow, who had Two Daughters, and was lately come with her Family from *Rome*; and having, with his inſinuating Manners, gained the Affections of the Mother, and robbed her of her Honour, he bent all his Thoughts upon making the Daughters a Prey to his Luſt as well as the Mother. In the mean time the Mother died, and *Roderic*, to whoſe Care ſhe had committed her Two Daughters, having them now in his Power, as their Guardian, put one of them into a Monaſtery, and continued with the other, whom ſome call *Roſa*, and ſome *Catherine Vanozza*, the inceſtuous Commerce, which he had begun in her Mother's Life-

time.

time. By her he had Five Children, Four Sons, and One Daughter, *viz.* *Francis*, *Cæſar*, *Giuffre*, and another, whoſe Name is uncertain. His Daughter was called *Lucretia*; and of her as well as her Brother we ſhall have frequent Occaſion to ſpeak in the Sequel. *Roderic* ſpared no Expence, being a moſt tender and affectionate Father, to give his Children the beſt Education, but acted therein with ſuch Caution and Secrecy, that they were not known to be his till after his Exaltation to the Papacy. While he thus enjoyed the Company of his beloved *Vanozza* quite undiſturbed, News was brought him of his Uncle's Promotion to the Pontifical Dignity under the Name of *Calixtus* III. As he thought that no Addition could be made to his preſent Happineſs, he neither felt, nor expreſſed on that Occaſion, any extraordinary Joy. However, he wrote immediately a moſt ſubmiſſive and reſpectful Letter to the new Pope, to congratulate him upon his Promotion, to wiſh him a long and happy Pontificate, and beg him to continue to him, as his Relation, his Protection and Countenance. To this Letter *Calixtus*, who entertained the higheſt Opinion of his Nephew's Parts and good Qualities, returned a moſt affectionate Anſwer, requiring him to repair, with all Expedition, to *Rome*, in order to be employed in State-Affairs, and bear Part of the Burden that had been laid upon him. But *Roderic*, preferring the Company of his dear *Vanozza* to all the Honours and Wealth that his Uncle could confer on him, put off, under various Pretences, from time to time, his Journey to *Rome*. The Pope, not knowing what his affected Delays were owing to, and impatient to have one about him, whom he could truſt with his moſt ſecret Deſigns, diſpatched a Prelate with expreſs Orders to bring his Nephew with him to *Rome*, and at the ſame time beſtowed on him, as a Pledge of what he might expect, a Benefice of Twelve thouſand Crowns a Year. *Roderic*, no longer able to withſtand the preſſing Inſtances and Kindneſs of his Uncle, and on the other hand his Paſſion for *Vanozza* not allowing him to leave her behind him, and live at ſo great a Diſtance from her, it was agreed between them, that they ſhould both repair to *Italy*, but by different Roads, and to different Places, he to *Rome*, and ſhe with her Children to *Venice*. Accordingly they both ſet out, after many tender Embraces, about the ſame Time, and both arrived ſafe at their Journey's End. *Roderic* was received by the Pope with all poſſible Marks

Year of Chriſt 1492.

Year of Chriſt 1492.

of Eſteem and Affection, and, being frequently admitted to his Preſence, he raiſed in his Holineſs ſo high an Opinion of his Merit, that, in a very ſhort Time, he preferred him to the Archiepiſcopal See of *Valencia*, his native Country, created him Cardinal of *St. Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano*, and appointed him Vice-Chancellor of the holy *Roman* Church, with the yearly Income of Twenty-eight thouſand Crowns to ſupport that Dignity. *Roderic* refuſed, at firſt, the Dignity of Cardinal, knowing that he would thereby be confined to *Rome*, and have fewer Opportunities of viſiting *Vanozza* and his Children, in whom centered all his Cares and Affections. But his Friend, Cardinal *Sanſeverino*, urging to him the Folly of refuſing a Dignity, that was the laſt Step to the higheſt upon Earth, his Ambition prevailed, and he accepted the Red Hat. Having now the triple Crown in his View, he applied himſelf wholly to Acts of Devotion, preaching, adminiſtering the Sacraments, viſiting the Sick, protecting the Widows and Orphans, and relieving, with uncommon Generoſity, Perſons of all Ranks in Diſtreſs; inſomuch that he was univerſally looked upon, and honoured by the Cardinals themſelves, as a Saint. But theſe Acts of Charity did not take up his Mind ſo, as to leave no Room in it for his dear *Vanozza*. He wrote a moſt affectionate Letter to her to acquaint her with his Promotion to the Rank of Cardinal, which, he ſaid, opened him a Way to the ſupreme Dignity, to aſſure her, that he retained, and ever ſhould, the ſame Affection for her, and recommend to her Secrecy and Continence till he had the Pleaſure of ſeeing her again. In the mean time *Calixtus* died; and in the Two following Pontificates of *Pius* II. and *Paul* II. no Mention is made of Cardinal *Roderic*. But *Sixtus* IV. the Succeſſor of *Paul*, beſtowed upon him the Abbey of *Subjaco*, and ſent him with the Character of Legate into *Spain*, to mediate a Peace between the Kings of *Arragon* and *Portugal* at War about the Kingdom of *Caſtile*. His Negotiations at both Courts proved unſucceſsful. For, finding himſelf at a Diſtance from *Rome*, inſtead of attending to the Affair, upon which he was ſent, he ſpent moſt Part of his Time in Intrigues with the Ladies; which rendered him contemptible in the Eyes of both Kings, as well as their Miniſters. On his Return to *Italy* on board a *Venetian* Galley, he was overtaken with a violent Storm on the Coaſt of *Piſa*; and though his Galley had the good Luck to eſcape, another in Company with his

Baggage

Baggage and Retinue was daſhed to Pieces, and all on board periſhed, *viz.* One hundred and Eighty Perſons, and among them Three Biſhops, and ſome Doctors. In the Pontificate of *Innocent* VIII. elected in the Room of *Sixtus*, we find nothing of Cardinal *Roderic*, worthy of Notice, beſides his begging Leave of his Holineſs to go to *Venice*, pretending to have ſome very urgent Buſineſs there, and his calling *Vanozza* to *Rome* upon the Pope's forbidding him to depart from that City. *Vanozza* on her Arrival lodged firſt near the Capitol, but removed ſoon from thence to a more private Place beyond the *Tiber*. As they were both ſenſible, that the Affair could in no Place be long kept ſecret, it was agreed between them, that *Manuel Melchiori*, a *Spaniſh* Gentleman, who had hitherto paſſed for a near Relation of the Lady's Huſband, and was the only Perſon upon Earth who had been let into the Intrigue, ſhould now perſonate her Huſband. Accordingly, he aſſumed the Title of Count *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile*, and ſhe of Counteſs, and being plentifully ſupplied with Money by the Cardinal, they both made a Figure ſuitable to their Title. The Cardinal, pretending to have been acquainted in *Spain* with the Count, under Colour of viſiting him, paid frequent Viſits to the Counteſs unobſerved, and when he had ſpent the whole Day in viſiting Churches and Hoſpitals, he paſſed the Night in the Arms of his Miſtreſs [c].

Year of Chriſt 1492.

The Cardinal, however, did not ſuffer his Amours to engroſs his Attention ſo as to neglect his true Intereſt. He had the Papacy conſtantly in his View ever ſince he accepted the Dignity of Cardinal, and had made it his Buſineſs to cultivate the Friendſhip of the Cardinals, who had the moſt Intereſt in the Conclave, eſpecially of the Two Cardinals *Sforza* and *Riario*, of whom the former had Nine Votes at his Diſpoſal. While Cardinal *Roderic* was thus employed, *Innocent* died on the 25th of *July*, and the Cardinals, in all Twenty-ſeven, entering into the Conclave as ſoon as they had performed his Exequies, the following Bargain was concluded between the leading Cardinals and Cardinal *Roderic*, *viz.* that Cardinal *Orſini* ſhould have *Roderic*'s Palace, with the Two Caſtles of *Monticelli* and *Suriani*; that Cardinal *Sforza* ſhould ſucceed *Roderic* in the Office of Vice-Chancellor; that Cardinal *Colonna* ſhould have the Abbey of *St. Benedict*; that the

His Election.

Bargain made with the Cardinals.

[c] Paviſt. in Alex. VI. Tomaſo Tomaſi. vita Duc. Valentin. Ciacon. vit. Alex. VI. p. 148. Burchard. Hiſt. Arian. p. 3——23. Anonym. ad Tomaſi, p. 305. apud Gordon. p. 1——15.

Year of Chriſt 1492.

Cardinal of *St. Angelo* ſhould be made Biſhop of *Porto*, the City of *Nepi* ſhould be given to the Cardinal of *Parma*, and the Town of *Civita Caſtellana* to Cardinal *Savelli*. Five Cardinals only, out of the Twenty-ſeven, proteſted againſt ſo open and ſo barefaced Simony, and could by no Offers be brought to concur with the Reſt. But as Cardinal *Roderic* had Twenty-two Votes out of Twenty-ſeven, he was, in ſpite of their Oppoſition, declared Pope on the 2d of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year, under the Name of *Alexander* VI. His Election was received by the *Roman* People, who looked upon him as a Pattern of every Virtue, with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy; and on the 26th of *Auguſt* he was crowned with extraordinary Solemnity. And now the Cardinals, his Electors, were expecting the Performance of the Promiſes he had made them. But inſtead of that, *Alexander*, in a Speech, full of Zeal for the Obſervance of the Canons, exhorted them to reform their Lives, to ſet a good Example to others, and, above all, to avoid Simony, adding, that he would ſpare none, whom he ever found guilty of that deteſtable Crime. Indeed he was as good as his Word. For, far from paying to his corrupt Electors the Wages of their Iniquity, in Proceſs of Time he either confined them to Priſon, or baniſhed, or put them to Death, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

His Son Cæſar Borgia *comes to* Rome.

At the Time of *Alexander*'s Promotion his Children were all living privately at *Rome*, except *Cæſar*, his Second Son, who was then purſuing his Studies at *Piſa*. But he no ſooner heard of his Father's Promotion, than he flew to *Rome*, not doubting but he ſhould be immediately preferred to ſome high Poſt, or be made a Cardinal. The Pope received him with the greateſt Marks of Affection, but at the ſame time told him, that if he and his Brothers walked in the virtuous Path, that he ſhould point out to them, they might depend upon his Protection and Favour; but if they built their Greatneſs upon any other Foundation than that of Virtue, he would look upon them as Strangers to him, having been exalted to his preſent high Station for the Good of the Church, and not of his Family. This Speech did not a little mortify *Cæſar*'s Ambition; and he complained of it to his Mother. But ſhe bid him take Courage, ſaying, ſhe knew his Holineſs's Mind, and for what End he had expreſſed himſelf to him in that Manner; that is, ſhe knew all to be Diſſimulation, and rank Hypocriſy.

Hypocriſy. In the mean time *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon* and *Caſtile*, created the Pope's eldeſt Son, *Francis*, Duke of *Gandia*. For though *Alexander* called them his Nephews, they were by this Time commonly known to be his Children. From the Promotion of the Pope's eldeſt Son, the Cardinals and flattering Courtiers took Occaſion to recommend to him his Second Son *Cæſar Borgia*, and his Nephew *John Borgia*, Archbiſhop of *Monreal* in *Sicily*, as Perſons worthy of a Place in the College of Cardinals; and his Holineſs, as it were to gratify the Cardinals, conferred that Dignity on his Nephew, but, refuſing it to his Son, nominated him to the Archbiſhopric of *Valencia*, which he himſelf had formerly held. However, the following Year he made a Promotion of Twelve Cardinals; and among them was his Son *Cæſar*, whom he created Cardinal of *Sancta Maria Nova*; but he is commonly called Cardinal *Valentine*, on Account of his having been preferred from the Arcbiſhopric of *Valencia* to that Dignity [d].

Year of Chriſt 1492.

Created Archbiſhop of Valencia, *and Cardinal.*

Year of Chriſt 1493.

Italy had enjoyed for ſome Years a profound Peace and Tranquillity, the little States, as well as the great, having joined in a League to defend each other, by whomſoever attacked. But that Peace was unexpectedly diſturbed by the Ambition of the *French* King *Charles* VIII. claiming the Kingdom of *Naples*, as Heir to the *Anjevin* Family. For *Charles* of *Anjou*, the laſt of that Family, dying without Male Iſſue, appointed *Lewis* XI. his Couſin-German, as he called him, his univerſal Heir, and after him his Son *Charles*, the *Dauphin*. By virtue of this Will *Lewis* took Poſſeſſion of *Provence* and the Dutchy of *Anjou*, but would not concern himſelf with the Affairs of *Italy*. But *Charles*, a Youth covetous of Glory, coming to the Crown in 1483, began to entertain Thoughts of making good his Claim to the Kingdom of *Naples*. He was encouraged to that Undertaking only by ſome of his Favourites, and ſome Malecontents, who, flying from *Naples*, had taken Refuge in *France*. But Men of Penetration left nothing unattempted to divert the young King from an Enterprize, which they apprehended might be attended with the Loſs of his Army, and even of his Life. Thus was the Expedition put off till the preſent Year 1493, when the King received unexpectedly an Invitation from *Lewis Sforza*, Regent of the Dutchy of *Milan*, preſſing him to come and conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, to which he had an unqueſtion-

Charles, *King of* France, *invited to the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of* Naples.

[d] Onuph. Tomaſo Tomaſi, &c.

able

Year of Christ 1493.

able Right, and promising to assist him therein to the utmost of his Power. *Lewis* had been appointed Guardian to the young Duke *John Galeazzo*, his Nephew; and though the Duke had already attained to the Twentieth Year of his Age, the Guardian still continued to keep the Government in his own Hands. As *John* had married the Daughter of *Alphonso*, Duke of *Calabria*, and King *Ferdinand*'s Grand-daughter, *Lewis* apprehended, that they would oblige him to resign the Dutchy to its lawful Owner; and it was to give them sufficient Employment at Home, that he invited *Charles* to the Conquest of the Kingdom [e].

Ferdinand, *King of* Naples, *dies.*

Year of Christ 1494.

Charles, now relying on the Invitation, and encouraged by the Offers of *Lewis*, would no longer hearken to the pacific Counsels of his best Friends, but, looking upon the Kingdom of *Naples* as already half conquered, he began to make vast military Preparations by Sea as well as by Land. On the other hand *Ferdinand*, not doubting but they were designed against him, omitted nothing to put the Kingdom in a good State of Defence. But being seized with a Fever, occasioned by the extraordinary Fatigue he was obliged to undergo, and the Uneasiness of his Mind, he died on the Fourteenth Day of his Illness, the 25th of *January* 1494. He was succeeded by his Son *Alphonso*, Duke of *Calabria*, who sent immediately a splendid Embassy to *Rome*, with many valuable Presents for the Pope, and his favourite Son Cardinal *Valentine*, by whom his Holiness was, in a great Measure, governed. The Embassadors were charged to obtain of the Pope the Investiture for the new King, to pay Homage to him in his Name, and to propose an Alliance between their Master and his Holiness in Defence of their respective Dominions. The Embassadors met with a most favourable Reception, and after several Conferences with Cardinal *Valentine*, an Alliance was concluded between the Pope and the King upon the following Terms: That both should maintain a determined Number of Troops for their mutual Assistance; that the King should pay immediately to his Holiness Thirty thousand Ducats; that he should give his Daughter *Sancia* in Marriage to *Giuffre*, the Pope's youngest Son; should create him Prince of *Squillace* with the yearly Income of Ten thousand Ducats; should confer upon him the Office of Prothonotary, One of the Seven great Offices of the Kingdom; should settle upon *Francis*, Duke of *Gandia*, his eldest Son, an Estate

Treaty concluded between his Successor Alphonso *and the Pope.*

[e] Guicciardin. l. 1. Comin. c. 3.

of

of Ten thouſand Ducats a Year; ſhould beſtow upon him the Firſt great Employment of the Kingdom that ſhould be vacant, and a conſiderable Command in the Army; and laſtly, that to Cardinal *Valentine* he ſhould grant the beſt Benefices of the Kingdom, as they happened to become vacant. The Pope knew, that the King ſtood in great Need of his Aſſiſtance, and, taking Advantage of his preſent Situation, demanded ſuch Terms, as were neither conſiſtent with Reaſon nor Juſtice. *Alexander* was, on his Side, to aſſiſt the King, to the utmoſt of his Power, with his ſpiritual as well as his temporal Arms, to grant him the Inveſtiture, to ſend a Cardinal to crown him, and to prefer his Nephew, *Lewis* of *Arragon*, to the Dignity of Cardinal [f]. Year of Chriſt 1494.

The King crowned, and his Daughter married to the Pope's youngeſt Son.

Theſe Articles being agreed to, the Pope diſpatched his Nephew, Cardinal *Borgia*, Archbiſhop of *Monreal*, to *Naples* to crown the King, and perform, at the ſame time, the nuptial Ceremony. The Bridegroom went with the Cardinal, attended by the Flower of the *Roman* Nobility, and the Appearance they made during their Stay at *Naples*, was the moſt pompous and ſplendid that had ever been ſeen in that City. The King being crowned, with great Solemnity, by the Cardinal Legate, and the nuptial Ceremony performed with no leſs Solemnity, *Giuffre*, or, as I ſhall henceforth call him, the Prince of *Squillace*, after a ſhort Stay at *Naples*, returned, with his Bride, the Princeſs, to *Rome*, his Holineſs being impatient to ſee them. Moſt extraordinary Honours were paid them, by the Pope's Order, in all the Cities on the Road through which they paſſed, and on their Arrival at *Rome* they met with a more honourable Reception than any King or Emperor had done to that Time. They were received, at ſome Diſtance from the Gate, by the Magiſtrates of the City in a Body, by the Cardinals, and the *Roman* Nobility of both Sexes, and conducted by them, in ſolemn Proceſſion, to the *Vatican* Palace. There the Princeſs was preſented to the Pope by his Daughter *Lucretia*, attended by all the Ladies of Diſtinction in *Rome*, and the Prince by his Brother Cardinal *Valentine*, accompanied by the chief *Roman* Princes and Barons. His Holineſs, ſcarce allowing them Time to perform the uſual Ceremony of kiſſing his Foot, embraced them with great Tenderneſs; and placing the Bride in a Chair of State on his Right Hand, and *Lucretia* in another on his Left, the Converſation was kept up ſeveral Hours by

[f] Guicciardin. l. 1. Tomaſi apud Gordon. p. 52. et ſeq.

his

Year of Christ 1494.

his Holineſs and the Ladies; and it looked more like an Aſſembly of the laſt Kings of *Aſſyria*, than a Meeting in the Preſence of the Vicar of *Chriſt* g.

The French *King enters* Italy.

On this Occaſion great Rejoicings were made, by the Pope's expreſs Command, in all the Cities of the Eccleſiaſtical State, as well as at *Rome*, as if the Marriage of his Holineſs's Baſtard Son with the Daughter of a King, had been One of the greateſt Bleſſings that could have befallen them. But their Joy was ſuddenly damped by the unexpected Advice of the Arrival of the *French* King with his Army at *Aſti* in *Piedmont*, on his March to the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*. He arrived at *Aſti* on the 9th of *September*; but falling ill of the Small-Pox in that City, he was obliged to halt there a whole Fortnight. As ſoon as he found himſelf in a Condition to bear the Fatigue of the March, he left *Aſti*, and directing his Rout through *Pavia*, *Piacenza*, and *Parma*, paſſed the Mountains, chuſing rather to enter the Kingdom of *Naples* through *Tuſcany* and the Territory of *Rome*, than by the Way of *Romagna* and the *March of Ancona*. He met with ſome Oppoſition in paſſing through the Territories of *Florence*; but Matters being in the End accommodated between him and thoſe Republicans, to their mutual Satisfaction, he purſued his March to the Eccleſiaſtical State, being determined to paſs through *Rome*, and oblige the Pope to renounce his Alliance with the King of *Naples*, and abandon his Protection.

Purſues his March to the Eccleſiaſtical State.

The Pope and Alphonſo *apply to the* Turk.

The Pope had, upon the Firſt Notice he received of the King's Deſign upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, applied for Aſſiſtance both to the *Venetians* and to the Emperor *Maximilian*, who, in 1492, had ſucceeded to his Father *Frideric* in the Empire. But finding that neither would take any Part in the War, he reſolved, for Want of other Allies, to recur to the *Turk*. This Reſolution he communicated to *Alphonſo*; and it was agreed between them, that both ſhould ſend Deputies to *Conſtantinople* to negotiate an Alliance with *Bajazet*. Purſuant to that Agreement, One *George Buzardo*, a *Genoeſe*, well ſkilled in the Oriental Languages, was immediately diſpatched to the Court of *Conſtantinople* by the Pope, and One *Camillo Pandone* by the King. Their Inſtructions were, to inform his ſublime Highneſs of the mighty Preparations that were carrying on by the *French* King in *France*, with

Embaſſadors ſent by the Pope and the King to Bajazet.

g Tomaſi ibid. p. 53. et ſeq.

a Deſign to conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, and, when he had conquered it, to invade his Highneſs's Dominions; that the King had, with that View, demanded of his Holineſs his Highneſs's Brother *Zizini*, whom he intended to ſend with a powerful Army and Fleet to recover the Countries taken from the Chriſtians; that out of the great Regard and Friendſhip his Holineſs had for his ſublime Highneſs, he was determined to oppoſe the *French* to the utmoſt of his Power. But as he would be thereby put to a far greater Charge than he was able to bear, the Nuncio was ordered to beg of his Highneſs, that he would remit to him immediately the Forty thouſand Crowns that would be due, on his Brother's Account, about the End of the enſuing *November*. Of *Zizini*, and the Sum allowed yearly by his Brother to him, or rather to the Pope, for his Maintenance, I have ſpoken in the Life of the preceding Pope *Innocent* VIII. As the *Venetians* had refuſed to join the Pope and *Alphonſo* againſt the *French*, or to concern themſelves at all in their Quarrel, the Nuncio was ordered to get the Sultan to interpoſe his good Offices with thoſe Republicans, in Favour of the King and his Holineſs, and to diſpatch, without Loſs of Time, an Embaſſador for that Purpoſe to *Venice*. The Nuncio was received by *Bajazet* with all poſſible Marks of Honour, his Demands were all readily complied with, and he was remanded in a very ſhort Time with Fifty thouſand Crowns, though Forty thouſand only were due; and with him *Bajazet* ſent one *Caſimus Dautius* with the Character of his Embaſſador to the Pope. They embarked on board the ſame Veſſel at *Conſtantinople*. But the Veſſel being unfortunately ſtranded on the Coaſt of the *Adriatic*, between *Sinigaglia* and *Ancona*, *John della Rovere*, Lord of that Country, ſeized on the Money, the Fifty thouſand Crowns, pretending that Sum to have been owing to him by the Apoſtolic See ever ſince the Pontificate of *Innocent* VIII. With the Money were found the above-mentioned Inſtructions, and Five Letters from *Bajazet* to the Pope, all dated at *Conſtantinople*, One on the 12th of *September*, and the other Four on the 18th of the ſame Month, in the Year 1494, *ſince the Nativity of the Prophet* Jeſus. The Direction common to them all, with very little Variation, was; *Sultan* Bajazet Chan, *by the Grace of God, King and Emperor of* Aſia *and* Europe, *to the moſt worthy Father and Lord of all Chriſtians*, Alexander VI. *by Divine Providence, Pontiff of the* Roman *Church*. *Bajazet*,

Year of Chriſt 1494.

Inſtructions given by the Pope to his Nuncio.

Five Letters from Bajazet *to the Pope.*

Year of Chriſt 1494.

being alarmed at the Intelligence the Pope had given him of the *French* King's Deſign to invade his Dominions, and employ his Brother againſt him, applies in the Firſt of theſe Letters to his Holineſs, his good Friend and Ally, to get, by his Means, ſo dangerous an Enemy removed out of the Way. The Sultan well knew, that there was no Crime, which the *moſt worthy Father of all Chriſtians* would ſcruple to commit, provided he were well paid for it; that the Love of Money, to enrich and aggrandize his Children, was his predominant Paſſion; and that the Offer of a Sum, worthy of his Acceptance, would prove a Temptation, which he could not withſtand. Upon theſe Conſiderations he exhorts the Pope, in the Letter before us, to cauſe his Brother to be removed, as ſoon as poſſible, from the Miſeries of this World to a more happy Life; ſhews the many Advantages, that he pretends would accrue to the Chriſtians, as well as to his own Subjects, from his Death, which he ſays would be Life to him, and ſolemnly promiſes, upon Oath, to remit to his *Greatneſs*, the Title he gives to the Pope, as ſoon as he ſhall have complied with this his Requeſt, the Sum of Three hundred thouſand Ducats, to be employed by him in purchaſing Lordſhips for his Sons. He cloſes his Letter with renewing, for the Pope's further Security, his Promiſe and Oath in the following Terms: *I, the aboveſaid Sultan* Bajazet Chan, *do again ſwear by the true God, who made Heaven and Earth, and every Thing in them, in whom we believe, and whom we adore, that, if you, on your Part, agree to the above-mentioned Requeſt, I ſhall, on my Part, perform and execute every Thing I have promiſed.*——Two of the Four remaining Letters contained the *Turkiſh* Embaſſador's Credentials: The Third was a Letter of Thanks for the Intelligence *Alexander* had given to *Bajazet* concerning the Deſigns of the *French*, with a Promiſe of ſending ſpeedy Aſſiſtance to *Alphonſo*, and diſpatching, without Delay, an Embaſſador to *Venice*, with Orders to exhort that Republic, in his Name, to declare for that Prince and the Pope his Ally; in the Fourth *Bajazet* deſires the Pope to make *Nicholas Cibo*, Archbiſhop of *Arles*, *a perfect Cardinal, ut faciat ipſum Cardinalem perfectum.* The Archbiſhop had been ſent, in the late Pontificate, upon what Errand we know not, to the Court of *Conſtantinople*, and having, in his Embaſſy, given entire Satisfaction to *Bajazet*, he was, at his earneſt Requeſt, nominated by the Pope, *Innocent* VIII. to the Dignity of Cardinal. But

Their Contents publiſhed to the World.

Innocent

Innocent dying before he received the Red Hat, and his Promotion was published, he was not yet looked upon as a true Cardinal, nor did he enjoy the Privileges, common to all of that Order. These Particulars we learn from *Bajazet*'s Letter, entreating the Pope, by the Friendship subsisting between them, to make the Archbishop a perfect, or a true Cardinal.——These Papers were all sent to King *Charles*, while he was yet at *Florence*, by *John della Rovere*, who had intercepted them, in order to their being made public: And they were, accordingly, published, in *Italian* and *Latin*, with Two Certificates annexed to them; the one of *Buzardo*, the Nuncio, certifying that he had received the Instructions, spoken of above, from his Holiness's own Mouth at *Rome* in the Month of *June* 1494, and had executed them at *Constantinople*; the other was a Declaration by *Philip de Patriarchis*, Clerk of *Forli*, and Notary Public, attesting that he had translated, Word for Word, the above-mentioned Papers sent from *Sinigaglia*. His Declaration is dated at *Florence*, in the Convent of the *Minorites*, the 25th of *November* 1494. For these Letters we are indebted to *Burchardus*, a contemporary Writer of unexceptionable Authority, and Master of Ceremonies to *Alexander*, who has inserted them at length in his *Diarium*, or Journal of that Pope's Actions [h].——As for the unhappy *Zizini*, he died soon after he was put into the *French* King's Hands; and it was universally believed that his Holiness had caused him to be poisoned, in order to earn, by his Death, the promised Reward of Three hundred thousand Ducats [i].

Year of Christ 1494.

To return now to *Charles*, whom we left on his March from *Florence* to the Ecclesiastical State. As he approached the Territories of the Church, he was met by Envoys from the Pope, sent to propose a Treaty between him, the Holy See, and the King of *Naples*. *Charles* received the Envoys with great Politeness, but returned Answer, that he was ready to treat with his Holiness, and would treat with no other: And, accordingly, he dispatched immediately Embassadors to *Rome*. The Embassadors peremptorily insisted, pursuant to their Instructions, upon the King's being admitted, with his whole Army, into *Rome*, and the Pope's ordering *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, Duke of *Calabria*, who was come with a Body of Troops to defend the City, to withdraw, and return to the Kingdom of *Naples*. As the Pope would thus be

[h] Burchard. Diar. p. 14. et seq. apud Gordon. in Appendice. [i] Idem ibid.

Year of Chriſt 1494.

left entirely at the Mercy of the King, who had ſeveral Cardinals in his Retinue, known to be the avowed Enemies of the *Borgias*, and all Men capable of the moſt violent Reſolutions, the Demands of the Embaſſadors were rejected by his Holineſs himſelf as well as his Two Sons, Cardinal *Valentine* and the Duke of *Gandia*, in the moſt haughty and inſolent Terms. However, when News was brought that the King had entered the Patrimony of *St. Peter*, had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Viterbo*, had left a Garriſon there, and was advancing, full March, to *Rome*, the Pope, finding that he muſt either ſtand a Siege, or receive him into the City, choſe the latter, and ſent immediately Deputies to acquaint the King therewith, and ſettle the Conditions. The King appointed Deputies to confer, and adjuſt Matters, with thoſe of the Pope; and it was agreed, that the King ſhould paſs through *Rome* when, and in what Manner, he pleaſed; that his Troops ſhould be ſupplied with the neceſſary Proviſions, paying for them; and that the Duke of *Calabria* ſhould withdraw all his Forces from *Rome* before the King entered it. Theſe Conditions being agreed to, *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Calabria*, marched out of *Rome*, with his *Neapolitan* Forces, on the laſt Day of the preſent Year, in the Morning, and *Charles* made his Entry in the Evening, by Torch-light, at the Head of his Troops, all armed, and the King reſting his Lance on his Thigh, as if he were entering an Enemy's Town. The Streets were all illuminated, and the People, flocking from all Quarters, received the King with loud Acclamations, crying out, as he paſſed, *Viva la Francia*, *Viva la Francia*. *Charles* diſmounted at the Palace of *St. Mark*, which had been prepared for his Reception, and not truſting the Pope, who had retired to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, he cauſed ſtrong Guards to be placed, with Part of his Artillery, in all the Avenues leading to his Palace. The ſame Night the Pope ſent his Secretary, the Biſhop of *Nepi*, and One of the Maſters of the Ceremonies, to compliment the King, on his ſafe Arrival, in his Name, as well as in the Name of the College of Cardinals, and the People of *Rome*. The next Day a Treaty was ſet on Foot, and in a few Days concluded between the Pope and the King. The Articles of that Treaty were, that a perfect Harmony ſhould thenceforth ſubſiſt between his Holineſs, and the moſt Chriſtian King; that the Cities of *Terracina*, *Civita-Vecchia*, and *Spoleti*, ſhould be delivered up

The Pope refuſes to admit him into Rome.

But is forced to yield.

The King's Entry into Rome.

Agreement between him and the Pope.

Year of Chriſt 1495.

up to and kept by the King, till he had completed the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*; that his Holineſs ſhould not moleſt the Cardinals, nor the *Roman* Barons, who had declared for the King; that *Zizini*, Brother to Sultan *Bajazet*, ſhould be delivered up to the King, to be employed by him in the War, which he intended to make upon the *Turks* after the Conqueſt of *Naples*; and laſtly, that Cardinal *Valentine* ſhould attend him, in the preſent Expedition, with the Character of Apoſtolic Legate. By this laſt Article the King thought, that he had, in the Son, a Pledge for the Fidelity of the Father. Theſe Articles being all agreed to, the Pope returned from the Caſtle of *St. Angelo* to the *Vatican*, and was there viſited by the King on the 16th of *January*. They had ſome other Interviews the following Days; and in all the Pope expreſſed the moſt cordial Affection for the King, and the ſincereſt Attachment to his Perſon and Intereſt. At his Deſire he created Two Cardinals, *William Briconnet*, Biſhop of *St. Malo*, and the Biſhop of *Mans* of the *Luxemburg* Family; and on that Occaſion told the King, that he could aſk nothing of him, that he was not ready to grant; that he had always favoured the *French* Nation in his Heart, and had only wanted an Opportunity of receding, with Honour, from the Engagements, which he had entered into with the King of *Naples*. Before *Charles* left *Rome*, moſt of the *Roman* Barons, and with them ſeveral Cardinals, informing him privately of the Manner, in which the Pope had been elected, and had hitherto governed; of his lewd and debauched Life, of his Want of all Faith, Religion and Principles, *&c.* earneſtly entreated him to cauſe a General Council to be called, in order to depoſe him, and deliver the City of *Rome*, as well as the Church, from ſo lawleſs a Tyrant. They added, that notwithſtanding the Zeal he pretended, at preſent, for his Majeſty's Service, he would find him, as ſoon as the Terror of his Arms was removed, a moſt bitter and implacable Enemy. The King returned Anſwer, that it was to aſcertain his Right to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and not to concern himſelf with the Government, or the Affairs of the Church, that he came into *Italy*, and that, if his Holineſs of a Friend became his Enemy, he would then, but not till then, treat him as ſuch [i].

Year of Chriſt 1495.

The Pope pretends great Zeal for the King's Service.

[i] Guicciardin. l. 2. De Comines, c. 11. Burchard. Diar. p. 34. Tomaſi, p. 97.

The

Year of Christ 1495.

Cardinal Valentine's *treacherous Conduct.*

The King, having now ſettled all Matters with the Pope, ſet out from *Rome* on the 28th of *January*, having made near a Month's Stay in that City. He halted the Firſt Day at *Marino*, but Twelve Miles diſtant from *Rome*, and the next at *Veletri*, about Fourteen Miles from *Marino*. From thence Cardinal *Valentine*, who, by One of the Articles of the Treaty, was to attend the King in this Expedition, made his Eſcape. He had appointed One of his Servants to wait for him, with Two Horſes, about Half a Mile out of Town, and walking thither in the Duſk of the Evening, in the Diſguiſe of a Groom, he mounted his Horſe, and returned, full Speed, to *Rome*. The King knew nothing of his Flight till the next Morning, when he ſent to complain to the Pope of ſo manifeſt a Breach of One of the chief Articles of the Treaty, to which, he ſaid, he was very well ſatisfied that his Holineſs was privy. The Pope pretended to have been noways concerned in it, but could not be prevailed upon to ſend the Cardinal back to the Army; which left no Room for the King to doubt of his Inſincerity. But not thinking it worth his while to return to *Rome* on that Account, he took no further Notice of it for the preſent [k]. *Burchard* tells us, that the Cardinal, to remove all Suſpicion from the Mind of the King of his intending to leave him, and prevent his being too narrowly watched, ordered Nineteen covered Carriages to attend him, all loaded, in Appearance, with Things of great Value for his own Uſe; that he cauſed Three of them, containing a great Quantity of Plate, to be unloaded, in the Sight of the whole Army, at the Place, where the King halted the Firſt Day; but that the Drivers of theſe Three Carriages had private Orders to keep behind, and, when at a conſiderable Diſtance from the Army, to turn about, and make the beſt of their Way for *Rome*; which they did and arrived ſafe. The ſame Writer adds, that, when the Cardinal's Flight was known in the Army, the Soldiery fell upon the remaining Carriages, in order to plunder them, but, to their great Diſappointment, found them loaded only with Stones, or Things of no Value, and that the Cardinal, nevertheleſs, gave out, that being ſent for to *Rome*, upon an Affair of the utmoſt Importance, unknown till then, the *French* Soldiers had laid hold of that Opportunity to plunder his

[k] De la Vigne Journal de Charle VIII. Tomaſi, p. 97. Burchard. Diar. p. 34.

Baggage, and, in order to conceal it, filled the Carriages with Rubbiſh [l]. Year of Chriſt 1495.

In the mean time the King, thinking that he ſhould hereafter have no great Occaſion for the Aſſiſtance or Friendſhip of the Pope, purſued his March to the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Upon his Approach the People and moſt of the Barons, who hated the very Name of *Alphonſo* on Account of his Avarice, Cruelty, and tyrannical Government, flew every-where to Arms, and proclaiming *Charles* their lawful King and Deliverer, ſet up the *French* Standard in all their Towns, not awed by Gariſons. *Alphonſo* having no Hopes of receiving any Aſſiſtance in due Time from either of his Allies, the *Turk* or his Holineſs, and not daring to quit *Naples*, leſt that City ſhould follow the Example of the reſt, he took a very extraordinary Reſolution, that of reſigning the Royal Title and Authority in favour of his Son *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Calabria*, *Ferdinand* was not above Twenty-four Years of Age, of a mild Diſpoſition, of an obliging Behaviour, and as univerſally beloved as his Father was hated. *Alphonſo* therefore flattered himſelf, that he being removed, and ſo promiſing a Youth placed on the Throne in his Room, the People would prefer him, who was born among them, and whom they all knew, to One, who was as great a Stranger to them as they were to him. Having therefore ſigned the Act of Renunciation in the Preſence of his Brother *Frideric*, and all the Nobility, and cauſed *Ferdinand* to be crowned with the uſual Ceremonies, he fled in his Gallies to *Mazara* in *Sicily*, and, after a ſhort Stay there, to *Meſſina*, where he embraced a religious Life, and ended his Days on the 19th of *November* of the preſent Year, when he had lived Forty-ſeven Years and ſome Days, and reigned One Year, wanting Two Days [m]. He was buried with Royal Pomp in the great Church of *Meſſina*, and his Tomb is there to be ſeen to this Day.

Alphonſo *reſigns the Crown to his Son* Ferdinand, *and quits the Kingdom.*

The Reſignation of *Alphonſo* would have had the wiſhed-for Effect, in the Opinion of *Guicciardin*, had it been made ſooner. But the Revolt was already become general; and the *French*, having taken by Storm Two Places, that oppoſed them, *Monteſortino* and *Mount St. John*, and, putting all they found in them to the Sword, reduced them to Aſhes, ſtruck ſuch Terror into the reſt, that they all ſubmitted as

The whole Kingdom and Naples *itſelf ſubmits to* Charles.

[l] Burchard. & Tomaſi. ibid. [m] Guicciardin, l. 1. Comines, l. 7. c. 11. Summont. Hiſt. Neap. & Conſtanzi. l. 20.

ſoon

Year of Christ 1495.

ſoon as the Enemy appeared before them. The new King advanced with his Army to defend the Cities of *St. Germano* and *Capua*, and thus prevent the *French* from advancing to *Naples*. But being either abandoned by his Troops, or betrayed by his Generals, he ſet out from *Capua*, with the ſmall Remains of his Army, on his Return to the Capital. But, finding upon his Arrival there, that the Inhabitants had openly revolted, had proclaimed *Charles*, and ſent to him to come and take Poſſeſſion of their City, he reſolved to abandon a Kingdom, which it was no longer poſſible for him to defend. Having therefore aſſembled the Chief of the Nobility and People, he abſolved them from the Oath of Allegiance, which they had taken to him but a few Days before, and gave them Leave to ſubmit, upon the beſt Terms they could get, to their new Maſters. This the young King did in ſo affecting a Speech, and ſuch tender Expreſſions, as they are related by *Guiccardin*, that they drew Tears from all who were preſent. But as they had no other Effect, the King, embarking on the Gallies, that waited for him in the Harbour, with his Uncle *Frideric*, the old Queen, his Grandfather's Wife, her Daughter *Joan*, and a few Lords, who did not forſake him in his Misfortunes, ſailed for the Iſland of *Iſchia*, often repeating, while in Sight of *Naples*; the Words of the 127th *Pſalm*, *Except the Lord keep the City the Watchmen waketh in vain* [n].

Ferdinand *retires to the Iſland of* Iſchia.

Charles *makes his public Entry into* Naples.

Charles, being, by *Ferdinand*'s Flight, left Maſter of, almoſt, the whole Kingdom, made his public Entry into *Naples* on the 21ſt of *February* of the preſent Year, amidſt the loud Acclamations of People of all Ranks, and having in a few Days, reduced *Caſtel Nuovo* and *Caſtello dell' Uovo*, in which *Ferdinand* had left ſome Troops, he employed the remaining Part of the ſhort Time he ſtayed there in giving Orders for the ſecuring of his Conqueſts, in receiving the Oaths and Submiſſions of the Provinces, Cities, and Towns, and above all in Tournaments, Shews, and Rejoicings. While he was thus employed he received certain Intelligence from *Philip de Comines*, his Embaſſador at *Venice*, of a League concluded againſt him, into which had entered the Pope, the *Venetians*, the Republic of *Florence*, and *Lewis Sforza*, the Uſurper of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the chief Author of the King's Expedition into *Italy*. They were all alike jealous of the Power of the *French*, who carried all before them; and this League they

[n] Guicciardin, l. 1. p. 36, 37, 38.

formed

formed not only with a Deſign to drive them out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, but to prevent the King's Return to *France*, and to ſeize on his Perſon, in order to oblige him to ſurrender every Foot of Ground he held in *Italy*. *Sforza*, apprehending, as has been ſaid, that King *Ferdinand*, the elder, would oblige him to deliver up the Dutchy of *Milan* to *John Galeazzo*, the lawful Heir, who had married that King's Grand-daughter, had, in order to divert him from that Undertaking, invited the *French* to the Conqueſt of his Kingdom. But having, with a large Sum of Money, purchaſed of the Emperor *Maximilian* the Inveſtiture of the Dutchy, and diſpatched with Poiſon the young Duke his Nephew, he thought that he no longer ſtood in need of the *French*, and therefore very readily joined in the League againſt ſo powerful and ſo dangerous an Enemy; the rather as the Duke of *Orleans*, afterwards *Lewis* XII. laid Claim to that Dutchy. The Intelligence *Charles* received of this League obliged him to haſten his Departure from *Naples*; and having placed Gariſons in the fortified Towns, he ſet out on his Return to *France*, on the 20th of *May*, about Three Months after his entering that Kingdom. He paſſed through *Rome*, but found that the Pope, and the Cardinals who adhered to him, had all fled firſt to *Orvieto*, and from thence to *Perugia*. The *Romans* ſupplied his Army with Plenty of Proviſions; and to them, as he knew they did not approve of the Conduct of the Pope, he behaved in the moſt obliging Manner. He marched Five Weeks without the leaſt Oppoſition: But, upon his Arrival at the River *Taro* in the *Parmeſan*, he found the Confederates encamped on the oppoſite Bank, to the Number, ſays *Comines*, of 30,000 Combatants, whereas his Army conſiſted only of 7,000 regular Troops. After ſeveral Motions the Two Armies came at laſt, on the 6th of *July*, to a general Engagement, which *Guicciardin* has deſcribed, at length, not much to the Honour of the *Italian* Soldiery. For the Confederates had 3,300 Men killed on the Spot, and the *French* not above 200. Beſides, the King carried his Point, which was to open a Paſſage for his Army; and he purſued his March quite unmoleſted. He halted a few Days at *Aſti*, to refreſh his Troops, who had ſuffered greatly for want of Proviſions, and then continuing his March, arrived, with his Army, at *Lions* on the 7th of *November* [o].

Year of Chriſt 1495.

The Italian *Princes join in a League againſt him.*

He returns to France.

Battle on the Banks of the Taro.

[o] Guicciardin, l. 2. p. 45. 50. Tomaſi. p. 145—148. Comines, l. 8. c. 1—7. La Vigne Journal de Charles VIII.

Year of Chriſt 1495.

Summons ſent by the Pope to Charles, *and his Anſwer to it.*

Charles had not yet reached the Borders of *France*, when a Monitory was delivered to him by a Meſſenger from the Pope, commanding him, on Pain of Excommunication, to quit *Italy* in the Term of Ten Days, and recall all his Troops out of the Kingdom of *Naples*. If he complied not with that Command, he was by the ſame Monitory ſummoned to appear, in Perſon, before his Holineſs at *Rome*. The King could not help ſmiling at this Summons; and he returned to it the following Anſwer; That he was not a little ſurpriſed at his Holineſs's commanding him to leave *Italy*, ſince, having demanded a free Paſſage for his Troops to return to *France*, his Holineſs's Allies had denied him his Requeſt, and raiſed what Troops they could to ſtop him; that he was no leſs ſurpriſed at his requiring him to withdraw his Troops from the Kingdom of *Naples*, ſince it was not without his Conſent, Approbation, and even good Wiſhes, that they had entered that Kingdom; and, laſtly, that as to his appearing before his Holineſs at *Rome*, ſuch a Command ſeemed to him quite unaccountable; ſince being deſirous, on his Return from *Naples*, of ſeeing him at *Rome*, and returning him Thanks for the many Obligations he owed him, he had not thought fit to grant him that Satisfaction; but, nevertheleſs, that he would ſtrive to obey, in due Time, his Holineſs's Command; and only begged that he would wait for him, and not make him undertake, a Second Time, the ſame Journey in vain [p].

Ferdinand *reſolves to attempt the Recovery of his Kingdom.*

And now briefly to relate what happened in the Kingdom of *Naples*, after the Departure of *Charles*. He had left ſome Troops under the Command of *Gilbert*, Count of *Montpenſier*, Prince of the Blood, but too ſmall a Number, as he wanted them himſelf for his Return, to guard ſo great a Country. Beſides, he had very imprudently neglected to reduce ſome ſtrong Holds, that had not yet ſubmitted; and the People of *Naples*, the moſt inconſtant and fickle in the World, began already to be diſſatisfied with the *French* Government. All this encouraged King *Ferdinand*, who had fled, as has been ſaid, to the Iſland of *Iſchia*, to attempt the Recovery of his Kingdom. Having formed this Deſign, he paſſed over, in a light Galley, from the Iſland of *Iſchia* to *Meſſina*, to adviſe with his Father *Alphonſo*, who was ſtill living, about the moſt effectual Means of carrying his Deſign into Execution. They had ſeveral private Conferences, and in the End it was

[p] Guicciardin, ubi ſupra, & Spond. ad ann. 1495.

agreed,

agreed, that Recourſe ſhould be had to *Ferdinand*, King of *Spain*, ſurnamed the Catholic, a Title lately conferred on him by the Pope, on Account of his Victories over the *Moors* of *Granada*. As he was nearly related to them, being the Son of *John*, King of *Arragon*, Brother to *Alphonſo*, the Firſt King of *Naples* of that Family, they did not doubt, but he would very readily eſpouſe their Cauſe, and afford them all the Aſſiſtance in his Power; the rather as he had Reaſon to apprehend, that, ſhould the *French* be left in the quiet Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Naples*, they would lay hold of the firſt Opportunity to invade the neighbouring Iſland of *Sicily*, that belonged to him, and unite it to their new Kingdom. Of this the Catholic King was aware, and therefore upon the firſt Application from *Alphonſo* and his Son *Ferdinand*, he ordered a Body of Troops to aſſemble, with all Expedition, at *Meſſina*, and to paſs over from thence to the Kingdom of *Naples*, in order to aſſiſt the baniſhed King in recovering his Kingdom. Theſe Troops were commanded by the famous *Gonſalvo Fernandes*, of the Family of *Aguilar*, a Man who had ſignalized himſelf in a very eminent Manner, againſt the *Moors* of *Granada*, and had by his Courage, his Conduct, and his military Atchievements, acquired the glorious Title of the *Great Captain*; and by that Title he is commonly mentioned in Hiſtory. *Gonſalvo* and the young King landed their Army, without Oppoſition, at *Reggio*, in *Calabria*, oppoſite to *Meſſina*. The Town opened its Gates to them, and the Caſtle ſurrendered after a Three Days Siege. In *Calabria* commanded for *Charles*, *Edward Stuart*, a *Scotchman*, commonly known by the Name of *d'Aubigni*. He was originally Captain of the King's Life-guards, who were all of that Nation, the *French* Kings repoſing greater Confidence in them on Account of their known Valour as well as Fidelity, than in their own Subjects. *Edward* had no leſs diſtinguiſhed himſelf, on many Occaſions, by his Courage and Conduct in the Field, than by his Penetration and Wiſdom in the Cabinet; and had therefore been created Lord *Aubigni*, and raiſed to the higheſt Military Honours. *Charles*, upon his returning to *France*, appointed him Lord High Conſtable of his new Kingdom, beſtowed upon him the County of *Aſti*, with the Lordſhip of *Squillace*, held by the Pope's youngeſt Son, and committed to his Charge the Defence of the Province of *Calabria*, lying next to *Sicily*. He therefore no ſooner heard of the Surrender of *Reggio* than he

Year of Chriſt 1495.

Ferdinand, *King of* Spain, *eſpouſes his Cauſe.*

A new War kindled in Italy.

Year of Chriſt 1495. he took the Field, attacked *Gonſalvo* and the King, utterly defeated them, and obliged *Gonſalvo* to ſhut himſelf up in *Reggio*, and the King to return to *Sicily*. This was a very inauſpicious Beginning, and it tarniſhed, not a little, the Glory of the *Spaniſh Great Captain*. In the mean time the People of *Naples*, no longer able to bear with the haughty and inſolent Behaviour of the *French*, ſent privately to invite *Ferdinand* to return, aſſuring him, that they were, all to a Man, ready to ſhed the laſt Drop of their Blood in his Cauſe. Upon that Invitation he immediately put to Sea with a Fleet of Sixty large and Twenty ſmall Ships, which the Catholic King had furniſhed him with, and had the Satisfaction, as he ſailed along the Coaſt, to ſee his Standard diſplayed upon the Towers of *Salerno*, *Amalfi*, and the other Maritime Towns. He appeared the Third Day off *Naples*, and *Montpenſier*, who commanded there, having very imprudently marched out with the greater Part of the Gariſon to prevent his landing, the People laid hold of that Opportunity, flew to Arms, ſeized all the Gates, and, crying out, *God ſave King Ferdinand*, brought him in Triumph, into the City, on the 7th of *July* of the preſent Year. He rode through the City amidſt the loud Acclamations of People of all Ranks; and the Ladies, not ſatisfied with covering him from the Windows with Flowers, and ſprinkling him with odoriferous Waters, many of the firſt Diſtinction among them came out to embrace him, and wipe off the Sweat from his Face. The other Cities followed the Example of the Metropolis, and the Revolt was now become as general in favour of *Ferdinand*, as it had been, but a few Months before, againſt him. The *French* were every-where driven out, and *Montpenſier* himſelf was beſieged in the City of *Atella* by *Gonſalvo* and the King, and made Priſoner, with his whole Army, ſtill Five or Six Thouſand ſtrong. But it was agreed, that he ſhould be ſupplied with Shipping to tranſport his Troops with their Baggage to *Provence*; upon Condition, however, that he obliged *Aubigni* to deliver the Towns, that he ſtill held in *Calabria*. The brave *Scot* had recovered ſeveral Towns that the *Great Captain* had reduced, and among the reſt the City of *Coſenza*, Capital of the *Hither Calabria*, and refuſed to ſurrender them, alleging, that he had not ſigned the Treaty of *Atella*, and therefore was not bound to ſtand to it. *Montpenſier* was therefore kept Priſoner at *Puzzolo*, where he died ſoon afterwards. *Aubigni* held out ſome time longer;

The Neapolitans *revolt, and invite* Ferdinand *to return.*

Year of Chriſt 1496.

The French *are every-where driven out.*

longer; but finding, that the King had laid aſide all Thoughts of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and being, at the ſame time, reduced to great Straits for want of Proviſions, as well as Money to purchaſe any, or to pay his Soldiers, he thought it would reflect no Diſgrace upon him to abandon an Enterprize, which his Maſter had abandoned; and accordingly he concluded a Treaty with the Enemy, by which he and all the other *French* Commanders were allowed to return unmoleſted to *France*, with all their Men and their Baggage q. Such was the Succeſs of the famous Expedition of *Charles* VIII. againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*; an Expedition, to uſe the Words of Father *Daniel*, undertaken with much Imprudence, purſued with wonderful Succeſs, and little Conduct, and at laſt ſhamefully abandoned, with the Loſs of a great many brave Men r. Indeed no Kingdom, it muſt be owned, was ever more eaſily conquered, and more ſhamefully loſt.

Year of Chriſt 1496. *And* Ferdinand *reſtored.*

By the Departure of the *French* Peace was reſtored throughout the Kingdom. But the King had ſcarce taſted the Sweets of it, when he was taken dangerouſly ill at *Soma*, a Town ſituated at the Foot of Mount *Veſuvius*, and, being carried to *Naples*, he died there in a few Days. His Death happened in the Month of *October* of the preſent Year, when he had not yet completed the 28th Year of his Age, nor the Second of his Reign. As he died without Iſſue, he was ſucceeded by his Uncle *Frideric*, the Brother of *Alphonſo*. Thus did *Naples* ſee, in the Space of leſs than Two Years, Five Kings; *Ferdinand* the elder, *Alphonſo* his Son, *Charles* VIII. of *France*, *Ferdinand* the younger, and *Frideric* his Uncle.

Ferdinand *dies.*

Is ſucceeded by Frideric.

Of Pope *Alexander* we find nothing recorded worthy of Notice, during the Courſe of the *Neapolitan* War, beſides his Simoniacal Practices in conferring not only Benefices and Biſhoprics, but even the Red Hat, upon ſuch only as were able to come up to the Price he ſet upon them; his inſtituting new Offices, and expoſing them to public Sale, and his creating the Duke of *Gandia*, his eldeſt Son, Captain General of the Church, and ſending him to make War upon the *Orſini*, whom he had declared guilty of High Treaſon, for ſiding with the *French* againſt his Ally *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*. The Duke entered the

The Pope makes War upon the Orſini.

q Guicciard. l. 2 & 3. Comines, l. 7. & 8. Govius, l. 3. Georgius Florus de exped. Caroli VIII. Oricellarius de Bello Italic. La Vigne Journal de Charles VIII. r Daniel Hiſt. de France. l. 8.

Ter-

Year of Chriſt 1496.

Territories of the *Orſini* at the Head of a very conſiderable Army, made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral ſtrong Holds, which that Family was poſſeſſed of in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and, at laſt, laid Siege to *Bracciano*, a very ſtrong Place, ſituated on the Lake of that Name. Here he met with a moſt vigorous Reſiſtance, was repulſed, with great Loſs, in all the Attacks he made; and, in the mean time, landed at *Gaeta* a Body of choſen Troops, ſent by *Charles*, King of *France*, to the Relief of his Allies. Theſe were joined, on their March, by moſt of the other *Roman* Barons and their Vaſſals, who, being well appriſed that the Pope made War upon the *Orſini* with no other View, but to enrich his Family at their Expence, looked upon their Cauſe as their own. The Duke of *Gandia* no ſooner heard of the Landing of the *French*, than he raiſed the Siege, and marched with his whole Army to meet them. The Two Armies met at *Soriano*, a Village belonging to the *Orſini*, and, an Engagement thereupon enſuing, the Pope's Army was put to Flight, with the Loſs of 500 Men, of all their Standards, Baggage, and Artillery. The Duke himſelf was wounded, and very narrowly eſcaped falling into the Enemy's Hands. This Battle was followed by a Treaty of Peace between the Pope and the *Orſini*, which his Holineſs, bent upon enriching and aggrandizing his own Children with the Spoils of that illuſtrious Family, no longer obſerved, than he thought that he could break it with Safety, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

His Army defeated.

Benevento *erected into a Dutchy, and given by the Pope to his eldeſt Son.*

Year of Chriſt 1497.

The following Year the Pope, not ſatisfied with having created the Duke of *Gandia*, his eldeſt and favourite Son, Captain General of the Church, propoſed, in a Conſiſtory, called on the 7th of *June*, the erecting of the City of *Benevento*, with its Territory, into a Dutchy, and beſtowing it upon him. To that Propoſal the Cardinals all agreed except Cardinal *Piccolomini*, afterwards *Pius* III. who had the Courage to declare, that he never would conſent to the alienating of the Lands or Eſtates of the Church. But in ſpite of his Oppoſition *Benevento* was declared a Dutchy, and the Duke of *Gandia* received the Inveſtiture at his Father's Hands. This new Honour proved fatal to the Duke. For his Brother the Cardinal, provoked beyond Meaſure at the Partiality ſhewn by the Father for him, and envying him the extraordinary Honours that were heaped daily upon him, while he himſelf was, in a Manner, neglected, reſolved to remove him out of the Way, and thus engroſs

his Father's Affections to himſelf. To this barbarous and horrid Reſolution he was inſtigated by another Motive of a different Nature. His Brother was his Rival in an Amour; and the Lady ſeemed to prefer the Duke to the Cardinal, which the latter could not bear. Being therefore determined upon the Fratricide, he charged Four of the many Aſſaſſins, whom he kept conſtantly in his Pay, with the Execution of it; and the Time fixed for that Purpoſe was the Night preceding the 15th of *June*, the Cardinal knowing for certain that his Brother was to viſit his Miſtreſs that Night. As he himſelf was to ſet out early next Morning for *Naples*, to crown the new King, he ſupped with the Duke and the reſt of his Relations at his Mother's. After Supper the Duke and the Cardinal came away together; but the Duke telling the Cardinal, with his uſual Familiarity, that he had a Mind to paſs ſome Hours with a Lady of their Acquaintance before he went Home, the Cardinal wiſhed him much Pleaſure, and thus they parted. As the Duke did not return that Night, nor the Day following, and Perſons even of Diſtinction were at this Time frequently miſſing, it was ſurmiſed by ſome, that he had been murdered, and that his Body, which, upon the ſtricteſt Search, could be no-where found, had been thrown into the *Tiber*. Upon that Surmiſe the Pope, diſtracted with Grief, ordered the Watermen, and all who had Houſes on the River, to be examined, whether they knew of any dead Body being lately thrown into the River. Amongſt the many who were examined one *George*, a *Sclavonian*, who uſed to bring Timber up the River in his Boat, declared, that on *Wedneſday* Night (the Night preceding the 15th of *June*) while he was watching his Timber, which he had put aſhore, he ſaw Two Men, and ſoon after Two others, coming out of an Alley, and looking every-where around them, to ſee, as he ſuppoſed, whether the Streets were clear from Paſſengers; that, upon their ſeeing no body, they made a Signal to their Companions to advance, which they immediately did; that One of them was on Horſeback, and had behind him the Body of a dead Man, the Head and Arms hanging down on One Side, and the Legs on the other; that as he approached the River, Two of his Companions taking the dead Body, the one by the Arms, the other by the Legs, after ſwinging it Two or Three Times, threw it, with all their Might, into the River. The *Sclavonian* being aſked, upon this his Depoſition, why he had not made

Year of Chriſt 1497.

Who is murdered by his Brother the Cardinal.

Circumſtances attending that Murder.

Year of Chriſt 1497.

made ſuch a Diſcovery to the Governor, he anſwered, that he had ſeen an Hundred Bodies of Perſons who had been murdered thrown into the River, and that, as no Notice had been ever taken of thoſe Murders, he thought it was no Buſineſs of his to take any Notice of this. Upon this Intelligence all the Watermen, in and about *Rome*, were employed to fiſh for the Body, with a Promiſe of a great Reward to thoſe who ſhould find it. It was found and haled aſhore the ſame Day about the Hour of Veſpers, and, upon their waſhing it, they diſcovered Nine Wounds, all of them mortal. The Body was carried in the Evening, with great Funeral Pomp, to the Church of *St. Mary de Populo*, and there interred, as he had been General of the Church, with all the Military Honours. The Pope, affected beyond Expreſſion with the tragical End of his eldeſt and favourite Son, and taking it for granted, that the Murder had been perpetrated by the Enemies of the Family, cauſed the ſtricteſt Enquiries to be made after the Authors of it, that he might have, at leaſt, the Satisfaction of wreaking his Vengeance upon them. None could bear Witneſs againſt the Cardinal, but the Ruffians, whom he had employed, and they dared not, leſt they ſhould be ſent after the Duke. However, from the Diſcoveries, that were made in the Courſe of theſe Enquiries, it evidently appeared, that the Cardinal, and no other, was the Author of the Murder. The Pope himſelf was convinced of it, and overwhelmed with Grief; he ſhut himſelf up in his Cloſet, and there remained, without admitting any Perſon whatever, or taking any Kind of Nouriſhment, from *Wedneſday* to *Saturday*, when he was prevailed upon by the Cardinal of *Segovia*, who had never departed from his Chamber-door, to admit him, and take ſome Food. The following Night *Vanozza*, whoſe Favourite the Cardinal was, as the Duke was the Pope's, viſited his Holineſs, and ſtaid ſeveral Hours with him in private. What paſſed at that Interview we know not. But in this all Authors agree, that the Pope thenceforth, by a ſudden and unaccountable Change, appeared quite unconcerned; that all further Enquiries concerning the Duke's Death were ſtopt; and his Name no more mentioned, than if he had never exiſted[s]. Some Authors ſuppoſe *Vanozza* to have been privy to the Murder, nay, and to have inſtigated the Cardinal to it, finding

The Pope's Behaviour on that Occaſion.

[s] Guicciardin, l. 3. p. 96. Tomaſi. p. 497—262. & Burchard. p. 36—40. apud Gordon, p. 152—159.

him

him endowed with much better Talents than the Duke, and more capable of raiſing the Family to the higheſt Pitch of Grandeur, if the Honours, beſtowed upon the Duke, were conferred upon him. And now let us ſee what Meaſures his Holineſs purſued to exalt this Fratricide, and in him his Family. Year of Chriſt 1497.

Ferdinand II. King of *Naples*, was ſuceeeded, as has been ſaid, by his Uncle *Frideric*, who immediately wrote a moſt ſubmiſſive Letter to the Pope, to acquaint him with his Acceſſion, and beg his Holineſs to ſend him the Bull of Inveſtiture. *Alexander*, in Compliance with the King's Requeſt, ſent him, the very next Day, the Bull he had applied for, and with it a Letter, filled with the moſt friendly and kind Expreſſions, wiſhing him a long and proſperous Reign, and aſſuring him, that he ſhould ever employ all his Power, temporal as well as ſpiritual, to ſupport him upon a Throne, to which he had ſo juſt a Title. To do him greater Honour, he ſent ſoon afterwards Cardinal *Valentine*, with the Character of his Legate *a latere*, to crown him; and on the 10th of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year that Ceremony was performed by the Cardinal, with the utmoſt Magnificence, not at *Naples*, where the Plague then raged, but at *Capua* [t]. *The Pope grants the Inveſtiture to* Frideric, *King of* Naples, *and ſends Cardinal* Valentine *to crown him.*

As *Charles* VIII. of *France* died on the 7th of *April* of the following Year 1498, and great military Preparations were carrying on by his Succeſſor *Lewis* XII. with a Deſign of making a new Attempt upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Pope, thinking that King *Frideric*, to engage his Favour and Protection againſt ſo powerful an Enemy, would readily grant him whatever he ſhould aſk, demanded his Daughter for the Cardinal, who wanted to renounce that Dignity, and the Principality of *Taranto* for her Portion. The Pope's View in this was, as is ſuppoſed by the contemporary Writers, to raiſe his Son, ſo unbounded was his Ambition, to the Throne of *Naples*. For ſhould his Son marry the King's Daughter, and get Poſſeſſion of ſo conſiderable a Part of the Kingdom, he thought it would be no difficult Undertaking, with the Wealth and Forces of the Church, to drive out the Father-in-Law, who had but few Troops, and empty Coffers. Of this *Frideric* was aware, and therefore rejected, in the leaſt diſobliging Terms he could, the propoſed Marriage. *Lewis Sforza*, the Uſurper of the Dutchy of *Milan*, whoſe Dominions the *French* King claimed, and *Quarrels with the King.* Year of Chriſt 1498. *Occaſion of that Quarrel.*

[t] Camill. Peregrin. in Append.

Year of Chriſt 1498.

intended to invade, as well as the Kingdom of *Naples*, uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to perſuade *Frideric* to gratify the Pope, leſt the Deſire of aggrandizing his Family, the only Object he had in his View, ſhould induce him to recur to *France*, and unite with that King againſt both, which would be inevitably attended with the Ruin of both. But *Frideric* ſtill refuſed to comply with the Pope's Demand, ſaying, that he well knew he ſhould thereby forfeit his Holineſs's Friendſhip, and expoſe himſelf to the Danger of loſing his Kingdom; but that he likewiſe knew, that by giving his Daughter in Marriage to the Pope's Son, with the Principality of *Taranto*, he ſhould expoſe himſelf to the ſame Danger, and was therefore determined of Two Evils to chuſe that, which was the leaſt derogatory to his Honour, and proceeded not from his own Act [u].

The Pope concludes an Alliance with France *againſt* Frideric.

That the Duke of *Milan*'s Apprehenſions were not ill-grounded appeared ſoon afterwards. For upon *Frideric*'s obſtinately perſiſting to reject the propoſed Match, the Pope reſolved, as the Duke had foreſeen, to apply to *France*, not doubting, but, at ſo critical a Juncture, that King would purchaſe his Friendſhip at any Rate. Accordingly the Archbiſhop of *Raguſa* was ſent, with the Character of Nuncio, to the *French* Court, to conclude an Alliance with the King, though the Pope gave out, that his only Buſineſs was to congratulate the new King upon his Acceſſion to the Throne. As the King promiſed himſelf great Advantages, in his intended Expedition into *Italy*, from the Friendſhip of the Pope, a Treaty was ſoon concluded upon the following Terms; that his Holineſs ſhould aſſiſt the King in the War he intended to make upon the Duke of *Milan*, and the King of *Naples*; that he ſhould declare null his Marriage with *Jane* of *France*, Daughter to *Lewis* XI. ſhould grant him a Diſpenſation to marry *Anne* of *Brittany*, and prefer *George* of *Amboiſe*, Archbiſhop of *Roan*, to the Dignity of Cardinal. The King, on his Side, was to confer ſome conſiderable Eſtates, Titles, and Dignities in *France*, upon Cardinal *Valentine*, as ſoon as he had renounced that Dignity, to procure a Match between him and *Charlotta*, Daughter of *Alan d'Albret*, and Siſter to Queen *Jane* of *Navarre*, and to put the Pope in Poſſeſſion of ſome Towns in *Romagna*, held by petty Princes, ſtiling themſelves *Vicars of the Church*. *Anne* of *Brittany*, mentioned in the Treaty, was Heireſs

And upon what Terms.

[u] Guicciardin. l. 4. Tomaſi, p. 311.

to

to that Dutchy, and the Widow of the late King *Charles* VIII. who had married her to annex *Brittany* to the Crown of *France*. But he dying without Iſſue, it reverted to her by One of the Articles of the Marriage-Treaty; and it was to ſecure that Principality to *France*, that *Lewis* ſued for a Diſpenſation to marry her, and obtained it, though he had lived Twenty Yeaſs with *Jane*, in all Appearance, as his lawful Wife [w]. Year of Chriſt 1498.

Under this Year we read of a remarkable Inſtance of *Alexander*'s Baſeneſs, Cruelty, and Injuſtice. He had granted a Diſpenſation to a Nun, Heireſs to the Crown of *Portugal*, to quit her religious Profeſſion, and marry the natural Son of the late King. That Diſpenſation gave great Offence to *Ferdinand*, the *Catholic*, who claimed that Kingdom as the next Heir to it after the Nun; and the Pope was, on the one hand, unwilling to revoke it, and, on the other, apprehenſive of the Conſequences, that might attend his maintaining it, in Oppoſition to ſo powerful a Prince. But *Valentine* extricated him out of his Perplexity, adviſing him to deny his having ever iſſued ſuch a Diſpenſation, and to charge the Archbiſhop of *Coſenza*, the Secretary of Briefs, with having forged it. This Expedient the Pope readily embraced; and the Archbiſhop was immediately apprehended by his Order, as guilty of Forgery, and ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*. As he, conſcious of his own Innocence, denied the Fact with great Conſtancy and Firmneſs, and all, who were acquainted with his Character, looked upon the Charge as a malicious and groundleſs Calumny, the Pope ſent *John Merades*, Biſhop elect of *Toul*, One of the noted Inſtruments of his Cruelty, to aſſure the Priſoner in his Name, that, though he was innocent, if he would, for ſome weighty Reaſons, take the Guilt upon him, his Holineſs would cauſe him to be immediately ſet at Liberty, and prefer him to the greateſt Dignities. The unhappy Biſhop, allured with the Hopes of Liberty and Preferment, fell into the Snare, pleaded guilty in the Preſence of ſeveral Witneſſes, and moſt humbly begged his Holineſs to forgive him. But inſtead of the promiſed Liberty and Dignities, the Pope ordered him to be more cloſely confined than ever. He was ſoon afterwards brought before a private Conſiſtory, and being there found guilty, upon his own Confeſſion, of having forged the Diſpenſation

Remarkable Inſtance of the Pope's Baſeneſs and Cruelty.

[w] Guicciardin. l. 4. Seyſſel. Annal. de France. Argentre Hiſt. de Bretagne, l. 12.

Year of Christ 1498.

in Queſtion, the following Sentence was pronounced by the Pope himſelf againſt him, that he ſhould be degraded, that his Effects ſhould be confiſcated, and his Perſon delivered up to the Civil Magiſtrate. This cruel and unjuſt Sentence was executed with the utmoſt Rigour; all the Biſhop's Effects, and the Money, he was poſſeſſed of, were given to *Valentine*, and he himſelf was, by the Civil Magiſtrate, confined, for Life, to a Dungeon in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, without any other Food but Bread and Water. But Death ſoon put an End to his Miſery [x].

Valentine *renounces the Eccleſiaſtical State.*

The Way being paved for *Valentine*'s ſecular Grandeur by the above-mentioned Treaty concluded with the King of *France*, he applied to the Pope, and the College of Cardinals, for Leave to quit the Eccleſiaſtical State, alleging, that he had embraced it againſt his Will, merely out of Obedience to his Holineſs's Command; and therefore hoped, that they would not oblige him to continue in it. It was a Thing quite unprecedented for an Archbiſhop and a Cardinal to become a Layman; but the Cardinals knowing that the Affair had been determined before-hand by the Pope, they all agreed to it; and *Valentine* went the very next Day in a rich Lay Habit to meet the Embaſſador, whom the King of *France* had ſent to confirm the above-mentioned Treaty. The Embaſſador ſtayed about a Month at *Rome*, and had the Satisfaction, during that Time, to notify to the Pope, that his Maſter, in Compliance with the Treaty, had created *Cæſar Borgia*, Duke of *Valence* in *Dauphine*, had ſettled upon him a Penſion of Twenty thouſand Livres, and given him the Command of a Company of One hundred Lances, with Twenty thouſand Livres more by Way of Pay. *Cæſar* (whom I ſhall henceforth call *Duke Valentine*, the Title given him by almoſt all the *Italian* Hiſtorians) ſet out from *Rome* with the *French* Embaſſador for the Court of *France*, carrying with him the Pope's Bull for the Divorce, and the Cardinal's Cap for the Archbiſhop of *Roan*. He was received with moſt extraordinary Marks of Honour in all the Towns of *France* through which he paſſed, and above all at *Chinon*, where the *French* Court then reſided. The Magnificence of his Entry into that City, as deſcribed by *Tomaſi* and *Burchard*, almoſt exceeds all Belief [y]. *Tomaſi* tells us, among other Things, that he

Is created by the French *King Duke of* Valence.

[x] Burchard. p. 40——44. Tomaſi, p. 294. [y] Tomaſi, p. 314. Burchard. Diar. p. 85.

had

had in his Train a conſiderable Number of led Horſes, all ſhod with maſſy Gold. The King, to gratify his Vanity and that of the Pope, received, and entertained him, in a Manner, as a ſovereign Prince, created him Knight of the Order of *St. Michael*, an Order greatly eſteemed at that Time in *France*, and continued daily heaping new Honours upon him, though he had already ſufficiently diſcovered his Genius and Temper, and deſpiſed him in his Heart. Year of Chriſt 1498.

The following Year 1499 *Valentine*'s Marriage with the Daughter of *Alan d'Albret* was brought about, not without ſome Difficulty, by the King, and the Nuptials were celebrated with the utmoſt Pomp and Magnificence. And now the King, thinking he might ſafely rely upon the Pope's ſteady Adherence to his Intereſt, ordered the Troops, deſigned for the Conqueſt of the Dutchy of *Milan* and the Kingdom of *Naples*, to rendezvous at *Lions*, and he went thither himſelf, attended by Duke *Valentine* and the Chief of the *French* Nobility. The King remained at *Lions*, but his Army paſſed the *Alps* in the Beginning of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year, and before the End of that Month made themſelves Maſters of the whole Dutchy. So rapid a Conqueſt was owing to the Cowardice of ſome of the Duke's Commanders, and the Treachery of others, but above all to the Hatred his Subjects univerſally bore him, on Account of his Uſurpation, and the Severity of his Government. The King, upon the News of the Surrender of *Milan*, immediately ſet out to go and take Poſſeſſion of ſo glorious an Acquiſition; and on the 16th of *October* he made his public Entry into that City, in the Ducal Habit, amidſt the loud Acclamations of the People. The Reader will find a particular Detail of the Events of this War in *Guicciardin*, and to that excellent Hiſtorian, as they are foreign to my Subject, I refer him [y]. Valentine's *Marriage*. Year of Chriſt 1499. *The Dutchy of* Milan *reduced by the* French.

The Pope ſent to congratulate the King, upon his Succeſs, as ſoon as he heard of his Arrival at *Milan*, and at the ſame time took care to remind him of his Promiſe to put the Holy See in Poſſeſſion of the Towns that were held by petty Princes in *Romagna*, but had originally belonged to the Church. This was the only Article of the Treaty, that the King had not yet fulfilled, and, in Compliance with it, he immediately granted to Duke *Valentine*, whom the Pope had appointed Captain-General of the Church, a Body of Three hundred Lances, *Some Cities of* Romagna *reduced by* Valentine.

[y] Guicciardin. l. 4.

and

Year of Christ 1499.

and Four thouſand *Swiſs*, the former to be paid by the King, and the latter by the Pope. With theſe Troops the Duke began his Expedition by beſieging *Imola*, which, as it was not defenſible, immediately ſurrendered, *Catherine Sforza*, the Governeſs, having retired with her young Son, *Octavian Riarius*, Lord of the Place, to *Forli*, that belonged to the ſame Family. As the Governeſs had not a ſufficient Number of Troops to defend that City, ſhe abandoned it, and, having ſent away her Children and her moſt valuable Effects to *Florence*, withdrew to the Citadel. There ſhe held out, for ſome time, with a Courage and Reſolution far above her Sex. But the Citadel being taken as well as the Caſtle, to which ſhe had retired, ſhe was made Priſoner, and, being ſent to *Rome*, was there ſhut up in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*. But the preſſing Inſtances of the *Florentines*, and the Remonſtrances of *Ivo d'Alegre*, whom the King had appointed to command under the Duke, ſaved her from falling a Victim, as many others had done, to the *Borgian* Cruelty and Avarice. *Valentine* was prevented, for the preſent, from purſuing this War, by an Incident quite unforeſeen, a general Inſurrection againſt the *French* in the State of *Milan*, which obliged them to recall the Troops, employed in reducing the Cities of *Romagna*. Thus was a new and far more bloody War than the former kindled in the *Milaneſe*. But the King, who was returned to *France*, having, upon the firſt News of this ſudden Revolution, ſent a ſtrong Reinforcement to *Trivulzio*, whom he had appointed Governor of his new Dutchy, all the Places, that had revolted, were recovered, and on the 10th of *April* of the following Year 1500 the Duke himſelf was taken Priſoner, being betrayed by the *Swiſs* in his Pay, and carried into *France*. As he had uſurped the Dutchy of *Milan*, had poiſoned his Nephew the lawful Heir, and had frequently put all *Italy*, by his unbounded Ambition, in a Flame, the King confined him for Life to the Caſtle of *Loches*; and he died there about the Year 1510 [z].

General Inſurrection againſt the French *in the State of* Milan.

Quelled, and the Duke taken Priſoner.

Year of Chriſt 1500.

Valentine *compleats the Reduction of* Romagna.

As the King had not yet made the neceſſary Preparations for his intended Expedition into the Kingdom of *Naples*, he ſent, at the Requeſt of the Pope, a ſtrong Body of choſen Troops to aſſiſt *Valentine* in renewing the War againſt the Princes of *Romagna*. With that Reinforcement the Duke ſoon made himſelf Maſter of *Peſaro* and *Rimini*,

[z] Guicciardin. l. 5. Hiſt. de Bayard. c. 16. Anton. Hiſt. de Louis XII.

the

the Firſt Place being abandoned by its Lord, *John Sforza*, and the latter, which was held by *Pandolfo Malateſta*, opening its Gates to him as ſoon as he appeared before them. At *Faenza* he met with a moſt vigorous Reſiſtance from *Aſtor Manfredi*, Lord of that City, though only a Youth of about Eighteen Years of Age. The Duke is ſaid to have loſt, in the Courſe of this Siege, above Two thouſand of his beſt Troops. But the Beſieged being, in the End, reduced to great Straits for Want of Proviſions, and dreading the Conſequences of their falling into the Hands of ſo mercileſs an Enemy without any previous Agreement, prevailed upon their young Prince to capitulate; and the Town was, accordingly, delivered up upon the following Conditions, that the Perſons and Effects of the Inhabitants ſhould be ſafe, and that *Aſtor* ſhould be allowed to retire unmoleſted to what Place ſoever he pleaſed, and carry with him all his Effects. *Valentine* ſwore to the Obſervance of theſe Articles; but, regardleſs of his Oath, he retained the young Prince at his Court, and for ſome time treated him, in Appearance, with great Reſpect. But not long after he was ſent to *Rome*; and there, when a certain Perſon, as was reported, had ſatiated his Luſt with him, he being a moſt beautiful Youth, he was, with his natural Brother, privately put to Death. Thus *Guicciardin.* *Tomaſi* adds, that about a Twelvemonth after, the young Prince was found in the *Tiber* with a Bow-String about his Neck, and his Brother, a Youth of Fifteen Years of Age, with his Hands tied behind his Back [a]. As the Reduction of *Romagna* was completed by the taking of *Faenza*, great Rejoicings were made, on that Occaſion, at *Rome*; and the Pope not only confirmed to *Valentine* the Title of *Duke of Romagna*, which he had aſſumed, but granted to him the whole Province to be held by him and his Heirs, and inveſted him with it in a full Conſiſtory; ſo that the Church got nothing by this War, in which ſo many Lives were loſt, though the Pope had undertaken it under Colour of recovering to her her ancient Domains; and the Duke was, in the End, the only Gainer.

Year of Chriſt 1501.

Inſtance of his Cruelty and Treachery.

Is created Duke of Romagna.

The Pope and *Valentine* were for carrying the War next into the State of *Bologna*, held, with that City, by the *Bentivogli*. But the King of *France*, having, by this Time, made the neceſſary Preparations for adding the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples* to that of

The Kings of France *and* Spain *agree to divide the Kingdom of* Naples *between them.*

[a] Guicciardin. l. 5. Tomaſi, p. 139.

the

Year of Chriſt 1501.

the Dutchy of *Milan*, recalled the Troops he had lent to *Valentine*; and thus was the intended Attempt upon *Bologna* put off to a more proper Seaſon. Of the King's Expedition againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Succeſs that attended it, Authors give us the following Account. As *Ferdinand the Catholic* claimed that Kingdom as well as *Lewis*, they privately agreed to conquer it, with their joint Forces, and divide it between them, laying it down as a Principle, that *Frideric*, the Prince then on the Throne, had no Right to it, being deſcended only from a natural Son of the Houſe of *Arragon*, and that they Two were the only Perſons, who could have a lawful Claim to it, *Lewis*, as Heir to the Family of *Anjou*, and *Ferdinand*, as Nephew to *Alphonſo*, who conquered it, he being the Son of *John*, King of *Arragon*, *Alphonſo*'s Brother, and conſequently lawful Heir, as he pretended, to the Kingdom of *Naples*, which his Uncle had conquered with the Arms and the Money of *Arragon*. By that Convention *Ferdinand* was to have *Calabria* and *Apulia*, lying next to *Sicily*, which belonged to him, and *Lewis* the Reſt of the Kingdom with the Capital. Each was to conquer his own Share, and neither was obliged to aſſiſt, but only not to hinder the other. This Treaty was ſigned by *Ferdinand* at *Granada* on the 11th of *November* of the preſent Year. But by both Princes it was thought expedient, that it ſhould be kept ſecret till ſuch Time as the *French* Army, deſtined for the Conqueſt of *Naples*, arrived at *Rome* [b]. In the mean time the unhappy King *Frideric*, hearing of the March of the *French* Army, and knowing nothing of this Treaty, applied to *Ferdinand* as a Prince of the ſame Family, earneſtly entreating him to take him into his Protection, and aſſiſt him as powerfully againſt *Lewis* of *France*, as he had aſſiſted his Nephew againſt *Charles*. *Ferdinand*, in Compliance, as he pretended, with *Frideric*'s Requeſt, ordered *Gonſalvo*, called the *Great Captain*, having firſt let him into the Secret, to embark immediately on board the Fleet, that lay at *Malaga* with a great Number of Troops on board, and ſail to *Sicily*. The News of his Arrival there gave great Joy to *Frideric*, who entertained not, (and how could he?) the leaſt Suſpicion of the Catholic King's Treachery, and he immediately wrote to *Gonſalvo*, preſſing him to paſs over, without Delay, to *Calabria*, that he might be ready at hand to make Head againſt the *French* in

Treachery of the King of Spain.

[b] Recueil de Traites de Leonard. tom. 1.

full

full March to invade his Kingdom. *Gonſalvo* demanded, and obtained ſome Towns in *Calabria*, that he might have Places to retreat to, as he pretended, in caſe of any Misfortune; but his real Deſign was thus to get more eaſily Poſſeſſion of his Maſter's Share. Upon the Landing of the great Captain with his Troops in *Calabria*, the deluded King drew together the few Forces he had, in order to join him. But, in the mean time, the whole Secret was diſcloſed. For the *French* Army being arrived in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, the Embaſſadors of *Spain* and *France* demanded an Audience of the Pope in a full Conſiſtory, and having obtained it, they notified to him and the Cardinals the Treaty concluded between the Two Kings, begging his Holineſs to confirm it by granting the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* to the King of *France*, and that of *Apulia* and *Calabria* to the King of *Spain*. Their Requeſt was immediately granted, and a Bull was ſoon afterwards iſſued, depriving *Frideric* of the Kingdom, and confirming the above-mentioned Diviſion. The unfortunate *Frideric* was thunderſtruck at the News of this Treaty, and could ſcarce believe, that a Prince of his own Family would be ſo baſe as to abuſe the Confidence, he placed in him, to procure his Ruin more effectually. But being ſoon convinced of it by the Hoſtilities, that the Great Captain began to commit in *Calabria*, and finding it abſolutely impoſſible for him to reſiſt Two ſuch formidable Powers, he put the few Forces he had into his Towns to defend them as long as they were able, and retired himſelf to *Caſtel Nuovo* in *Naples*. But being there beſieged, without any Hopes of Relief by *Aubigni*, who commanded the *French* Army, he ſurrendered upon the following Conditions: That he ſhould be permitted to withdraw to the Iſle of *Iſchia* with what Effects he could carry with him, ſhould be allowed to remain there Six Months, and then retire to what Place he pleaſed out of the Kingdom of *Naples*. He was ſo provoked at the Baſeneſs and Treachery of *Ferdinand*, that, before the Six Months expired, he retired to *France*, and being well received by that King, he made over to him, out of Spite to *Ferdinand*, all his Rights to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and had, upon that Account, the Dutchy of *Anjou*, and a Penſion of 30,000 Ducats a Year, which he enjoyed to the Hour of his Death. The Great Captain met with as little Oppoſition in reducing *Calabria* and *Apulia*, as *Aubigni* had done in conquering the Reſt of the Kingdom. *Ta-*

Year of Chriſt 1501.

The Partition Treaty confirmed by the Pope.

Frideric *driven out, and the Kingdom divided between the Kings of* France *and* Spain.

Year of Chriſt 1501.

ranto held out for ſome Time, but was, in the End, forced to capitulate; and One of the Articles of the Capitulation was, that the Duke of *Calabria*, the dethroned King's Son, then in that City, ſhould be at Liberty to retire to what Place ſoever he ſhould think proper. They obliged the Great Captain to ſwear, upon the conſecrated Hoſt, to the Obſervance of this Article in particular. But, notwithſtanding his Oath, he ſent the young Prince, under a ſtrong Guard, into *Spain*, where he met with kind Uſage, but was kept, in a Manner, as a Priſoner, ſo long as he lived [c]. Thus ended the Reign of this unhappy Branch of the Houſe of *Arragon* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. Great Numbers of Manifeſtos were publiſhed by the King of *Spain*'s Friends to juſtify his Conduct in this War. But with all their Manifeſtos they could not hinder People, as *Guicciardin* informs us, from making a Joke of his Title of *Catholic*, as well as of his Pretences to Piety and Religion in driving the *Moors* out of the Kingdom of *Granada*, which procured him that Title.

Valentine *invades, and reduces the State of* Piombino.

While theſe Things paſſed in the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Pope, watching every Opportunity of extending his Power, and aggrandizing his Family at the Expence of his Neighbours, formed a Deſign of making himſelf Maſter of the Republic of *Florence*, divided, at this Time, into Two oppoſite Factions. Accordingly, he ſent Duke *Valentine*, with all the Forces of the Church under his Command, to invade the Dominions of that Republic, under Colour of reinſtating *Peter de Medicis*, who had been lately driven out by the popular Faction. The Duke made himſelf Maſter of ſome Places; but while he was advancing full March to *Florence*, he received a Letter from the King of *France*, to whom the *Florentines* had applied, requiring him inſtantly to withdraw his Troops from the *Florentine* Dominions, to reſtore the Places he had taken, and not concern himſelf with the Affairs of that Republic. With this Order *Valentine* complied much againſt his Will; but turning his Arms, before he left *Tuſcany*, againſt *Appiano*, Prince of *Piombino*, to whoſe Dominions he had no Shadow of Claim or Right, he made himſelf Maſter of all the Places belonging to that Prince, and after a Siege, that laſted ſome Time, of *Piombino* itſelf his Capital. The Prince had gone in Perſon, upon this unexpected Invaſion, into *France*, to implore the Protection of the

[c] Guicciard. l. 5. Anton. Hiſt. de Louis XII. Hiſt. du Chevalier Bayard.

King,

King, who was bound by former Stipulations to maintain him in the quiet Poſſeſſion of all his Dominions. *Lewis* received him very coldly, and returned to his Requeſt the following Anſwer; that he could afford him no Aſſiſtance without the Breach of a poſterior Treaty concluded with his Holineſs and Duke *Valentine*. However the Prince ſaved, at leaſt, his Life by his Journey into *France*. For the City of *Piombino* being taken in his Abſence, he eſcaped, by that Means, falling into the Hands of the Duke, who, to ſecure to himſelf the Poſſeſſion of the States, which he had unjuſtly ſeized, ſeldom failed to remove the Proprietors, by ſome Means or other, commonly by Poiſon, out of the Way. From *Piombino Valentine* returned to the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and there ſeized on all the Towns and Territories belonging to the *Colonnas* and the *Savellis*, pretending that they had forfeited them by joining the King of *Naples* againſt the *French*. Out of the States of theſe Two wealthy and powerful *Roman* Families the Pope created Two Dutchies, the one of *Nepi*, the other of *Sermoneta*. With the former he inveſted *John Borgia*, another natural Son of his, not by *Vanozza*, but by a *Roman* Lady after his Acceſſion to the Pontificate. But in the Bull of Inveſtiture he is called the Son of *Cæſar Borgia*. The other Dutchy he beſtowed upon *Roderic* of *Arragon*, the ſuppoſed Son of his Daughter *Lucretia* by her Third Huſband, the natural Son of *Alphonſo* II. King of *Naples* [d]. I ſaid *the ſuppoſed Son*; for it was commonly believed, that *Roderic* was his Holineſs's own Son by his own Daughter.

Year of Chriſt 1501.

Valentine's next Undertaking was to make himſelf Maſter of the Dutchy of *Urbino*; with that View he ſent Part of his Troops to inveſt *Camerino*, belonging to the *Varani* Family, and ſoon after came himſelf, with the Reſt of his Army, to *Perugia*, to aſſiſt in Perſon, as he pretended, at the Siege. From *Perugia* he diſpatched Two Meſſengers to *Guidobaldo*, Duke of *Urbino*, to compliment him in his Name, and beg he would lend him ſome Troops and Artillery to be employed in the Siege of *Camerino*. As the Duke had lately compounded ſome Differences with the Pope to the entire Satisfaction of both, and received moſt affectionate Letters from his Holineſs, he apprehended no evil Conſequences from his complying with *Valentine*'s Requeſt. But no ſooner had he put himſelf out of a State of making any Defence by complying with it, than *Valentine*, marching with incredible

Seizes on the Dutchy of Urbino *by Treachery.*

Year of Chriſt 1502.

[d] Guicciard. l. 5.

Year of Chriſt 1502.

Speed, entered the Dutchy, in a hoſtile Manner, ſeized on *Cagli*, and, advancing with the ſame Expedition to *Urbino*, made himſelf Maſter of that City without the leaſt Oppoſition. He had placed Guards on all the Roads, in order to get the Duke and his Nephew into his Power. For it was a Rule with him to extirpate the whole Race of thoſe Princes, whom he had diveſted of their States. But the Duke mounting a Peaſant's Horſe, in the Diſguiſe of a Peaſant, had the good Luck to eſcape undiſcovered firſt to *Ravenna*, and afterwards to *Venice*; and his Nephew, eſcaping a thouſand Snares, got ſafe to *Aſti* [e].

And on the City of Camerino.

—*Valentine*, after a ſhort Stay at *Urbino*, returned to purſue the Siege of *Camerino*. As he met there with a moſt vigorous Reſiſtance from *Julius da Varano*, Lord of the Place, a Treaty was ſet on Foot, and a few Days Truce agreed to by both, in order to ſettle the Terms. But *Valentine*, obſerving that the Beſieged, depending upon the Truce, were leſs vigilant, he aſſaulted the Place on all Sides with his whole Army, and carried it Sword in Hand. The Attack was ſo ſudden, and ſo unexpected, that the unhappy Prince, not having Time to make his Eſcape, fell into the Hands of the perfidious Conqueror, with Two of his Sons; and they were all Three by his Order immediately ſtrangled [f]. The Prince's eldeſt Son had been ſent ſome Time before to *Venice*, and thus happily eſcaped the Fate of his Two younger Brothers [g].

Confederacy againſt Valentine.

The Treatment, that the Duke of *Urbino*, and the Lord of *Camerino* had met with, taught the other Princes of *Italy* to provide for their own Safety. With that View they met at a Place called *Magione*, not far from *Perugia*, and there agreed, all to a Man, to join their Forces in their own Defence, and ſtop the Career of *Valentine*'s unjuſt Uſurpations. At this Meeting were preſent *Vitelozzo Vitelli*, Lord of *Citta di Caſtello*, *Paul Baglione*, Lord of *Perugia*, *Liverotto*, Lord of *Fermo*, *Hermes*, Son of *John Bentivoglio*, Lord of *Bologna*, *Antony da Venafro*, as the Deputy of *Pandolfe Petrucci*, the chief Magiſtrate of the Republic of *Siena*, Cardinal *Orſini* with *Paul*, and *Francis Orſini*, Duke of *Gravina*. This Confederacy alarmed *Valentine*, the rather, as the People of *Urbino* had revolted and recalled their lawful Sovereign, who landing at *Sinigaglia* had recovered the whole Dutchy, except ſome ſtrong Holds, and was ready to join the Confederates.

[e] Guicciard. ibid. et Buonacorſi. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Tomaſi, p. 234.

federates. At the ſame time the City of *Camerino*, ſhaking off the Yoke, put *John da Varano*, their late Lord's eldeſt Son, in Poſſeſſion of the Place. Upon the firſt News of this Alliance, the Pope and *Valentine*, ſenſible that they were not then in a Condition to oppoſe ſo many Enemies with any Succeſs, reſolved to recur to their uſual Arts, and, inſtead of Arms, employ Guile and Deceit. Accordingly they propoſed the accommodating Matters in an amicable Manner, and by Treaty, his Holineſs engaging his Word with the moſt ſolemn Proteſtations, that the Articles agreed to ſhould, on his Part and *Valentine*'s, be moſt religiouſly obſerved, they applied to *Paul Orſini* in particular, and having gained him by promiſing to reſtore to his Family all the Towns and Territories that had been taken from them, they met with very little Difficulty in gaining the Reſt, and thus breaking the Confederacy. *Valentine*, being thus delivered from all his Fears, appointed the Heads of the Confederacy to meet him at *Sinigaglia*, in order to give their Opinion concerning an Affair of the utmoſt Importance, he being, he ſaid, no leſs willing to confide in the Counſel of his Friends, than in their Arms. The Two *Orſini*, *Paul*, and the Duke of *Gravina*, *Vitelli* of *Cita di Caſtello*, and *Liverotto* of *Fermo*, in Compliance with *Valentine*'s Invitation, repaired to *Sinigaglia*, and were there received by him with all the Marks of the moſt ſincere Friendſhip. When he had talked ſome Time with them in a moſt friendly Manner, he took them into an inner Room, under Colour of having ſomething to communicate to them in private. But no ſooner had they entered the Room, than they were made Priſoners, and Two of them, *viz.* *Vitelli* and *Liverotto*, ſtrangled upon the Spot. The Two *Orſini* underwent the ſame Fate ſoon afterwards, and the Cardinal of that Name, when he had been confined for ſome Time in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, was diſpatched with Poiſon [h].

Year of Chriſt 1502.

The Confederacy broken, and Four of the Chiefs treacherouſly murdered.

And now the Duke, having no Enemy to oppoſe him, recovered the Dutchy of *Urbino*, and, without the Loſs of a ſingle Man, made himſelf Maſter of *Citta di Caſtello*, *Fermo*, and *Perugia*, the *Baglioni*, Lords of the latter Place, having abandoned it at his Approach. He turned his Arms next againſt the *Orſini*, and, pretending that they had formed a Deſign of ſeizing even on *Rome* itſelf, as they had many ſtrong Holds in that Neighbourhood, he poſſeſſed himſelf of all their

Several Cities reduced.

Perſecution of the Orſini.

Year of Chriſt 1503.

[h] Guicciardin. l. 5. Tomaſi.

Territories,

Year of Chriſt 1503.

Territories, and having laid their Fortreſſes level with the Ground, returned to *Rome*, loaded with the Spoils of that ancient Family. He had long aſpired at the Sovereignty of the Free State of *Siena*, of *Piſa*, and of *Florence*, and had even ſet out on his March, with all the Forces of the Church under his Command, in order to invade thoſe States, beginning with that of *Siena*. But by an expreſs Order from the King of *France* he was obliged to drop that Undertaking, and withdraw his Troops from the Territory of *Siena*, where he had already committed many ſhocking and unheard of Barbarities. However, being afterwards emboldened by the Misfortunes of the *French*, in the War, carried on between them and the *Spaniards*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, about the Diviſion of that Kingdom, he reſolved, and ſo did the Pope, to purſue the War againſt the above-mentioned States, whether the *French* King approved of it, or not; nay, though they owed to him all their Grandeur, they had determined to abandon his Party in caſe he oppoſed them, and eſpouſe that of *Spain* againſt him. But the ſudden and quite unexpected Death of the Pope defeated at once all their vaſt Projects.

Alexander *dies.*

Account of his Death.

It was univerſally believed, ſays *Guicciardin*, that the Death of the Pope was owing to Poiſon; and, as that Author informs us, it happened according to the more common Report in the following Manner. *Valentine* had reſolved to diſpatch with Poiſon *Hadrian*, Cardinal of *Corneto*, One of the moſt wealthy of the ſacred College; and being One Night to ſup with him, with his Holineſs, and other Gueſts, in a Vineyard, near the *Vatican*, that belonged to the ſaid Cardinal, he ſent thither, before Supper, ſome Flaſks of Wine infected with a moſt deadly Poiſon. Theſe Flaſks were delivered to the Waiter, with ſtrict Orders not to open them for any Perſon whatever. In the mean time the Pope arrived, and being overcome with Thirſt, as the Seaſon was extremely hot, he aſked for ſomething to drink. As the Waiter, who was truſted with the Wine, had not been let into the Secret, he imagined that it was ſome of the choiceſt, and preſented his Holineſs with it. While the Pope was drinking *Valentine* arrived, and took a Draught of the ſame Wine. The Poiſon operated immediately; the Pope was carried for dead to the Pontifical Palace, and his Son after him in the ſame Condition [i]. Such is the Account

[i] Guicciardin. l. 5.

Guicci-

Guicciardin gives us of *Alexander*'s Death; and from that Account it does not appear that the Pope was privy to the Affair. But by other Authors the Plot is charged upon the Father as well as the Son. *Alexander*, ſays Cardinal *Bembo*, died on the 18th of *Auguſt*, having, by a Miſtake of the Waiter, drunk the Poiſon, which he had privately ordered to be given to his intimate Friend Cardinal *Hadrian*, in whoſe Gardens he ſupped with his Son *Cæſar*. It providentially happened, that they, who had diſpatched, with Poiſon, ſo many illuſtrious Perſons, in order to poſſeſs themſelves of their Treaſures, and deſigned to have added their intimate Friend and their Gueſt to the Reſt, ſhould, by the ſame Means, have deſtroyed themſelves inſtead of him [k]. *Tomaſo Tomaſi* writes, that the Pope intended to have poiſoned all the rich Cardinals, as well as the Cardinal of *Corneto*, and ſeize on their Wealth, as he ſtood in great Want of Money for his Expedition againſt *Tuſcany*; that he invited them, with that View, to ſup with him and his Son, in a Vineyard near the *Vatican*, that belonged to the ſaid Cardinal of *Corneto*; that *Valentine* conſigned the poiſoned Wine to the Head-waiter, and acquainted him with the whole, but that the Pope arriving in his Abſence, and aſking for ſomething to drink, the Under-waiter, who had received no Inſtructions, gave him ſome of the poiſoned Wine, imagining, as it was ſet apart, that it was reſerved for his Holineſs. *Tomaſi* adds, that the Pope had ſcarce ſat down to Supper, when being ſeized with a racking Pain in his Bowels, he fell off his Chair, and was taken up and carried to his Palace for dead [l].—He died the next Day, the 18th of *Auguſt*, in the Seventy-ſecond Year of his Age, when he had held the See Eleven Years and Sixteen Days: His Body, all ſwelled, black, and ſhockingly diſfigured, was carried to *St. Peter*'s, in order to be there interred, the People crowding, with incredible Joy, about it, and congratulating each other upon their being, at laſt, delivered from One, who with his immoderate Ambition, and unexampled Treachery, with innumerable Inſtances of horrid Cruelty, of monſtrous Luſt, and unheard of Avarice, expoſing all Things to Sale, both ſacred and profane, had, like a venomous Serpent, intoxicated the whole World. Such is the Portrait *Guicciardin* has left us of this Pope [m].

Year of Chriſt 1503.

His Character.

[k] Bembo, l. 6. [l] Tomaſi apud Gordon. vita Alex. p. 361, et ſeq. [m] Guicciard. l. 5.

Year of Chriſt 1503.

His Vices.

I ſhall paſs over, in Silence, the many ſhocking Inſtances, that occur in Hiſtory of his Holineſs's *monſtrous Luſt*, but cannot help taking Notice of his being ſtrongly ſuſpected of Inceſt with his own Daughter, and his having, in his Amour with her, his Two Sons, the Duke of *Gandia* and *Valentine*, for his Rivals. This gave Occaſion to ſeveral Paſquinades, and, among the reſt, to the following famous Diſtich of *Pontanus*, written by way of Epitaph for *Lucretia*'s Tomb.

Hoc jacet in tumulo Lucretia nomine, ſed re
Thais; Alexandri filia, ſponſa, nurus.

He is charged with the ſame Crime by the celebrated *Sannazar* in the following Lines,

Humana jura, nec minus cæleſtia,
Ipſoſque ſuſtulit Deos;
Ut ſcilicet liceret heu ſcelus! Patri
Natæ ſinum permingere [o].

His Holineſs, ſays *Burchardus*, was a great Lover of Women, and in his Time the Apoſtolic Palace was turned into a Brothel, a more infamous Brothel than any of the public Stews. He then tells us of an Entertainment, given by *Valentine*, in the Apoſtolic Palace, to Fifty of the moſt noted Harlots then in *Rome*, and deſcribes, perhaps, too minutely, the Obſcenities practiſed, on that Occaſion, in the Preſence of the Pope, and his Daughter *Lucretia* [p]. In ſhort, none of the Eaſtern, none of the *Roman* Emperors, however lewd and debauched, exceeded *Alexander* in Lewdneſs and Debauchery [q]. —— Of his *immoderate Ambition*, his *unexampled Treachery*, and his *horrid Cruelty*, I have already alleged ſeveral ſhocking Inſtances. As for his *unheard-of Avarice*; he ſtuck at nothing to accumulate Wealth wherewithal to feed the Extravagance of his unnatural Brood, and raiſe them to the higheſt Pitch of Grandeur. It was a common Practice, ſays *Guicciardin*, both with the Father and the Son, to diſpatch with Poiſon, not only thoſe, whom they had reſolved to ſacrifice to their Revenge and Jealouſy, but all other Perſons, whoſe Wealth tempted their unhallowed Avarice, not ſparing Cardinals, nor other Courtiers, nor even

[o] Sannazar, l. 2. Epigram 29. [p] Burchard. Diar. p. 77. ibid. [q] Tomaſi, p. 187.

their

their moſt intimate Friends, and their moſt faithful and uſeful Miniſters [r]. Innumerable Inſtances are to be met with in the Writers of theſe unhappy Times, eſpecially in *Tomaſi* and *Burchardus*, of Perſons thus diſpatched, and charged, after their Death, with Crimes, for which it was pretended, that they had forfeited their Eſtates; and thus were they twice moſt barbarouſly murdered [s].——In Simony he far ſurpaſſed all his Predeceſſors; expoſing to Sale all Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, Dignities, Benefices, and even Biſhoprics; nay, and admitting none into the Sacred College, but ſuch as had purchaſed that Dignity with ready Money; which gave juſt Occaſion to the following Paſquinade. Year of Chriſt 1503. *All Things venal in his Time at* Rome.

Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Chriſtum.
Emerat ille prius, vendere jure poteſt.

To conclude, all, who ſpeak of *Alexander*, ſeem to agree in this, that for Luſt, Avarice, Cruelty, Treachery, and Perfidiouſneſs, he ſcarce ever had his Equal. But, at the ſame time, they allow him to have been endowed with moſt extraordinary Talents, and a Capacity equal to the Government of an Empire. No Man ever propoſed Matters with more Art, or drew others with more Eaſe into his own Sentiments. His Language was attracting, and his Eloquence irreſiſtible. He made it his Study to accommodate himſelf to the Temper and Genius of others; with the Grave and Serious he was ſo too, but jocoſe and facetious with Men of Pleaſantry. He loved Shows, and public Sports; but never ſuffered his Diverſions to interfere with Buſineſs. He contented himſelf with little Sleep, was very temperate in his Diet, and never known to have been guilty of the leaſt Intemperance. He is ſaid, for all his Love of Money, never to have withheld from the Profeſſors of the liberal Arts their Salaries, from the Soldiers their Pay, nor from the Workmen their Wages; It was a Maxim with him, that *who takes from the Great muſt give to the Little*: And it was by adhering to that Maxim, that he cauſed ſo many *Roman* Barons to be diveſted of their Eſtates, and barbarouſly murdered, without any Inſurrection enſuing thereupon in *Rome*, or any Danger to himſelf [t]. *Allowed to have had ſome good Qualities.*

[r] Guicciard. l. 5. [s] Burchard. et Tomaſi, ubi ſupra. [t] Burchard. Tomaſi, ubi ſupra, et Onuphrius in Alex. VI.

Year of Chriſt 1503.

His Writings.

Alexander left behind him a Treatiſe under the Title of *Clypeus defenſionis fidei Romanæ Eccleſiæ*, with ſeveral Bulls; and amongſt theſe the Bull relating to the Diſputes between the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, concerning the Diſcovery of the *Weſt Indies*. That Affair being by both Princes referred to his Arbitration, he determined it thus; that their Conqueſts in thoſe Parts ſhould be bounded by a Line, ſuppoſed to be drawn from North to South, paſſing about One hundred Leagues from the Iſlands of *Cape Verde*, and that the Part of the Ocean, lying to the Weſt of that Line, ſhould belong to the King of *Caſtile*, and the other to the South, to the King of *Portugal*[a].

MAXIMILIAN, *Emperor of the Weſt.*

PIUS III.

The Two Hundred and Thirteenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Diſturbances on Occaſion of the Death of Alexander.

THE Death of *Alexander* was attended with great Diſturbances, not only at *Rome*, but throughout the Eccleſiaſtical State. For no ſooner was it known that he was dead, and his Son *Valentine* lay dangerouſly ill, than the Cities of *Peſaro*, *Sinigaglia*, *Citta di Caſtello*, *Camerino*, *Urbino*, *Piombino*, and *Perugia*, ſhaking off the Yoke, recalled their old Lords, and reinſtated them in their Dominions. Thus did *Valentine* loſe at once what it had coſt him ſo much Blood and Treaſure to gain. However the People of *Romagna* ſhowed no Inclination to revolt, being intirely ſatisfied with their new Governor, and his new Government. In *Rome* every Thing was in the utmoſt Confuſion. For the *Orſini*, and the other *Roman* Barons, whom *Valentine* had diveſted of their Eſtates, being returned upon the News of the Pope's Death and *Valentine*'s Illneſs, Battles were daily fought in the Streets between the Two oppoſite Parties; inſomuch that the Cardinals were obliged to raiſe a conſiderable Body of Troops to protect them, while they were ſhut up in the Conclave. Beſides, they applied to the *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *Venetian* Embaſſadors, and having by their Means prevailed upon *Valentine*, as well as upon the Heads of the oppoſite Party, to withdraw, with their Men from *Rome*, till the

[a] Cherubini Bullar. mag. et Bembo, l. 6.

Election

Election was made, they began, at laſt, to celebrate the Funeral Solemnities of the deceaſed Pope, not in the Church of *St. Peter*, where he was buried, but in that of the *Dominicans*, called *The Minerva*. They did not, it ſeems, think it ſafe to meet in the *Vatican*, as being too near to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, gariſoned by *Valentine*'s Men [w]. However, being aſſured by the Governor, that they ſhould meet with no Diſturbance, nor Interruption, they aſſembled in the *Vatican*, to the Number of Thirty-eight, and, in a very ſhort Time, elected, with one Conſent, *Francis Piccolomini*, Cardinal Deacon of *St. Euſtathius*. His Election fell on the 22d of *September*, when the See had been vacant Thirty-five Days, and he was crowned on the 8th of *October*, under the Name of *Pius* III.

Year of Chriſt 1503.

Pius III. *elected.*

He was a Native of *Siena*, of the *Todeſchini* Family; but being Nephew to *Pius* II. by his Siſter *Laodamia*, of the *Piccolomini* Family, he was allowed by that Pope to take the Name and bear the Arms of that Family. He was preferred by his Uncle to the Dignity of Cardinal, when only Twenty-two Years of Age, and not long after to the Biſhopric of *Siena*, and it was to renew the Memory of his Benefactor that he took the Name of *Pius* III. The ſucceeding Popes *Paul* II. *Innocent* VIII. and *Alexander* VI. employed him in ſeveral Legations, which he is ſaid to have diſcharged to their intire Satisfaction, being a Man of great Experience and equal Probity [x].

His Family, Preferments, &c.

Upon the News of his Election *Valentine*, who ſtill continued greatly indiſpoſed, and was obliged to travel in a Litter, returned to *Rome* with 200 Men at Arms, as many light Horſe, and 800 Foot. But the *Orſini* being likewiſe returned, the War was renewed within the Walls, and the City thrown again into the utmoſt Confuſion. But as the *Orſini* received daily new Reinforcements they prevailed in the End, and obliged *Valentine* to fly for Refuge to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*. Upon his Flight his Men diſperſed; and thus was he left at the Mercy of the Pope, who nevertheleſs would allow no Violence to be offered to him, but ordered the Governor to let him depart unmoleſted whenever he pleaſed. Thus was Peace reſtored to the City, but *Pius* did not live to enjoy it. For being advanced in Years and very infirm, he died on the 26th Day after his Election. Some aſcribe his Death to Poiſon, conveyed into an Ulcer he had in his Leg, at the Inſtigation of *Pan-*

New Diſturbances in Rome.

Death of Pius

[w] Guicciard. l. 6. Onuph. in Pio III. [x] Onuph. in vit.

Year of Christ 1503.

dolfo Petrucci, Lord of *Siena*. His Death happened on the 18th of *October*, when he had lived Sixty-four Years Five Months and Ten Days [y]. He was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*, in a Marble Sepulchre, near that of his Uncle *Pius* II. in the Chapel of *St. Andrew*. *Guicciardin* ſpeaks of him as a Man of an unſpotted Life, and not unworthy of the high Dignity, to which he was raiſed [z].

MAXIMILIAN, *Emperor of the Weſt.*

JULIUS II.

The Two Hundred and Fourteenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Julius II. *elected.*

AS at the Time of *Pius*'s Death the Troops of the *Orſini* were ſtill in *Rome*, the Cardinals delayed entering into the Conclave till they had evacuated the City. But in the mean time they agreed in their Choice without Doors, and aſſembling on the laſt Day of *October*, elected that Night, without ſhutting the Conclave, *Julian della Rovere*, Cardinal Preſbyter of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, who took the Name of *Julius* II. This Unanimity in electing a Man, who was known to be of a reſtleſs and untractable Temper, and to have ſpent his whole Life in Contentions and Buſtles, is aſcribed by *Guicciardin*, partly to his being looked upon as the principal Defender of the Immunities and Rights of the Church, but chiefly to the great Promiſes he made to the Cardinals, that is, to Simony, Corruption, and Bribery. He even courted the Favour of *Valentine*, and to gain him, and, by his Means, the *Spaniſh* Cardinals, he propoſed a Marriage between the Duke's Daughter and his own Nephew, *Francis Maria della Rovere*, Governor of *Rome*. He promiſed, beſides, to confirm *Valentine* in the Poſt of Captain General of the Church, and to aſſiſt him in the Recovery of the Cities of *Romagna*, that had begun to revolt [a].

His Preferments before his Election.

Julius, thus elected, was a Native of *Savona* in the State of *Genoa*, and the Son of *Raphael della Rovere*, Brother to *Sixtus* IV. By that Pope he was preferred to the See of *Carpentras*, and in 1471 created Cardinal Preſbyter of *St. Peter ad Vincula*. By the ſame Pope he was

[y] Guicciard. l. 6. Tomaſi, Onuph. in vita. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Guicciard. ibid.

made

made Biſhop of *Albano*, then of *Oſtia*, and laſtly high Penitentiary, and Apoſtolic Legate at *Avignon*. He was greatly eſteemed and careſſed by *Innocent* VIII. the Succeſſor of *Sixtus*. But having Reaſon to believe, that *Alexander*, coveting his Wealth, intended to remove him out of the Way, as he had done many others, he retired to *France*, and attended King *Charles* in his Expedition againſt the Kingdom of *Naples* [b]. Year of Chriſt 1503.

Miſunderſtanding between him and the Venetians.

The new Pope was ſcarce warm in his Chair, when a Quarrel broke out between him and the *Venetians*, on the following Occaſion. The People of *Romagna*, who, in the general Revolution of the other States and Cities, had continued faithful to *Valentine*, hearing that he had fled into the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and his Troops were diſperſed, began to take different Parties. Some returned under their former Obedience to the Church, while others recalled their ancient Lords. But the *Venetians*, aſpiring at the Dominion of all *Romagna*, broke unexpectedly into that Province, and having got Poſſeſſion of *Forlimpopoli*, of *Rimini*, and of ſeveral other Places, laid Siege to *Faenza*. Hereupon the *Faentines*, ſenſible that they could not long hold out with their own Force alone, againſt ſo powerful an Enemy, ſent Deputies to *Rome*, to implore the Protection and Aſſiſtance of the Pope. *Julius* was provoked beyond Meaſure at the Proceedings of the *Venetians*. But being newly placed in the Chair, and deſtitute both of Men and Money, he was obliged to content himſelf for the preſent with ſending a Nuncio, to remonſtrate againſt their attempting to ſubject to their Republic a City that belonged to the Church, to which they themſelves could not but know, that they had no Shadow of Right. The Nuncio, the Biſhop of *Tivoli*, was ordered to add, that his Holineſs had been moſt cordially affected to their Republic before his Exaltation, and that now he was raiſed to ſo high a Station, they might expect to feel the Effects of his ancient Benevolence. The Senate received the Nuncio with the greateſt Marks of Honour and Reſpect, and after deliberating ſome time among themſelves, returned him the following Anſwer: That the Senate had always moſt ardently wiſhed for the Promotion of the Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula* to the Pontificate, on Account of the Friendſhip that had ſubſiſted ſo long between them, and his Holineſs could not doubt that they would pay him more Deference and Reſpect

[b] Idem ibid. et Onuph. in vit. Julii II.

Year of Chriſt 1503. now he was Pope, than they had done while he was a Cardinal; but that they did not underſtand why his Holineſs ſhould be offended at their embracing the Opportunity that offered of poſſeſſing themſelves of *Faenza*, ſince the Church had diveſted herſelf of all Right to it in a full Conſiſtory, and transferred the Sovereignty to Duke *Valentine*. They added, that the City of *Faenza*, with its ſmall State, had been governed, Time out of Mind, by its own Princes, who received the Inveſtiture of the Popes, and paid no other Acknowlegement of their Subjection to the Holy See than a ſmall Tribute, which the Senate was ready to pay, provided it was really due. The Senate having diſmiſſed the Nuncio with this Anſwer, ordered *Chriſtopher Moro*, their Commander, to purſue the Siege; and the Town was ſoon obliged to ſubmit[c]. The Pope diſſembled for the preſent, but it was not long ere the *Venetians* had Occaſion to repent their having made him an Enemy, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

Who make themſelves Maſters of Faenza.

Valentine arreſted by the Pope's Order.

Year of Chriſt 1504. As ſome Caſtles in *Romagna* ſtill held out for *Valentine*, though the Cities had revolted, the Pope propoſed his delivering them up to him, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the *Venetians*. That Propoſal *Valentine* rejected, which ſo provoked the Pope, that he ordered him to be arreſted, and conveyed to the Caſtle of *Oſtia*, to be committed there to the Cuſtody of Cardinal *Carvajal*, till he had put the Pope in Poſſeſſion of his Fortreſſes in *Romagna*. The Pope did not intend to ſet him at Liberty even upon his delivering up thoſe Fortreſſes; but the Cardinal, to whoſe Cuſtody he was committed, no ſooner heard of their being put into the Pope's Hands, than he reſtored the Duke to his Liberty, without the Knowlege of his Holineſs. The Duke, inſtead of returning to *Rome*, and putting himſelf in the Power of the Pope, whom he began to miſtruſt, repaired, in great Haſte, to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and met there with a moſt friendly Reception from the Great Captain, who, having driven the *French* quite out of that Kingdom, governed it as the Catholic King's Viceroy, or Lieutenant. The Duke, in the ſeveral Conferences he had with that General, communicated to him the vaſt Projects he was ſtill forming, eſpecially his Deſign upon the States of *Piſa* and *Florence*, all which *Gonſalvo* not only pretended to approve, but gave him Leave to raiſe, in the Kingdom, what Number of Troops he thought neceſſary to

Flies to the Kingdom of Naples.

[c] Guicciard. ibid.

carry

carry his Deſign into Execution, nay, and offered his Gallies to convey him and his Troops to *Piſa*. The Troops being raiſed with incredible Expedition, and the Gallies ready to receive them on board, the Duke, before he imbarked, had a long Conference with *Gonſalvo*, who, at parting, embraced him with the warmeſt Expreſſions of Friendſhip. But he no ſooner came out of the Room, than he was arreſted by the General's Order, and carried Priſoner to the Caſtle. When *Gonſalvo* was charged with breaking his Faith, he alleged, in his own Vindication, the expreſs Command of his Sovereign, to which, he ſaid, all private Engagements ought to give Way [d]. *Giovio* will have the Pope to have been the chief Author of the Impriſonment of *Valentine*, conſulting therein his own Safety and the Peace of *Italy*. However that be, by his Impriſonment an End was, at laſt, put to all his Grandeur, Fortune, and Hopes. He had taken for his Motto the Words, *Aut Cæſar aut nihil, Cæſar or nothing*, and he was, for ſome Time, as great and victorious as *Cæſar*. But falling from the Greatneſs, to which he had raiſed himſelf by Fraud and Cruelty, he became, before his Death, *nothing*, as has been elegantly expreſſed by *Sannazar* in the Two following Lines:

Year of Chriſt 1504.

Is there imprisoned, and ſent to Spain.

Omnia vincebas, ſperabas omnia, Cæſar:
Omnia deficiunt, incipis eſſe nihil.

And by another Poet thus:

Borgia Cæſar erat, factis et nomine Cæſar.
AUT NIHIL, AUT CÆSAR *dixit; utrumque fuit.*

He was ſoon afterwards ſent, on board a light Galley, Priſoner to *Spain*, and there confined in the Caſtle of *Medina del Campo*; nor was he ever more heard of, tho' he had made ſo much Noiſe in the World, except on Occaſion of his Death, which happened ſome Years afterwards. He had made his Eſcape from the Caſtle of *Medina*, and having fled to *John*, King of *Navarre*, his Brother-in-Law, he was killed in a Skirmiſh with ſome Rebels, who had taken up Arms againſt that Prince [e]. I cannot help obſerving, that *Valentine*, guilty, on ſo many Occaſions, of the blackeſt Treachery, of ſo many horrid Murders, unheard-of Cruelties, and moſt unjuſt Uſurpations, is propoſed

His Death.

[d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem, l. 7. Jovius, l. 8.

by

Year of Chriſt 1504.

by *Machiavel* in his *Principe* for a Pattern, to be imitated by all, who aſpire to, or have arrived at Empire f. But with that Writer all Juſtice, Morality, and Religion, were out of the Queſtion.

Julius reſolves to recover Bologna *and* Perugia.

Year of Chriſt 1506.

As the new Pope found, at his Acceſſion to the Chair, the Treaſury of the Church quite exhauſted, he continued quiet and unactive, though full of vaſt Projects during the Three Firſt Years of his Pontificate. But having, in that Time, by retrenching all unneceſſary Expences, and living himſelf with great Parſimony, amaſſed a very conſiderable Sum, he begun in 1506 to carry his Deſigns into Execution. As the City of *Bologna* was held by *John Bentivoglio*, and that of *Perugia* by *Gianpagolo Baglione*, but were Parts of the ancient Domains of the Church, the Pope reſolved to recover them out of the Hands of thoſe Tyrants, as he called them, and reunite them to the Church. Purſuant to that Reſolution he applied to the King of *France*, *Lewis* XII. begging he would aſſiſt him in ſo juſt an Undertaking. *Lewis*, ſenſible that it was his Intereſt to have the Pope his Friend, promiſed him, very readily, the Aſſiſtance he required. But, at the ſame time, he endeavoured to divert him, in the moſt friendly Manner, from ſuch an Undertaking, for the preſent, as calculated to involve all *Italy* in a War. However, when the Pope imparted his Deſign to the Cardinals, in a full Conſiſtory, he told them, that the King of *France* had promiſed to aſſiſt him, and that, depending upon his Aſſiſtance, he would go immediately, in Perſon, upon the intended Enterprize. When this was told to the King, he expreſſed no ſmall Surprize at the Pope's depending upon his Forces, before he had given them any Orders to march, eſpecially in an Undertaking, which he did not approve, and turning to thoſe about him, ſurely, his Holineſs, he ſaid with a Smile, muſt have indulged, more than uſual, his Love of Wine, when he declared what muſt oblige me either to quarrel with him, or to countenance his unſeaſonable Undertaking g.

The King of France *ſtrives in vain to divert him from that Undertaking.*

Marches in Perſon againſt both thoſe Cities.

Julius, however, whom no Difficulties could diſcourage, ſet out from *Rome*, on the 27th of *Auguſt*, on his March to *Perugia*, being attended by Twenty-four Cardinals, and Four hundred Men at Arms. *Gianpagolo Baglione*, not acting, on this Occaſion, with the ſame Courage he had ſhewn on all others, went to meet the Pope as far as *Orvieto*, and delivered up to him the Keys of the City, which the

f Machiavel, c. 7. g Guicciard. l. 7. Onuph. in vita Julii II

Pop

Pope entered in a Kind of Triumph. In the mean time the King of *France*, unwilling to diſoblige the Pope, ordered *Chaumont*, Governor of the *Milaneſe*, to march in Perſon, with Five hundred Lances, to aſſiſt the Pope in the Reduction of *Baglione*. As the Pope's Army received daily new Reinforcements from the *Florentines*, from the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantua*, *Bentivoglio*, deſpairing of being able to withſtand ſo great a Force, had Recourſe to *Chaumont*; and upon his interpoſing in Behalf of that Family, the Pope conſented, that *John Bentivoglio*, with his Wife and Children, might retire from *Bologna* unmoleſted, and ſettle in any Part of the Dutchy of *Milan*; that they ſhould be allowed to ſell, or carry with them, all their Effects, and enjoy the Revenues of the Eſtates, to which they had a juſt Title. Theſe Articles being agreed to, the *Bentivogli* quitted the City, and the Pope made his public Entry into it, with extraordinary Pomp, on St. *Martin*'s Day, the 11th of *November* of the preſent Year, and continued there, ſettling the new Government, till the End of *February* of the following Year, when he returned to *Rome* g.

Year of Chriſt 1506. *And both ſubmit.*

In the mean time the City of *Genoa* revolted from the *French*, to whom it was ſubject, as well as the State of *Milan*, and great Diſputes ariſing between the People and the Nobility, the King reſolved to go in Perſon into *Italy*, and re-eſtabliſh his Authority by Force of Arms. With that View he began to make great Preparations both by Sea and Land, which did not a little alarm the Pope, who could not perſuade himſelf, that ſuch vaſt Preparations were only deſigned for the Reduction of *Genoa*. He therefore left nothing unattempted to divert the King from leading an Army, in Perſon, againſt the Rebels of *Genoa*. But finding that it was to no Purpoſe, and, at the ſame time, giving Way to his own groundleſs Suſpicions, he notified to the Emperor by his Nuncio, and by a Brief directed to him and to the Electors of the Empire, that the King of *France* was preparing to come into *Italy* at the Head of a very powerful Army, under Colour of quelling the Tumults in *Genoa*, but that his real Deſign was to enſlave the Church, and uſurp the Imperial Dignity. The *Venetians*, no leſs apprehenſive than the Pope of the Coming of the *French* King into *Italy* with ſo great an Army, aſſured the *German* Princes, that he had nothing leſs in his View than to raiſe his great Favourite, the Cardinal

The Pope and the Emperor endeavour to ſtir up the Germanic *Body againſt* France.

Year of Chriſt 1507.

g Guicciard. et Onuph. ibid.

Year of Chriſt 1507.

D'Amboiſe, to the Pontifical Throne, and receive the Imperial Crown at his Hands. Upon this Intelligence the Emperor ſummoned a Diet of all the Princes of *Germany* to meet at *Conſtance*, and having cauſed the Pope's Brief, and ſeveral other Letters of the ſame Import, to be read to them at the Opening of the Diet, he endeavoured, in a long Speech, to unite the whole *Germanic* Body in One common League againſt *France*. But the Conduct of the King in returning, with his whole Army, to *France*, as ſoon as he had reduced *Genoa*, deprived both the Pope and the Emperor of the Pretence, which they made uſe of to animate the Princes of the Empire againſt him; and it was only reſolved, in the Diet, that the Emperor ſhould be furniſhed with Eight thouſand Horſe, and Twenty-two thouſand Foot, at the Expence of the Empire, for Six Months, when he deſigned to go to *Rome* to receive the Imperial Crown [h].

League concluded at Cambray *againſt the* Venetians. Year of Chriſt 1508.

The following Year 1508 was concluded the famous Treaty or League of *Cambray* againſt the Republic of *Venice*, that had been long aſpiring at the Empire of all *Italy*. The contracting Parties were the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *France*, and the King of *Spain*; and it was agreed, that they ſhould enter the State of *Venice* on all Sides; that each of them ſhould recover what that Republic had taken from them; that they ſhould therein aſſiſt one another; and that it ſhould not be lawful for any of the Confederates to enter into an Agreement with the Republic, but by common Conſent. The Duke of *Ferrara*, the Marquis of *Mantua*, and whoever elſe had any Claims upon the *Venetians*, were to be admitted into this Treaty. The *Venetians* had ſome Suſpicion of what was contriving againſt them at *Cambray*, but they had no certain Knowlege of it, till the Pope informed them of the whole. For *Julius*, no leſs apprehenſive of the Increaſe of the Emperor's Power in *Italy*, than of the *French* King's, acquainted the *Venetian* Embaſſador at *Rome*, before he ſigned the Treaty, with all the Articles it contained, repreſented to him the Danger that his Republic was threatened with, and offered not to confirm the League, but to ſtart Difficulties, and raiſe Obſtacles againſt it, provided they only reſtored to him the Cities of *Rimini* and *Faenza*. This Demand appeared very reaſonable to the Pope; but it was rejected by a great Majority in the Senate, when communicated to them by their Em-

[h] Idem ibid.

baſſador;

baſſador; and the Pope thereupon confirmed the League by a Bull dated at *Rome* the 22d of *March* 1508 [i]. Year of Chriſt 1508.

They are excommunicated by the Pope.

The *Venetians*, hearing of the mighty Preparations that were carrying on all over *Chriſtendom* againſt them, began to repent their not having complied with the Pope's Requeſt, and by that Means broken the Confederacy. They therefore renewed their Negotiations with his Holineſs, and offered to reſtore to him the City of *Faenza*. But *Julius*, inſtead of accepting their Offer, publiſhed, by Way of Monitory, a thundering Bull againſt the Republic, ſummoning them to reſtore, in the Term of Twenty-four Days, all the Places they had uſurped, belonging to the Apoſtolic See, as well as the Profits they had reaped from them, ſince the Time they firſt uſurped them. If they obeyed not this Summons, within the limited Time, not only the City of *Venice*, but all Places, within their Dominions, were, *ipſo facto*, to incur a general Interdict, nay, and all Places that ſhould receive or harbour a *Venetian*. They were, beſides, declared guilty of High Treaſon, worthy to be treated as Enemies to the Chriſtian Name, and all were impowered to ſeize on their Effects, where-ever found, and to enſlave their Perſons. This Monitory gave no great Uneaſineſs to the Republic: They appealed from it to a future Council, and no Regard was paid to it, except by a few Monks and Friars [k].

Loſe their Dominions on the Continent.

In the mean time the King of *France*, entering, from the *Milaneſe*, the Territories of the Republic at the Head of a numerous Army, gave the *Venetians* a total Overthrow on the 14th of *May* of the preſent Year, and purſuing the Blow, made himſelf Maſter, in a few Days, of *Bergamo*, *Breſcia*, *Crema*, *Cremona*, and all the *Ghiaradadda*, which he pretended to have anciently belonged to the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Loſs of the *Venetians* did not end here. The Pope's Army, entering *Romagna* under the Direction of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, with the Character of Apoſtolic Legate, recovered the Cities of *Faenza*, *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, while the Emperor, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantua*, retook moſt of the Places that the *Venetians* had taken from them, and the King of *Spain* obliged them to deliver up all the Towns and Ports in *Apulia*, that *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, had mortgaged to them. Thus every Prince recovering his own, that haughty Republic was ſtript of the beſt Part of its Dominions on the Year of Chriſt 1509.

[i] Idem, l. 8. [k] Idem ibid. et Raymund. ad ann. 1509.

Year of Chriſt 1509.

Continent, and well nigh confined to the Marſhes, where it firſt ſprang up [1].

The Pope concludes a Peace with them.

The *Venetians* were well apprized of the Jealouſy the Pope entertained of the immoderate Increaſe of the *French* King's Power in *Italy*, and likewiſe of the Emperor's, and therefore reſolved, in their preſent Diſtreſs, to apply to his Holineſs; the rather, as he had now recovered all the Places, to which he had a juſt Claim. Accordingly they ſent Six Embaſſadors, all Men of the Firſt Rank, to implore his Holineſs's Protection; and beg he would abſolve them from the Cenſures, which they had incurred. The Pope would not admit them to his Preſence, but appointed a Congregation of Cardinals to treat with them in his Name. The Embaſſadors of the Emperor, and the King of *France* warmly oppoſed his granting them their Requeſt, as contrary to One of the Articles of the League of *Cambray*, by which it was ſtipulated, that none of the contracting Powers ſhould make a ſeparate Peace. But his Holineſs, thinking that it highly conduced to the Safety of *Italy*, as well as his own, to preſerve the Republic from utter Ruin; and the Archbiſhop of *York*, *Thomas Wolſey*, whom the King of *England*, *Henry* VIII. had ſent to *Rome* with the Character of his Embaſſador, interpoſing in their Favour by the expreſs Order of his Maſter, they were abſolved on the 24th of *February* 1510, upon the following mortifying Conditions: I. That the *Venetians* ſhould diſpoſe of no Benefices nor Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, nor oppoſe the Proviſions made concerning them in the Court of *Rome*. II. That they ſhould not obſtruct the Trials of Cauſes relating to Benefices, or other Eccleſiaſtical Matters. III. That they ſhould lay no Impoſts upon the Goods of the Church, nor of Places exempt from the ſecular Juriſdiction. IV. That they ſhould withdraw their Appeal to a future Council, and renounce all Right, however acquired, to the Towns poſſeſſed by the Church. V. That the Subjects of the Church ſhould have a free Navigation in the Gulph, or the *Adriatic* Sea; that their Ships ſhould not be ſearched, nor obliged to pay any Duties, whether their Cargoes belonged to them, or to other Nations. VI. That all Conventions with the Subjects of the Church, to the Prejudice of the Eccleſiaſtical Immunity, ſhould be annulled. VII. That they ſhould afford no Shelter, in their Dominions, to any Dukes, Barons, or other Vaſſals of the Church,

And upon what Conditions.

[1] Idem ibid.

who

who ſhould be declared Rebels, or Enemies to the Apoſtolic See. Laſtly, That they ſhould repair all the Loſſes the Church had ſuſtained, by their Means, during the Courſe of the War, and reſtore to the Eccleſiaſtics the Sums they had raiſed upon their Eſtates. Theſe Articles being agreed to by the *Venetian* Embaſſadors in the Name of their Republic, they repaired to the Porch of *St. Peter*'s Church, and there proſtrating themſelves at his Holineſs's Feet, they humbly begged Pardon for their paſt Conduct. The Pope abſolved them with the uſual Ceremonies, and enjoined them no other Penance than to viſit the Seven chief Churches of *Rome*. He did not content himſelf with abſolving them, but, by a manifeſt Breach of Faith againſt his Confederates, he took them into his Protection, granted Leave to all the Feudatories and Subjects of the Church to ſerve under their Banners, and, growing daily more and more jealous of the Power of the *French* in *Italy*, left nothing unattempted to prevail upon the Emperor to come to an Agreement with the *Venetians*, and join them and himſelf againſt the King of *France* as a common Enemy [m].

Year of Chriſt 1509.

Abſolves them.

Year of Chriſt 1510.

And takes them into his Protection.

The Pope had formed a Deſign of driving the *French* quite out of *Italy*, and wanting a Pretence to quarrel with them, he laid hold of the following Opportunity to quarrel with the Duke of *Ferrara*, their Friend and Ally. As Salt was made both at *Comachio*, that belonged to the Duke, and at *Cervia*, lately reſtored by the *Venetians* to the Church, the Pope, as Lord Paramount of both Places, the Duke being his Feudatory, forbad the making of Salt, for the future, at *Comachio*, in order to engroſs the Sale of that uſeful Commodity to himſelf. The Duke, *Alphonſo d'Eſte*, thinking it hard, that he ſhould be obliged to purchaſe of others, for the Uſe of his own Subjects, what he could ſupply foreign Countries with, refuſed to comply with his Holineſs's Prohibition. Upon that Refuſal the Pope, threatening to do himſelf Juſtice by Force of Arms, ordered Part of his Army to march into the Territory of *Bologna* and the Province of *Romagna*, to be there ready at hand to enter the Dominions of the Duke. The King of *France*, to leave no Pretence for the Pope to quarrel with his Ally, and conſequently with himſelf, perſuaded the Duke to gratify his Holineſs; and *Alphonſo* ſent, accordingly, Embaſſadors to *Rome*, offering to his Holineſs all the Salt he had made at *Comachio*, and promiſing

Quarrels with the Duke of Ferrara.

[m] Idem ibid. et l. 8. Raynald. ad ann. 1510. Buonaccorſi in Diar.

to

Year of Christ 1510.

to make no more. But the Pope, who wanted the Duke to quit the *French* Party, without hearkening to his Embaſſadors, ordered the Army of the Church to march immediately againſt him. They made themſelves Maſters of ſeveral Places in the *Ferrareſe* without Oppoſition. But the Marſhal of *Chaumont*, Governor of the *Milaneſe*, and the Duke, joining their Forces, ſoon obliged them to abandon all the Places they had taken. The Pope's Forces took them a Second Time; and his Holineſs, determined either to cruſh the Duke, or oblige him to renounce his Alliance with the *French*, ordered the Duke of *Urbino*, the Commander of his Army, to make the neceſſary Preparations for the Siege of *Ferrara* [n].

The Duke of Ferrara *and all the* French *Officers excommunicated.*

The Pope, now wholly bent upon the Reduction of *Ferrara*, and laying aſide, for the preſent, all other Projects, ſet out for *Bologna* to haſten the Preparations, and made his public Entry into that City in the End of *September*. He had not been long in *Bologna*, when he ſolemnly excommunicated *Alphonſo d'Eſte*, and all, who had taken, or ſhould take Arms in his Defence, and *Chaumont* by Name, with all the chief Officers of the *French* Army. *Chaumont* paid no Regard to the Pope's Thunders, but in order to ſilence them with the Thunder of his Cannon, he marched unexpectedly towards *Bologna*, with a Deſign to ſeize his Holineſs, and got within Ten Miles of that City before they received any Intelligence of his March. The News of his Approach, and of his having the *Bentivogli* with him, occaſioned an univerſal Terror and Conſternation among the Nobility and the Prelates of the Court, as well as among the People. The Pope alone remained, in Appearance, quite undiſturbed, and without betraying the leaſt Symptom of Fear, he ſent *Pico*, Count of *Mirandola*, to treat with the *French* General about a Peace. *Chaumont* knew that the King wiſhed for nothing ſo much as to accommodate Matters with the Pope, and therefore drew up ſuch Conditions, as he thought his Holineſs might agree to, and the King would approve. But his Holineſs only wanted to gain Time; and he no ſooner heard, that his own Forces, as well as thoſe of the *Venetians*, were in full March, from all Quarters, to relieve him, than thinking himſelf out of Danger, he ſent his final Anſwer to *Chaumont*, which was, that he might ſave himſelf the Trouble of making any new Propoſals, unleſs he previ-

The French *diſappointed in an Attempt upon* Bologna.

[n] Guicciard. l. 9. Buonac. in Diario. Bembo Hiſt. Venet.

ouſly

ouſly conſented to abandon the Duke of *Ferrara*. In the mean time the expected Succours arrived at *Bologna*, and *Chaumont*, now deſpairing of Succeſs in attempting to reduce that City, thought it adviſeable to abandon the Enterprize, and return to his former Camp °. Year of Chriſt 1510.

As the Seaſon was already far advanced, the *Venetians* were, upon the Retreat of *Chaumont*, for putting their Troops into Winter-Quarters. But the Pope, though juſt recovered from a ſevere Fit of Illneſs, declared that he would firſt make himſelf Maſter of *Ferrara*. That Project was diſapproved by all the General Officers; and they adviſed his Holineſs againſt it, thinking it high Time, as Winter drew near, to allow the Troops ſome Reſt after the Fatigues of ſo long a Campaign. But the Pope anſwering in great Wrath, that it was their Part to obey, and not to adviſe, the Siege of *Ferrara* was determined upon. But as it was neceſſary, in order to prevent the *French* from relieving it, to get Poſſeſſion of *Mirandola*, the Pope's Army ſat down before that Place ſo late as the latter End of *December*. It was defended by *Frances*, the Widow of the late Count of *Mirandola*, and Daughter of the Marquis of *Trivulzio*; and from her the Beſiegers met with a moſt obſtinate Reſiſtance, though the Garriſon conſiſted of no more than Four hundred Foot and Seventy Horſe under the Command of *Alexander Trivulzio*, her Couſin-Germain. The Pope, to encourage his Men, attended the Army in Perſon, and took up his Quarters at the Village of *St. Felix* about Three Leagues from the Camp. It was not long before the Beſiegers were reduced to the utmoſt Diſtreſs, not only on Account of the extraordinary Rigor of the Seaſon, but for Want of Proviſions, their Convoys being intercepted by Parties, placed on all the Roads by the Duke of *Ferrara*, and Marſhal *Chaumont* ᵖ. Mirandola *beſieged by the Pope.*

As the Pope went daily from *St. Felix* to the Camp before *Mirandola* to animate his Men, he One Day narrowly eſcaped falling into an Ambuſcade, laid for him by the famous Partiſan *Peter du Ferrail*, commonly known by the Name of *Chevalier Bayard*. The Chevalier placed an Hundred Men at Arms in Ambuſh on the Road from *St. Felix* to the Camp, who ſallying out, as ſoon as ſome of the Pope's Retinue appeared, ſeized them, and purſued the Reſt, full Speed, in their Flight back to *St. Felix*, not doubting but the Pope was juſt behind them. But, fortunately for him, a heavy Snow had obliged *Who narrowly eſcapes falling into an Ambuſcade.*

° Guicciardin. et Buonacorſ. ibid. ᵖ Idem ibid.

him

Year of Christ 1510.

him to return, when he was as yet but at a ſmall Diſtance from the Town, and he reached it before the Chevalier came up with him, having juſt Time to cauſe the Draw-Bridge to be pulled up, to which he himſelf lent a helping Hand q.

He aſſiſts at the Siege in Perſon.

As the Pope, impatient to get Poſſeſſion of *Ferrara*, thought the Siege of *Mirandola* advanced but ſlowly, he took a Reſolution to aſſiſt at it in Perſon. Accordingly he left *St. Felix*, and, repairing to the Camp, took up his Quarters at a Place ſo near the Walls, that he had Two Perſons killed with a Cannon-Ball in his Kitchen. He was perpetually on Horſeback, riding about the Lines, notwithſtanding the intenſe Cold, ſcarce ſupportable by the Soldiery, reprimanding ſome, animating others, and acting, in every Reſpect, the Part of a General. It was no unuſual Sight, ſays here the Hiſtorian, to behold the High Prieſt, the Vicar of Chriſt upon Earth, old and infirm, employed, in Perſon, in carrying on a War, kindled by himſelf againſt Chriſtians, expoſing himſelf to all the Fatigues and Dangers, incident to Commanders of Armies, and retaining nothing of the Pontiff but the Name and the Habit. The Town held out till the 20th of *January*, when it capitulated, and the Pope entered it by the Breach, as Conqueror r: And he was now wholly bent upon the Reduction of *Ferrara*, which he ordered to be immediately inveſted. But the Duke, falling unexpectedly upon the Pope's Troops, obliged them to raiſe the Blockade with the Loſs of a great many Men, and of all their Baggage and Artillery: And thus was *Ferrara* ſaved to the great Diſappointment of the Pope s. This Exploit is aſcribed by *Brantome* to the Chevalier *Bayard*, who, according to that Writer, cut Five or Six thouſand of the Enemy in Pieces, and obliged the Reſt to ſave themſelves by Flight t.

Mirandola taken.

Year of Chriſt 1511.

Congreſs propoſed for a general Peace, but rejected by the Pope.

In the mean time the King of *Spain*, no leſs jealous than the Pope of the Increaſe of the *French* Power in *Italy*, and under Apprehenſions for his Kingdom of *Naples*, which he thought to be in Danger from the Greatneſs of the King of *France*, propoſed a Congreſs to be held at *Mantua* for a general Pacification. To that Propoſal the Emperor and the King of *France* readily agreed upon certain Conditions. But when the Biſhop of *Goritz* came to wait upon the Pope, who was

q Hiſt. du Chevalier Bayard, c. 42. r Guicciard. l. 9. Bembo, Buonacorſi ibid.
s Guicciard. ibid. t Brantome Eloge du Chevalier Bayard.

ſtill at *Bologna*, in the Emperor's Name, and invite him to the Congreſs, he found his Holineſs unalterably determined to make no Peace with *France* till he was put in Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, and its Capital. Upon this Occaſion the Pope offered the Dignity of Cardinal to the Biſhop, provided he prevailed upon the Emperor to quit his Alliance with the King of *France*, and join the *Venetians* and himſelf againſt him. That Offer the Biſhop rejected with no ſmall Indignation at the Pope's thinking him capable of betraying his Truſt, and immediately ſet out on his Return to the Imperial Court [u]. As the Emperor had honoured him with the Title of his Lieutenant-General in *Italy*, when the Pope ſent ſome Cardinals to treat with him upon his Arrival at *Bologna*, he appointed ſome of his Gentlemen to confer with them, ſaying, that it was beneath him to treat with any but his Holineſs himſelf [w].

Year of Chriſt 1511.

The pacific Meaſures of the other Princes being thus defeated by the invincible Obſtinacy of the Pope, and his inveterate Hatred to the *French*, Marſhal *Trivulzio*, who had taken the Command of the *French* Army upon the Death of *Chaumont*, that happened at this Time, drew his Forces together early in the Spring, and having retaken all the Places in the *Ferrareſe*, that the Eccleſiaſtical Army had taken the Year before, he came unexpectedly, and encamped at the Diſtance of Five Miles from *Bologna*. The Pope had already retired from that City to *Ravenna*, leaving the Cardinal of *Pavia* with a Body of Troops to defend it. But the Cardinal fled, in Diſguiſe, out of the City at the Approach of the Enemy, and his Example being followed by the greateſt Part of his Troops, the *Bentivogli*, who attended the *French* Army, were admitted, without Oppoſition, into the City. Thus was that Family once more put in Poſſeſſion of their ancient Inheritance. The Populace of their Party, overjoyed at the Return of their old Lords, fell upon a Statue of the Pope in Braſs, and having dragged it about the Streets with great Contempt and Deriſion, broke it in Pieces [x]. —That Statue repreſented the Pope ſtanding, and in the Attitude of holding up his Right Hand to give the People his Benediction. That Poſture gave them Occaſion to aſk, whether it was to bleſs or to curſe them, that his Holineſs thus held up his Hand; which coming to the Pope's Ears, he anſwered, that *it was for both, as they ſhould deſerve to*

Bologna *taken by the* French, *and reſtored to the* Bentivogli.

[u] Idem ibid. [w] Mezerai Abregé Chron. tom. 4. [x] Guicciard. l. 9.

Year of Christ 1511.

The Pope's Army defeated.

be bleſſed or curſed y.——Marſhal *Trivulzio*, wiſely apprehending, that his keeping *Bologna* would give Umbrage both to the Emperor, and the King of *Spain*, left that City in the Poſſeſſion of the *Bentivogli*, and marching the very next Day, the 22d of *May*, againſt the Army of the Pope and the *Venetians* under the Command of the Duke of *Urbino*, put them to Flight at the Firſt Onſet, took all their Baggage and Artillery, a great many Colours, and the Doge's own Standard, with ſeveral General Officers. Upon the News of this Defeat, the Citadel of *Bologna*, which the preſent Pope had built, ſurrendered, and the People immediately demoliſhed it. From this Victory the Duke of *Ferrara* took Occaſion to drive the Pope's Forces and thoſe of the *Venetians* quite out of his Dominions z.

The Cardinal of Pavia *murdered by the Duke of* Urbino.

The melancholy Death of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, late Legate at *Bologna*, that happened at this Time, added greatly to the Concern his Holineſs was under for the Loſs of that City and the Defeat of his Army. As the Cardinal was charged by ſome with Treachery, by others with Cowardice, he came to *Ravenna* to juſtify his Conduct, and demanded an Audience of the Pope. His Holineſs, overjoyed at his ſafe Arrival, as he was One of his chief Favourites, not only granted him his Requeſt, but ſent him an Invitation to dine with him. But as he was going to the Palace, the Duke of *Urbino*, who knew the City of *Bologna* to have been loſt by the Cowardice of the Cardinal, and the Army, which the Duke commanded, to have been defeated in Conſequence of that Loſs, made up to him, and in the Tranſport of his Rage ſtabbed him with his own Hand. His manifold and enormous Vices deſerved, ſays *Guicciardin*, the worſt of Deaths. But when the News of it was brought to the Pope, he burſt into Tears and loud Lamentations, bewailing, beyond Meaſure, the Loſs of One, who was ſo dear to him; the more, as he had ſet up for a zealous Aſſertor of the Eccleſiaſtical Immunity, and the high Dignity of Cardinal was ſo notoriouſly violated before his Eyes, and by his own Nephew a. As we read of no Puniſhment inflicted by the Pope on his Nephew for ſo daring an Attempt, ſome will have his Holineſs to have been privy to it. But of that no Notice is taken by *Guicciardin*, nor by any other contemporary Hiſtorian.

y Ciacon. in Jul. II. z Guicciardin. ibid. a Idem ibid.

The

The Pope, for all his Firmneſs and Intrepidity, could not help ſhewing his Concern at ſo many Misfortunes, and thinking himſelf no longer ſafe at *Ravenna*, after the taking of *Bologna*, and the Defeat of his Army, he ſet out from thence on his Return to *Rome*. To aggravate his Concern, he received certain Intelligence, upon his Arrival at *Rimini*, that an Order, for the aſſembling of a General Council at *Piſa*, was ſet up at *Modena*, *Bologna*, and other Cities of *Italy*, and that he himſelf was ſummoned to appear at it in Perſon. For the Emperor and the King of *France*, finding the Pope would hearken to no Terms of Accommodation, and looking upon him as a Diſturber of the public Peace, had agreed to call a General Council, and lay their Complaints againſt his Holineſs before them. This their Deſign they had communicated to ſome of the Cardinals, and Five of them approving of it, had left the Pope the preceding Year, while he was on his Journey from *Rome* to *Bologna*, and fled firſt to *Florence*, and afterwards, for their greater Security, to *Milan*. Theſe were the Cardinals of *Santa Croce*, *St. Malo*, *Bayeux*, *St. Angelo*, and *Coſenza*. They maintained, that as the Church ſtood in evident Neceſſity of a Reformation both in its Head and Members, as the neceſſary Reformation could only be procured by a General Council, and the Pope neglected to aſſemble One, the Power of applying that Remedy was lawfully devolved to them; the rather as they acted therein by the Authority of the Emperor, and with the Conſent of the moſt Chriſtian King, and the Concurrence of the *German* and *French* Clergy. On the other hand the Pope, to defeat their Views, and clear himſelf from the Charge of neglecting to aſſemble a General Council, appointed One to meet the following Year in the Church of *St. John Lateran* at *Rome*, pretending, that he had thereby diſſolved the Council convoked by the Cardinals. But they maintained, that as theirs had been called and proclaimed the firſt, it ought to take Place, and appointed the 1ſt of *September* next enſuing for the Opening of it. The King of *France* ſent immediately Twenty-four Biſhops to *Piſa* to repreſent the *Gallican* Church in the Council, and ordered all the Prelates of his Kingdom to aſſiſt at it in Perſon, or by their Proxies [b].

Year of Chriſt 1511.

A General Council ſummoned by ſome of the Cardinals.

Another ſummoned by the Pope.

The Calling of a Council gave the Pope a great deal of Uneaſineſs; and indeed not without Reaſon, the King of *France* being in a Con-

His Holineſs's double Dealing.

[b] Idem ibid. et l. 10.

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dition, after the Victory lately gained by *Trivulzio*, to cauſe the Decrees, that ſhould be iſſued by that Aſſembly, to be carried into Execution. He therefore ordered the Biſhop of *Tivoli*, his Nuncio at the *French* Court, to negotiate a Reconciliation between the Apoſtolic See and the King. But being, in the mean time, informed, that the King, inſtead of improving the Opportunity, afforded him, by his Victory, of reducing the whole State of the Church, had, with more Piety, ſays *Guicciardin*, than Policy, ordered the Marſhal to return with the Army into the Dutchy of *Milan*, he was thereby encouraged to make ſuch Demands, as the King could not, in Honour, agree to. The Pope only wanted to gain Time; and while he was negotiating a Peace with *France*, he was privately carrying on a Treaty with the King of *Spain* and the *Venetians* againſt the *French*, and uſing his utmoſt Endeavours to perſuade the King of *England*, *Henry* VIII. to enter into that Confederacy [c].

Is taken dangerouſly ill.

During theſe Negotiations the Pope was taken ill on the 17th of *Auguſt*, and on the 4th Day of his Illneſs thought to be dead. The Report of his Death occaſioned great Diſturbances in *Rome*. But it was only a Fainting-Fit, and being recovered out of it, though with very ſmall Hopes of his Life, he aſſembled, the next Day, the Cardinals in the Form of a Conſiſtory, and in their Preſence abſolved his Nephew, the Duke of *Urbino*, from the Murder of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, not by Way of Juſtice, but of Apoſtolic Favour and Indulgence. In the next Place, to prevent others from being raiſed by Simony to the Pontificate, as it had happened to himſelf, he cauſed a Bull to be publiſhed, which he had drawn up before, fraught with terrible Penalties and Curſes againſt any, who ſhould procure that Dignity by Money or any other Reward whatever, and declaring all ſuch Elections to be in themſelves null. In the mean time he grew daily better, and was no ſooner out of Danger, than he reſumed his former Schemes, treating of Peace with the King of *France*, and negotiating, at the ſame time, an offenſive League with the *Venetians*, and the King of *Spain*, againſt him [d].

But recovers.

Council of Piſa opened.

In the mean time the Council of *Piſa* was opened on the Day appointed, the 1ſt of *September*, but with very little Hopes of Succeſs. None of the Cardinals, who had convoked it, were preſent, nor were

[c] Idem, l. 10. [d] Idem ibid.

any

any of the *French* Biſhops, though many of them were already arrived in *Italy*. They kept back, as long as they could, through Fear of Cenſures and the Loſs of their Benefices; ſo that the Council was opened by none but Deputies or Proxies. But the Archbiſhop of *Lions* and *Sens* being ordered by the King to attend the Council, they repaired to *Piſa* with Fourteen Biſhops, and ſeveral *French* Doctors and Abbots; and the Firſt Seſſion being held ſoon after their Arrival, *Bernardine Carvajal*, Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, and the chief Promoter of the Council, was choſen Preſident. As the City of *Piſa* was, at this Time, ſubject to the *Florentines*, the Pope, provoked at their ſuffering ſuch a ſchiſmatic Conventicle, as he called it, to be held within their Dominions, laid the City of *Florence*, as well as that of *Piſa*, under an Interdict, excommunicated all who ſhould any-ways countenance that execrable Aſſembly, and, ſummoning a public Conſiſtory, pronounced, with great Solemnity in his Pontifical Robes, the Sentence of Depoſition againſt the Cardinals, Authors and Promoters of the Schiſm, declaring them liable to all the Pains and Penalties denounced againſt Schiſmatics and Heretics. The *Florentines*, taking no Notice of the Council then ſitting at *Piſa*, appealed from the Pope's Sentence, interdicting their City, to a holy Council of the Church Univerſal, and, after their Appeal, obliged the Eccleſiaſtics to perform Divine Service, as uſual, in the Four principal Churches of the City [e].

Year of Chriſt 1511.

The Cities of Piſa *and* Florence *interdicted.*

The Florentines *appeal to a General Council.*

The Pope continued to amuſe the King of *France* with Propoſals of Peace. But, in the mean while, the League, which he had been long negotiating with the Catholic King and the *Venetians* againſt that Prince, was brought to a Concluſion, and publiſhed, with great Solemnity on the 5th of *October*, in the Preſence of the Pope and all the Cardinals aſſembled in the Church of *St. Mary del Popolo*. No Mention was made of the King of *France* in the Articles of that Confederacy. But the contracting Powers engaged to preſerve the Unity of the Church, in imminent Danger from the Council of *Piſa*, to put the Pope in Poſſeſſion of the City of *Bologna*, as well as of every other City, to which he had a juſt Claim, meaning thereby the City of *Ferrara*, and to act with a powerful Army againſt any, who ſhould oppoſe the Execution of theſe their Deſigns, in order to drive them quite out of *Italy*. Upon the Firſt Notice the King received of this

League between the Pope, the King of Spain, *and the* Venetians *againſt* France.

[e] Idem ibid. et Petrus de Anglerin. ep. 468.

new

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new Confederacy, evidently calculated to diveſt him of all his *Italian* Dominions, if he did not comply with all the Pope's Demands, however inconſiſtent with his Honour and his Intereſt, he acquainted his Generals in *Italy* with it, ordering them to maintain, at all Events, the *Baglioni* in Poſſeſſion of *Bologna*, and defend the City of *Ferrara*, as they would the City of *Paris*. At the ſame time he wrote to the Cardinals and the Biſhops, aſſembled at *Piſa*, to purſue the Work, for which they had met, the Reformation of the Church in its Head and Members [f].

Proceedings of the Council of Piſa.

No *German* Biſhops had yet appeared at *Piſa*, nay, in an Aſſembly, held at *Augſburg*, they had condemned that Council, as tending to produce a Schiſm; but with this Clauſe, that they were ready to change their Opinion, if ſatisfactory Reaſons were offered to the contrary. The Four Cardinals therefore, for the Fifth, *Francis Borgia*, Cardinal of *Coſenza*, had died at *Lucca*, and the *French* Biſhops, meeting in the Church of *St. Michael*, declared, in the Three Seſſions they held there, on the 5th, 7th, and 10th of *November*, that they repreſented the Church Univerſal, were lawfully aſſembled, held their Power immediately of God, and all, the Pope himſelf not excepted, were bound to obey their Decrees; that none ſhould be allowed to withdraw from the Council without juſt Cauſe, and that all Acts made, or attempted, to the Prejudice of the Council, ſhould be deemed in themſelves null. In the mean time the People of *Piſa*, alarmed at the Interdict, began to inſult, in the public Streets, the Members of the Council, and even the Cardinals themſelves, who had brought it upon them. This occaſioned daily Quarrels between the People and the *French* Soldiers, whom the King had appointed to guard the Council; which ſo terrified the Cardinals, and the Reſt of the Prelates, that they paſſed an Act for tranſlating the Council to *Milan*, and departed in all Haſte the very next Day [g].

Which is adjourned to Milan.

Bologna *beſieged by the Confederates.* Year of Chriſt 1512.

While theſe Things paſſed at *Piſa*, the Forces, that the King of *Spain* was bound to furniſh by One of the Articles of the League, arrived in *Romagna*, *viz.* Twelve hundred Men at Arms, One thouſand Light Horſe, and Ten thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, under the Command of *Raymund de Cardona*, then Viceroy of *Naples*. They joined the Eccleſiaſtic Army in the Neighbourhood of *Imola*, and after taking

[f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem ibid. et Concil. Piſan. II. p. 73, et ſeq.

ſome

ſome Places in *Romagna*, that belonged to the Duke of *Ferrara*, they advanced to *Bologna*, and, at the repeated Inſtances of the Pope, impatient to recover that important City, they laid Siege to it in the Beginning of *January*. But they were ſoon obliged to abandon that Enterprize by *Gaſton de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, the King's Nephew, who had been lately made Governor of the *Milaneſe*, though, at that Time, not above Two or Three and Twenty Years of Age. He found Means to get into the Place with a ſtrong Body of Troops; and the Confederates, deſpairing of being able to reduce it, when defended by ſo numerous a Garriſon with their General at their Head, ſilently withdrew in the Night, and returned to *Imola*.

Year of Chriſt 1512.

The Siege raiſed.

As the King had taken the City of *Bologna* under his Protection, and it ſerved as a Bulwark againſt the Attempts of the Pope upon the Dutchy of *Milan*, he expreſſed an unuſual Joy at that Event. But his Joy was allayed by the News he received ſoon afterwards, that the Parliament and King of *England* had been prevailed upon by the Pope's Nuncio, the Biſhop of *Moravia*, a *Scotchman*, to ſend Prelates to repreſent that Kingdom in the *Lateran* Council, and that the King had ordered the *French* Embaſſador to depart, ſaying, it was not fit that the Repreſentative of One, who ſo openly perſecuted the Apoſtolic See, ſhould be ſeen near the Perſon of a King, and in a Kingdom ſo devoted to the Church. At the ſame time the Emperor ſeemed diſpoſed to quit his Alliance, being tempted thereunto by the mighty Promiſes of the Pope; and the *Swiſs*, gained over by their Countryman, the Cardinal of *Sion*, ſhewed a great Inclination to enter into the Service of the Confederates againſt him.

King of England *inclined to accede to the League.*

The King therefore finding himſelf alone againſt ſo many Enemies, who had either declared, or were ready to declare againſt him, and being, at the ſame time, ſenſible, that, upon the King of *England*'s invading his *French* Dominions, which he expected daily, he ſhould be obliged to recall great Part of his Forces out of *Italy*, he ſent an expreſs Order to the Duke of *Nemours* to march, without Delay, againſt the *Spaniſh* and Eccleſiaſtic Troops in *Romagna*, and draw them to a deciſive Battle. But they, determined not to hazard an Engagement, took Care to encamp in Places, where they could not be forced to it. As no Opportunity therefore offered of attacking them, but under great Diſadvantage, the Duke of *Nemours* reſolved to lay Siege to *Ravenna*,

Ravenna *beſieged by the* French.

Year of Chriſt 1512.

venna, perſuading himſelf, that they would not tamely ſuffer a City of ſuch Importance to be loſt before their Eyes. He was not miſtaken; for the Generals of the Allies, hearing that the Town was beſieged, that the Siege was briſkly carried on, and that the Place muſt ſurrender, if not relieved, reſolved, in a Council of War, to march with the whole Army to its Relief.

Battle of Ravenna.

As they approached, the Duke of *Nemours* went out to meet them; and One of the moſt bloody Engagements thereupon enſued, that had been fought for many Years in *Italy*. It laſted near Eight Hours; and on both Sides fell a great Number of brave Men, and Perſons of

Compleat Victory gained by the French.

Diſtinction. But the Allies were, in the End, forced to give Way, and leave the *French* Maſters of the Field. *Raymund* of *Cardona*, a *Catalonian*, Viceroy of *Naples*, and Commander in Chief of the whole Allied Army, fled among the firſt, and never ſtopt till he reached *Ancona*, about Thirty Leagues diſtant from the Field of Battle. He was remarkable for the Comelineſs of his Perſon, but wanted Courage, and was therefore called by the Pope *Madam da Cardona*. The Reſt, following his Example, betook themſelves to a diſorderly Flight, all but a ſmall Body of *Spaniſh* Infantry under the Command of *Peter Navarre*, a brave and experienced Officer. Theſe retired in good Order; and *Foix*, thinking that the Victory was not compleat, if they were not broken and diſperſed as well as the Reſt, fell furiouſly upon them. But being ſurrounded, and falling from his Horſe, or, as others ſay, his Horſe falling upon him, he was wounded with a Pike in his Side, and, at the ſame time, received ſeveral other Wounds, ſome ſay Fourteen, of which he died upon the Spot. The *French* were ſo ſtunned with the Loſs of their brave Commander, that they ſuffered the *Spaniards* to march off unmoleſted. As to the Number of the Slain of both Armies, it amounted at leaſt, according to *Guicciardin*, to Ten thouſand, and of that Number the *French* made but One-third. All the Baggage, Colours, and Artillery of the Allies were taken, and a great many Perſons of the Firſt Rank were made Priſoners, with the Cardinal *de Medicis*, the Pope's Legate, whom they delivered up to Cardinal *Sanſeverino*, Legate of the Council of *Piſa*, then ſitting at *Milan*. This memorable Battle was fought on *Eaſter-Day*, the 11th of *April* of the preſent Year [h].

[h] Guicciard. l. 10. et Brantome Eloge de Gaſton de Foix.

The

The Defeat of the Allies was followed by the Loſs of *Ravenna*, *Imola*, *Forli*, *Ceſena*, *Rimini*, and all the Fortreſſes of *Romagna*, except thoſe of *Forli* and *Imola*; and Cardinal *Sanſeverino* took Poſſeſſion of them in the Name of the Council of *Piſa*, that it might not be thought the King intended to extend his Dominions at the Expence of the Church. When News of ſo ſignal a Victory, gained over the Confederates, was brought to *Rome*, it threw the whole Court into the utmoſt Terror and Confuſion. The Cardinals, flying immediately to the Palace, conjured his Holineſs, as he tendered the Welfare of the Church and his own Safety, not to defer concluding a Peace with *France*. On the other hand the Embaſſadors of the *Venetians* and the King of *Spain* remonſtrated, in very ſtrong Terms, againſt his coming to any Agreement with the *French*. Thus Fear, Indignation, and his irreconcileable Hatred to the King, combating together in his Breaſt, he knew not what to determine, but ſeemed, at one Time, inclined to Peace, and, at another, determined to continue the War: But being, in the mean while, informed that the *Swiſs* had eſpouſed his Cauſe, and were on their March to join the Confederates, and that *Palice*, who had ſucceeded *Foix* in the Command of the Army, inſtead of marching to *Rome*, was returned to the *Milaneſe* with the greateſt Part of his Forces, in order to prevent their entering that Dutchy, his Holineſs recovered his Courage, ordered new Forces to be raiſed, and, declaring that he would not depart from the League, wrote to his Nuncio in *France* to break off the Negotiations, which he might have begun with the King or his Miniſters. At the ſame time arrived at *Rome* a Meſſenger from the King of *England* with a Commiſſion, impowering the Cardinal Archbiſhop of *York*, then reſiding at the Pope's Court, to ſign the League in his Name, and the King of *Spain* aſſured his Holineſs that, to prevent the *French* from reaping any Advantage from their late Victory, he was reſolved to ſend a powerful Army into *Italy* under the Command of the *Great Captain*.

Year of Chriſt 1512.

The Pope exhorted to Peace.

What encouraged him to continue the War.

But what above all delivered the Pope from his Fears, and confirmed him in his Reſolution of purſuing the War, was the unexpected Arrival of the *Swiſs* in the *Trentine* to the Number of Eighteen, or Twenty thouſand fighting Men, though the Pope had only demanded Six thouſand. They joined the *Venetian* Army in the *Veroneſe*, and jointly with them directed their March to the Dutchy of *Milan*, which

The Swiſs *eſpouſe the Cauſe of the Pope, and enter the Dutchy of* Milan.

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they no ſooner entered, than all the Cities, where the Citizens were ſtronger than the Garriſons, revolting from the *French*, ſurrendered to them. *Palice*, whoſe Army only conſiſted of Six or Seven thouſand Men, the Reſt being employed in garriſoning the fortified Towns, retired as the Enemy advanced, and Marſhal *Trivulzio*, Governor of *Milan*, thinking himſelf no longer ſafe in that City, furniſhed the Caſtle with Men and Proviſions, and ſet out for *Piedmont* with all the King's Officers, and the Cardinals and Biſhops of the Council. Thus were the *French* every where driven out, nothing being left to them of the whole *Milaneſe*, but the Caſtles of *Milan*, *Novara*, and *Cremona*, and the Towns of *Crema*, *Breſcia*, and *Peſchiera*. *Palice*, upon the Firſt Notice he received of the Motions of the *Swiſs*, had ordered the Troops, which he had left in *Romagna*, to march, with all Speed, to *Milan*; and they were no ſooner gone, than the Cities of *Rimini*, *Ceſena*, and *Ravenna*, returned under the Obedience of the Pope. The Cities in the State of *Milan* had all ſubmitted to the *Holy League*, as they were pleaſed to call it, and were therefore governed, for the preſent, by the Cardinal of *Sion* with the Character of the Pope's Legate. But the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza* ſubmitted, of their own Accord, to the Pope, who pretended a Right to them, as anciently appertaining to the Exarchate of *Ravenna*.

Which the French *are forced to abandon.*

Genoa *revolts from the* French. Bologna *recovered to the Pope.*

To compleat the Ruin of the *French* Affairs in *Italy*, *Genoa* revolted, expelled the *French* Governor, and conferred the Dignity of Doge upon *Janus Fregoſo*, the Author of the Revolt. At the ſame time the Duke of *Urbino*, approaching *Bologna* with the Eccleſiaſtic Forces, obliged the *Bentivogli* to abandon that City, and the Inhabitants to acknowlege the Pope for their only Lord and Sovereign. His Holineſs, carrying his Rage againſt that Family beyond all Bounds, interdicted all Places that ſhould receive or entertain any of them; and to be revenged upon the *Bologneſe*, who had inſulted his Statue, and caſt many abuſive Reflections upon his Character, he deprived them of all their Privileges, excluded them from all Share in the Government, extorted large Sums from many of the Citizens, as Friends to the *Bentivogli*, nay and had formed a Deſign, as was reported, ſays *Guicciardin*, of deſtroying the City, and removing the Inhabitants to *Cento*; but he did not live to carry it into Execution [i].

[i] Idem ibid.

The Biſhops and Cardinals of the Council of *Piſa* had continued their Seſſions at *Milan* ever ſince their Removal to that City; and in the Eighth, held on the 21ſt of *April*, they declared Pope *Julius* II. a Diſturber of the public Peace, a Sower of Diſcord among the People of God, a Rebel to the Church, a public Incendiary, a blood-thirſty Tyrant, hardened in his Iniquity, and incorrigible; pronounced him, as ſuch, ſuſpended from all ſpiritual and temporal Adminiſtration of the Church, and forbad the Faithful, of what Rank ſoever or Profeſſion, thenceforth to acknowlege or obey him. This Decree was received in *France*, and by the King's expreſs Command ſtrictly complied with throughout the Kingdom [k]. It was the laſt Act of the Council of *Piſa*. For the *Swiſs* breaking into the *Milaneſe*, the Biſhops, who were all *French*, fled from thence firſt to *Aſti* in *Piedmont*, and ſoon afterwards to *Lions*, where they were well received, and kindly entertained by the King.

Year of Chriſt 1512.

The Pope ſuſpended by the Council of Piſa.

End of that Council.

The Pope, provoked more than ever againſt the King on Account of his receiving the above-mentioned Decree of the Council, and his affording a ſafe Retreat in his Dominions to the Biſhops of that Aſſembly, declared him, and all who adhered to him, liable to all the Puniſhments due to Heretics and Schiſmatics, granted a Power to every one to ſeize on their Goods, their Eſtates, and whatever elſe belonged to them, and laid the whole Kingdom of *France* under an Interdict. At the ſame time, to wreak his Vengeance upon the City of *Lions* for receiving the Biſhops of the Council, he ordered, under grievous Cenſures, the Fair, that was kept there Four Times a Year, to be thenceforth held at *Geneva*, whence it had been removed by *Lewis* XI. to *Lions* [l].

The King of France *excommunicated, and the Kingdom laid under an Interdict.*

The *French* having nothing now left in *Italy* but a few Caſtles, the Confederates began to quarrel among themſelves about the Poſſeſſion of the Places, which they had abandoned. But the Pope, apprehending that the *French*, taking Advantage of their Diviſions, might reconquer the *Milaneſe*, prevailed upon them to hold a Congreſs at *Mantua*, in order to ſettle their Differences in an amicable Manner; and it was there agreed, that the Dutchy of *Milan* ſhould be reſtored to *Maximilian Sforza*, as Heir to his Father *Lewis*, to whom that Dutchy had belonged. But the *Venetians* could by no Means be

The Pope enters into a Confederacy with the Emperor againſt the Venetians.

[k] Idem ibid. et Concil. Piſan. p. 110. [l] Idem ibid. et Raynald. ad ann. 1512.

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brought to an Agreement with the Emperor, demanding the Reſtitution of the City of *Vicenza*, which he had taken in the Beginning of the War, and they had afterwards retaken. The Pope ſpared neither Entreaties nor Menaces to oblige the Republic to yield that City, and enter into an Alliance with himſelf and the Emperor to oppoſe the *French*, in caſe they attempted the Recovery of their Dominions in *Italy*. But, at laſt, finding that he could not induce them, either by Entreaties or Menaces, to give up the City in Queſtion, he concluded an Alliance with the Emperor againſt them. By One of the Articles of this new Alliance the Cities of *Parma*, *Piacenza*, and *Reggio*, which the Pope had ſeized, were to be left in the Poſſeſſion of the Holy See, but with this Clauſe, *without Prejudice to the Rights of the Empire* [m]. This Clauſe was added, ſays *Guicciardin*, becauſe it did not appear, that thoſe Cities had ever been poſſeſſed by the Church, and of the Donations, made by the Emperors, there was nothing to ſhew but One ſingle Writing, that might have been forged.

The Proceedings of the Lateran *Council.*

The Pope had, as has been ſaid, ſummoned a Council to meet in the Church of *St. John Lateran*, in Oppoſition to that of *Piſa*; and it was, accordingly, opened at the Time appointed, the 3d of *May* of the preſent Year, his Holineſs aſſiſting at it in Perſon with the College of Cardinals, and a great Number of Biſhops, Doctors, and Abbots. In the Firſt Seſſion, held on the 10th of that Month, it was declared, that the Council there aſſembled was a true, lawful, and holy Council, in which reſided all the Power and Authority of the Church Univerſal. In the Second Seſſion, held on the 17th of the ſame Month, was read the Declaration of the Catholic King, approving the Convention of the Council, and a Sermon was preached by Cardinal *Caitan*, or rather a furious Invective againſt the Councils of *Conſtance*, of *Baſil*, and of *Piſa*, ſubjecting *Peter* to the Church, and the Pope to a Council; which, he ſaid, was ſetting Children above their Parents, the Members above their Head, and the Servants above their Lord. In the Third Seſſion, held on the 3d of *December*, the Biſhop of *Goritz* preſented to the Fathers, in the Emperor's Name, a Revocation of all Acts and Powers made in Favour of, or granted to the Council of *Piſa*, with a Declaration that he approved of the *Lateran* Council, and would adhere to it. In the ſame Seſſion was confirmed the Pope's Bull, in-

[m] Idem ibid. et Petrus de Angleria, Ep. 512.

terdicting

interdicting the Kingdom of *France*, and removing the Fair, ſpoken of above, from *Lions* to *Geneva*. In the Fourth Seſſion, held on the 10th of *December*, were read the Letters Patent of *Lewis* XI. aboliſhing the Pragmatic Sanction, and they, who ſtill maintained it, were ſummoned to appear, in the Term of Sixty Days, and ſhew Cauſe why the ſaid Pragmatic ſhould not be abrogated. The Fifth Seſſion was held on the 16th of *February*; but the Pope being taken ill, the Cardinal of *St. George*, Biſhop of *Oſtia*, preſided at it in his Room; and the Defenders of the Pragmatic were again ſummoned to appear within the above-mentioned Time [o].

Year of Chriſt 1512.

In the mean while the Pope's Illneſs increaſed daily, and no Hopes being now left of his Recovery, he cauſed a Conſiſtory to be called, and the Bull to be confirmed, which he had publiſhed before againſt Simoniacal Practices in the Election of the Pope. At the ſame time he declared the Election of a Succeſſor to belong to the Cardinals, and not to the Council, and deſired, that the ſchiſmatic Cardinals might have no Share in the Election; but he forgave them their Offences againſt him, and prayed God to pardon them the Injuries they had done to his Church. He then begged the College of Cardinals to gratify him ſo far, as to grant the City of *Peſaro* in Fee to his Nephew, the Duke of *Urbino*, ſince it had by his Means been recovered to the Church. Thus retaining the ſame Vigour of Mind, which he had enjoyed before his Illneſs, he received the Sacraments of the Church, and died on the 21ſt of *February* 1513, when he had lived Seventy Years, and governed the Church Nine Years Three Months and Twenty-one Days [p]. He was buried, with the uſual Solemnity, in the Church of *St. Peter*, in the Chapel of his Uncle Pope *Sixtus*.

Julius *dies*.

Year of Chriſt 1513.

Julius was certainly a Man of moſt extraordinary Parts, of great Courage, Reſolution, and Conſtancy, and would have deſerved the higheſt Commendations, had he employed his Talents, as was incumbent upon him, in promoting Religion and Piety, and reforming the enormous Abuſes that prevailed, in his Time, in the Church. But entirely neglecting all ſpiritual Concerns, he made it his whole Buſineſs, from the Time of his Promotion to the Hour of his Death, to extend the temporal Empire of the Church by Dint of Arms, and the Blood of Chriſtians, acting therein, to uſe the Expreſſion of a celebrated

His Character.

[o] Concil. Lat. tom. 14. p. 91—100. [p] Guicciard. l. 21.

Writer,

Year of Christ 1513.

Writer, more like a Sultan of the *Turks*, than as the Vicar of the Prince of Peace, and the common Father of all Christians [q]. Two hundred thousand Persons are said to have perished in the Wars, carried on chiefly at the Instigation of this furious and blood-thirsty Pope; and as many more would have, probably, undergone the same Fate, had not Death intervened, and prevented his disturbing the Repose of *Europe* any longer. For he had formed a Design of renewing the War against the Duke of *Ferrara* as soon as the Season would permit; of changing the Government of *Florence*, and, what he had above all Things at Heart, to drive the *Spaniards* out of *Italy*, as well as the *French*, to subject the Kingdom of *Naples* to his See, and thus deliver *Italy*, as he frequently expressed himself, from the Yoke of Barbarians. With this View he cultivated, by all Means, the Friendship of the *Swiss*, presented them with a Sword, a Cap, a Helmet, and a Standard, bestowed on them the Title of *Defenders of the Ecclesiastical Immunity*, and secretly prevented them from entering into a Confederacy with the Catholic King.——The Aversion, or rather Hatred, that *Julius* bore to the King of *France*, was carried by him beyond all Bounds of Moderation, and even of Decency. For not satisfied with driving him out of *Italy*, with laying his whole Kingdom under an Interdict, and stirring up the King of *England* to invade his *French* Dominions, he had drawn up a Bull, transferring the Title of *Most Christian King* to the King of *England*, divesting *Lewis* of the Royal Title and Dignity, and giving his Kingdom to any, who should conquer it. This Bull the Pope intended to have confirmed by the *Lateran* Council. But he was providentially removed out of the World before this, or any other of the many Projects he had formed, could be carried into Execution. For it was commonly believed, that had he succeeded with the Assistance of the *Swiss*, in expelling the *Spaniards* out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and adding that Kingdom to the other Dominions of the Church, his restless Temper, and unbounded Ambition, would not have allowed him to remain unactive, but prompted him to attempt, with the Assistance of the same mercenary *Swiss*, the subjecting of all *Italy* to his See [r].——*Julius* is charged by all the contemporary Writers with immoderate Drinking; and *Gradineco* tells us in his Diary, that his Holiness loved Wine to such a Degree, that when he was taken

His vast Projects.

His Hatred to the King of France.

A Lover of Wine and Women.

q Mezeray, Abregé Chron. tom. 5. p. 117. Ludovic. XII.

r Guicciard. l. 11. Ferron. in

dangerously

dangerouſly ill in 1511, he could not refrain, even in the Height of his Fever, from drinking ſtrong *Greek* Wines. He was a Lover of Women, at leaſt, before his Promotion to the Pontificate, as well as of Wine, and had a Daughter named *Felice*, whom he married to *John-Jordan Orſini*.——But not to defraud this Pope of the Praiſe that is due to him, he did not tread in the Footſteps of preceding Popes, in aggrandizing, at the Expence of the Church, his Nephews and Relations. His purchaſing of the Emperor the City of *Siena* for his Nephew, the Duke of *Urbino*, and his beſeeching the Cardinals, a little before his Death, to grant to him and his Poſterity the City of *Peſaro* in Fee, are the only Inſtances of his ſhewing any private Concern or Affection for his Family. Of the Twenty-ſeven Cardinals, whom he created at different Promotions, Four only were any-ways related to him, and they Men of untainted Characters. When his Daughter earneſtly entreated him, in his laſt Illneſs, to confer that Dignity upon *Guido* of *Montefalcone*, her uterine Brother, he ſternly anſwered, that the Perſon, whom ſhe recommended, was not worthy of ſo high a Dignity, and, turning away from her, expired in a few Minutes [s].——As for the famous Medal, that the King of *France*, *Lewis* XII. is ſaid to have cauſed to be ſtruck with this Inſcription, *Perdam Babylonis Nomen*, *I will deſtroy the Name of Babylon*, meaning *Rome*, and the Power of *Rome*, its Authenticity has been much diſputed, *Et adhuc ſub judice lis eſt.*

Year of Chriſt 1513.

Free from Nepotiſm.

In *Cherubini* we find Thirty-one Bulls of Pope *Julius*, the moſt remarkable of which are, that by which he grants a Diſpenſation to the then Prince of *Wales*, afterwards *Henry* VIII. to marry *Catherine*, the Widow of his Brother *Arthur*; a Bull againſt all Simoniacal Practices in the Election of the Pope; and One for Indulgences to encourage the Faithful to contribute to the Building of *St. Peter*'s Church at *Rome*; for by him that Structure, perhaps the moſt magnificent in the World, was firſt begun.

His Writings.

[s] Guicciard. ibid.

LEO

MAXIMILIAN,
CHARLES V.
Emperors of the West.

LEO X.

The Two Hundred and Fifteenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1513. Leo X. *elected.*

JULIUS dying, as has been ſaid, on the 21ſt of *February* of the preſent Year, the Cardinals, to the Number of Twenty-three, having performed his Exequies, according to Cuſtom, entered into the Conclave, and on the 7th Day, that is, on the 11th of *March*, elected fairly without Simony, or Suſpicion of any corrupt Practice, *John* Cardinal *de Medicis*, who took the Name of *Leo* X. So quick an Election of ſo young a Pope, for he was but Thirty-ſeven Years of Age, was owing to a Combination of the young Cardinals, who had agreed among themſelves to chuſe the Firſt Pope out of their own Number [t].——*Leo* was the Son of *Lawrence de Medicis*, who had the good Luck to eſcape with a ſlight Wound, when his Brother *Julian* was barbarouſly murdered at the Inſtigation of Pope *Sixtus* IV. as has been related above [u]. He was the Grandſon of *Coſmus*, the Founder of the Greatneſs of his Family [w], and had Three Sons, *Peter*, *John*, and *Julian*. *Peter* ſucceeded him in the Government of the Republic, but was declared a Rebel, and obliged to fly from *Florence* with his Two Brothers, for yielding ſome Places to the *French*, when *Charles* VIII. paſſed through *Tuſcany* on his March to the Kingdom of *Naples*. *John*, now Pope *Leo*, was yet a Child, when *Lewis* XI. out of the great Regard he had for his Family, preſented him with a rich Archbiſhopric in *France*. Being thus deſtined for the Church, his Father, who was the *Mecænas* of the Time, and himſelf a Man of great Learning, took Care to have him educated and inſtructed in all the Branches of polite Literature, by the ableſt Men of that Age, and no other Age has abounded with more able Men ſince the Revival of Learning. When he was but Thirteen Years of Age, *Innocent* VIII. created him Cardinal-Deacon of *St. Mary in Dominica*, on Occaſion of the Marriage between his Siſter *Catharine* and *Francis Cibo* his Holineſs's natural Son [x]. *Innocent* appointed him, a little before his Death, his Legate *a latere*

Some Account of his Family and Preferments, &c. before his Promotion.

[t] Guicciard. l. 11. [u] See above, p. 307, et ſeq. [w] See above, p. 208.
[x] See above, p. 326.

for

for *Tuſcany*. But his Brother *Peter* being, in the mean time, driven out of *Florence* by the contrary Faction, and all the *de Medicis* declared Outlaws, he travelled all over *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany* till the Death of *Alexander* VI. who ſucceeded *Innocent*, and countenanced the popular Party in *Florence*. Upon his Death he returned to *Rome*, and was appointed by his Succeſſor, *Julius* II. Legate of *Perugia*, and afterwards of *Bologna*. In 1512 he attended the Confederate Army with the Character of Apoſtolic Legate, and was made Priſoner in the Battle of *Ravenna*. The *French* conducted their illuſtrious Captive to *Milan*, where he was treated with the utmoſt Civility, and all the Reſpect that was due to his Character. But he ill repaid the kind Treatment he met with. For the Pope having granted him a Power to abſolve from all Cenſures ſuch as ſhould quit the *French* Service, and promiſe to bear Arms no longer againſt the Church, he prevailed upon great Numbers to deſert by offering them Abſolution. When the *French* abandoned *Milan*, the King ordered the Cardinal to be ſent into *France*. But the Peaſants of a Village, called *Pieve del Cairo*, falling unexpectedly upon the Soldiers, who guarded him, delivered him out of their Hands. Being thus ſet at Liberty, he applied to *Raimund de Cordona*, Viceroy of *Naples*, and Commander of the *Spaniſh* Troops in *Italy*, and had the Satisfaction of ſeeing his Family by their Means, and the Concurrence of the Pope, reſtored to their former Grandeur at *Florence*, and his Brother *Julian* placed, with all the Power the Family had ever enjoyed, at the Head of that Republic. Matters being thus ſettled in *Florence*, the Cardinal, upon the Firſt News he had of the Death of Pope *Julius*, flew to *Rome*, and was elected for his Succeſſor in the Manner we have ſeen [y].

Year of Chriſt 1513.

The new Pope was crowned, according to Cuſtom, in the Church of *St. John Lateran*, on the 11th of *April*, the very Day, on which he had been made Priſoner at the Battle of *Ravenna* the Year before. So pompous was the Appearance, on that Occaſion, of his Family, of his Court, of the Prelates and the Nobility, that it was univerſally believed, that nothing had been ſeen equal to it ſince the Inundation of the Barbarians, or the Times of the old *Romans*, his Holineſs ſtriving to imitate and renew the Pomp, Splendor, and Magnificence of their public Shews. The Parade of that Day, by no Means ſuitable to the

Pompous Coronation of the new Pope.

[y] Guicciard. l. 6, 7, 11. et Onuph. in Leone X.

Year of Chriſt 1513.

preſent Times, is ſaid to have coſt him, at leaſt, One hundred thouſand Ducats. He thereby gained, indeed, the Applauſe and Eſteem of the Vulgar; but Men of Senſe could not help blaming him for thus ſquandering away, in uſeleſs Expences, the Treaſure of the Church [z].

The Two deposed Cardinals arreſted.

The Two Cardinals *Carvajal* and *Sanſeverino*, the chief Promoters of the Council of *Piſa*, now ſitting at *Lions*, no ſooner heard of the Death of *Julius*, than, leaving that City, they haſtened to *Marſeilles*, and from thence ſet out for *Rome* by Sea, being attended by an Embaſſador from the King. They landed at *Leghorn*; and being there informed of the Election of the new Pope, they advanced, depending upon his known Good-Nature, to *Piſa*. But they were there arreſted, and being conducted to *Florence*, the Pope ſent the Biſhop of *Orvieto* to adviſe them not to proceed any further till it was determined in what Manner they ſhould be received at *Rome*, and at the ſame time to exhort them no longer to appear in the Habit of Cardinals ſince they had been lawfully depoſed, and their Depoſition had been confirmed in the *Lateran* Council [a].

The Pope ſtrives to gain the King of France.

As the late Pope had ſhewn, on all Occaſions, an irreconcileable Averſion to the King of *France*, and by that Means quite eſtranged him from the Apoſtolic See, *Leo*, in order to regain him, and put an End to the Schiſm, made in the Church by the Council of *Piſa*, which the King ſtill ſupported, wrote to him a moſt kind and obliging Letter ſoon after his Coronation. In that Letter he declared, that, as the common Father of all Chriſtian Princes, he was extremely grieved, that the King, by his Diſagreement with the Church, had put it out of his Power to ſhew how much he was inclined by Nature to be his Friend, but that he was ready to receive him as a moſt Chriſtian King, and embrace him, as the eldeſt Son of the Church, as ſoon as he returned to the Obedience of the Apoſtolic See. As the *French* were, generally ſpeaking, deſirous of being reſtored to the Communion of the Church, from which they had been cut off by the late Pope, the King, upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter, immediately diſpatched the Biſhop of *Marſeilles* to *Rome*, to treat with his Holineſs about a Reconciliation. Not long after his Arrival the Sixth Seſſion of the *Lateran* Council was held, at which *Leo* preſided in Perſon; and in

[z] Guicciard. l. 11. [a] Idem ibid. et Petrus de Angleria. Epiſt. 515.

that

that Seſſion was read a Paper, ſigned by the Two depoſed Cardinals, wherein they approved of all that was done in the *Lateran* Council, promiſed to adhere to it, and condemned that of *Piſa* as a *ſchiſmatic Conventicle*. The Two Cardinals of *Sion* and of *York* ſtrongly oppoſed their Reſtoration; but the Biſhop of *Marſeilles* earneſtly interceding for them, in his Maſter's Name, the Pope, to gratify the King, conſented to their being reinſtated in their Dignity; and the Ceremony was performed in the following Manner. The Two Cardinals entered *Rome* privately by Night without any Badges of that Dignity, and appearing the next Day, in the Habit of common Prieſts, before the Pope ſitting in Conſiſtory, and attended by all the Cardinals, except thoſe of *York* and *Sion*, who refuſed to be preſent, they fell on their Knees, and, in the moſt ſubmiſſive Terms, aſked Pardon of the Pope and the Cardinals, declared their Approbation of their own Depoſition, and the Election of a new Pope, as done canonically, and condemned the Council of *Piſa* as a ſchiſmatic and deteſtable Aſſembly. They remained in the ſame humble Poſture till this their Confeſſion, ſigned by them, was entered upon Record; and then riſing up, they embraced all the Cardinals, who ſtirred not from their Seats, reſumed, as ſoon as they had done, the Badges of their former Dignity, and were admited to ſit in the ſame Place, where they had ſat before their Depoſition [b].

Year of Chriſt 1513.

The depoſed Cardinals renounce the Council of Piſa, *and are reſtored.*

In the mean time the Seſſions of the *Lateran* Council were continued; but nothing was tranſacted in the Seventh worthy of Notice, though *Leo* preſided at it in Perſon; and the Eighth was put off till the 17th of *December*, his Holineſs ſtriving, in the mean while, to prevail upon the King of *France* to renounce the Council of *Piſa*, to adhere to the *Lateran*, and ſend his Biſhops to aſſiſt at the latter. His Endeavours were, in the End, crowned with Succeſs. For the King, being daily importuned by his People, eſpecially by the Clergy, and earneſtly preſſed by the Queen, *Anne* of *Bretany*, to come to an Agreement with the new Pope, conſented at laſt, much againſt his Will, to receive the *Lateran* Council, which he had hitherto oppoſed, and renounce that of *Piſa*, which he had ſo zealouſly promoted. Accordingly Embaſſadors were ſent to *Rome*, who being introduced to the Council in the Eighth Seſſion, held on the 17th of *December*, acknow-

The King of France *renounces the Council of* Piſa, *and receives the* Lateran.

[b] Idem ibid. Onuph. in Leon. et Raymund. ad ann. 1513.

Year of Chriſt 1513. acknowleged that Council, in the King's Name, as the only true and lawful Council, condemned the Aſſembly, then ſitting at *Lions* under the Name of the Council of *Piſa*, and engaged that the ſaid Aſſembly ſhould be diſſolved in One Month's Time, and the Biſhops, who compoſed it, all be remanded to their reſpective Sees. Thus ended the Council of *Piſa*, called by ſome a mock Council, and, perhaps, not undeſervedly, as it conſiſted of a very ſmall Number of Biſhops, and they of One Nation only. The King, not ſatisfied with obliging the Biſhops to depart from *Lions*, and forbidding them to aſſemble in any other City of his Dominions, ordered Six of them, and Four Doctors, to repair to *Rome*, and aſk the Pope's Pardon, and Abſolution, in the Name of the *Gallican* Church, for countenancing, with their Preſence, the ſchiſmatic Aſſembly of *Piſa*; which was commanding them to aſk Pardon for doing what he himſelf had commanded them to do [m].

Leo's Perfidy and falſe Dealing. Year of Chriſt 1514. The following Year 1514 was chiefly employed by *Leo* in Negotiations with the Emperor, with the Kings of *Spain* and *England*, as well as with the *Venetians* and the *Swiſs*, to prevent the King of *France* from reconquering the Dutchy of *Milan*, which that Prince ſeemed to have above all Things at Heart. In this Affair his Holineſs acted all along with the utmoſt Perfidy, encouraging the King to that Undertaking, and, at the ſame time, ſtirring up underhand all *Chriſtendom* againſt him, in order to divert him from ſuch an Enterprize, or render it abortive, if he perſiſted in it. The King was informed by ſome, who were truſted with the Secret, of his Holineſs's Treachery and Double-dealing, and would have reſented it in a proper Manner, had not Death intervened. *Lewis* died at *Paris* on the Firſt Day of the Year 1515, and was ſucceeded by *Francis* of *Angouleſme*, Duke of *Valois*, in the Twenty-firſt Year of his Age. The new King wrote immediately to the Pope to acquaint him with his Acceſſion to the Crown, and at the ſame time to aſſure him, that no Perſon upon Earth was more devoted to his Holineſs than himſelf, and that from none he could expect more advantageous Conditions for himſelf and his Family. *Leo* anſwered him by a moſt kind and obliging Letter, but ſoon afterwards entered into a Confederacy with the Emperor, the Catholic King and the *Swiſs* againſt him in Defence of the State of *Milan*, there being no Room to doubt, that the vaſt military Prepa-

Death of Lewis XII. Year of Chriſt 1515.

The Pope enters into a Confederacy firſt againſt and afterwards with his Succeſſor Francis I.

[m] Idem ibid. et Mezeray Abregé Chron. tom. 4. p. 123.

rations

rations, then carried on in *France*, were deſigned againſt that Dutchy. This powerful Confederacy did not deter the King from purſuing his Deſign upon the *Milaneſe*. He paſſed the *Alps* early in the Spring at the Head of a very numerous and well appointed Army, and having gained a compleat Victory over the *Swiſs*, who alone had the Courage to oppoſe him, he made himſelf Maſter, in a very ſhort Time, of the whole Dutchy, and its Capital. This unexpected Succeſs alarmed the Pope, and abandoning, or rather betraying, the Confederates, he entered into an Alliance with the King of *France*; and it was agreed, that the Pope and the King ſhould have an Interview at *Bologna*. They met there accordingly, the Pope making his public Entry into that City on the 8th of *December*, and the King on the 10th. The King, being introduced to the Pope in a public Conſiſtory, paid him, in Perſon, all the Honours that it was cuſtomary for Chriſtian Princes to pay to a new Pope by their Embaſſadors, *Antony du Prat*, High Chancellor of the Kingdom, making a Specch, on that Occaſion, in his Majeſty's Name. The Pope and the King lodged in the ſame Palace, and privately conferred for Three Days together with all the Marks of mutual Benevolence and Sincerity.

Year of Chriſt 1515.

Interview between the Pope and the King of France *at* Bologna.

The chief Subject of their Conferences was the *Pragmatic Sanction*; and on this Occaſion was begun a Negotiation about the famous *Concordat*, which was afterwards ſubſtituted in the Room of the *Pragmatic*. The King, after Three Days Stay at *Bologna*, returned to *Milan*, leaving Chancellor *du Prat* to finiſh that Affair. The Chancellor had ſeveral Conferences with the Cardinals of *Ancona*, and *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and in the End an Agreement was concluded, and ſigned by both the Cardinals and the Chancellor, under the Name of *A Concordat between Pope* Leo X. *and* Francis I. *King of* France. The chief Articles of this Agreement or *Concordat* were, I. That the *Pragmatic* ſhould be aboliſhed throughout the King's Dominions. II. That the Chapters of the Cathedral and Metropolitan Churches ſhould not thenceforth elect their own Biſhops, but that the King ſhould nominate a fit Perſon, and the Pope ſhould confer the Dignity on the Perſon, whom he had nominated. III. That the Pope ſhould thenceforth grant no expectative Graces, nor Reſervations, either general or ſpecial. IV. That the Ordinaries ſhould be obliged to confer on the Graduates of the Univerſities ſuch Benefices, as ſhould be vacant in Four Months of the Year,

The King conſents to the Abolition of the Pragmatic, *and the* Concordat *is eſtabliſhed in its Room.*

Year of Chriſt 1515.

Year, to be ſpecified, but ſhould be at Liberty to diſpoſe of thoſe, vacant in the other Eight Months, to whom they pleaſed. V. That every Pope might, once in his Pontificate, oblige every Collator, having from Ten to Fifty Benefices in his Giſt, to confer One as his Holineſs ſhould direct, and Two, if he had Fifty or more at his Diſpoſal. VI. That the Annates ſhould be reſtored and paid according to the true Value, and not according to the ancient Rates greatly below the true Value [n]. As the Annates, condemned by the Council of *Baſil* as rank Simony, and as ſuch ſuppreſſed by the *Pragmatic*, were reſtored by the *Concordat*, and in the ſame *Concordat* the Article, eſtabliſhing the Superiority of a General Council to the Pope, was omitted, though it had been defined by the Councils of *Conſtance* and of *Baſil*, and aſcertained by the *Pragmatic*, this new Agreement was univerſally diſapproved, and rejected throughout the Kingdom of *France*, the Clergy, the Univerſities, and the Parliaments remonſtrating againſt it, and appealing to a General Council. However, as it was ſupported by the Royal as well as the Pontifical Authority, it was at laſt regiſtered and publiſhed by the Parliament of *Paris* on the 22d of *March* 1527, and is obſerved, with ſome ſmall Alterations, to this Day [o].

The Duke of Urbino *driven out, and the Pope's Nephew made Duke in his Room.*

Year of Chriſt 1516.

In the Interview at *Bologna* the King, to gratify the Pope and court his Favour, not only conſented to the Abolition of the Pragmatic, ſo odious to *Rome*, but, to his great Diſhonour, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to give up *Francis-Maria della Rovere*, Duke of *Urbino*, who had put himſelf under his Protection. The Pope alleged ſeveral Accuſations againſt the Duke, ſummoned him to appear and clear himſelf from them, and, upon his refuſing to comply with the Summons, declared him a Rebel to the Church, and ordered his Nephew *Lawrence de Medicis* to ſeize his Dominions. *Lawrence*, purſuant to that Order, entered the Territories of *Urbino* at the Head of the whole Eccleſiaſtical Army, and, meeting no-where with the leaſt Oppoſition, made himſelf Maſter, in a very few Days, of the whole Dutchy. The Duke, finding himſelf unable to withſtand ſo great a Force, had retired at the Approach of the Enemy, firſt to *Peſaro*, and afterwards to *Mantua*, leaving his Subjects, ſince he could not defend them, to conſult their own Safety. *Rovere* being thus driven out, the Dutchy was

[n] Guicciardin. l. 12. Pinſon et Du Puy Hiſt. de la Pragmat. et du Concord. [o] Pinſon et Du Puy ibid. et Raynald ad ann. 1515.

by his Holineſs beſtowed upon his Nephew *Lawrence*, who, at his Return to *Rome*, received the Inveſtiture, with unuſual Solemnity, at his Uncle's Hands. *Leo* had long coveted that Dutchy for his Nephew, and it was only to make Room for him, that he drove out the Duke, all the Crimes that he was charged with, having been committed in the Pontificate of his Uncle, *Julius* II. and by that Pope forgiven p. In this his Holineſs was guilty of the utmoſt Ingratitude as well as Injuſtice, the Duke having, for many Years, generouſly entertained and ſupported his Brother *Julian*, during the Time of their Exile from *Florence*, and uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to get them reſtored q. Year of Chriſt 1516.

Leo, not ſatisfied with the Acquiſition of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, formed a Deſign of adding to it the free State of *Siena*, lying between the Territories of the Church and thoſe of the Republic of *Florence*. In order to that he cauſed Cardinal *Alfonſo Petrucci*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Siena*, and his Brother *Borgheſi*, who governed that State, and would, he well knew, oppoſe any Attempts upon the public Liberty, to be ſent into Exile. As their Father *Pandolfo Petrucci* had eſpouſed, with great Zeal, the Cauſe of the Family *de Medicis*, when baniſhed from *Florence*, and ſpared no Fatigue nor Expence to oblige the *Florentines* to recall them; and beſides, the Cardinal had uſed his utmoſt Efforts in the Conclave in behalf of *Leo*; ſo ungrateful a Return for ſuch Benefits provoked him to a Degree of Madneſs, and he reſolved to make the Pope atone, with his Life, for his Ingratitude. He determined at firſt, in the Height of his Rage, to ſtab the Pope with his own Hand. But apprehending, when ſomewhat cooler, the Danger, to which ſo deſperate an Attempt would expoſe him, he thought of employing Poiſon inſtead of a Dagger, ſince he might by that Means compaſs his End as effectually, and with much greater Safety. This his Deſign he communicated to one *Baptiſta da Vercelli*, a famous Surgeon, and his intimate Friend; and it was agreed between them, that *Baptiſta* ſhould be recommended to the Pope, who had been long afflicted with a Fiſtula, as the ableſt Man of his Profeſſion, and that, upon his being employed by his Holineſs, he ſhould inject Poiſon into the Ulcer. But, in the mean time, the Cardinal loudly complaining in all Companies, of the Pope's Ingratitude, nay, and mixing Menaces with his Complaints, he began to be ſuſpected of machinating ſome

Plot againſt the Pope's Life. Year of Chriſt 1517. *The Cardinal of* Siena *Author of the Plot.*

How diſcovered.

p Guicciard. l. 12. Cimarelli Hiſt. de Urbin. q Iidem ibid.

Miſchief

Year of Christ 1517.

Miſchief againſt him; inſomuch that thinking himſelf no longer ſafe at *Rome*, he privately withdrew from that City; but having left his Secretary behind him, it manifeſtly appeared from ſome of his Letters to him, which were intercepted, that a Plot was carrying on againſt the Pope's Life. This *Leo* diſſembled, and, in order to get the Cardinal into his Power, invited him with mighty Promiſes to *Rome*, and for his greater Security even ſent him a Safe-conduct, and gave his Word of Honour to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, that he ſhould meet with no ill Treatment. But he no ſooner arrived than he was arreſted by the Pope's Order, as was likewiſe Cardinal *Bandinello*, a *Genoeſe*, *Leo* concluding from his great Intimacy with the Cardinal of *Siena*, that he was privy to the whole Affair. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador complained loudly to the Pope of ſo notorious a Breach of his Word, given to him, which, he ſaid, was the ſame Thing as if it had been given to the King of *Spain* his Maſter. The Pope anſwered, that no Safe-conduct whatever, no Word of Honour, how ſolemnly ſoever given, could be binding in Caſes of High-Treaſon, unleſs that Crime was ſpecified. The Embaſſador urged in vain, that when a Safe-conduct is granted, and Impunity is promiſed to a Perſon without any Limitations or Reſtrictions whatever, ſuch a Perſon cannot be puniſhed, be his Crime what it will, without a manifeſt Violation of the Safe-conduct, and a Breach of Faith. Both Cardinals were committed to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and it appearing from their Confeſſion upon the Rack, that the Plot was deviſed by the Cardinal of *Siena* with the Privity of Cardinal *Bandinello*, they were both by a Sentence, pronounced in a public Conſiſtory, deprived of their Dignity, and delivered up to the Secular Power. The Cardinal of *Siena* was ſecretly ſtrangled the next Night. The other Cardinal was condemned, as being leſs guilty, to perpetual Impriſonment, from which the Pope not only redeemed him ſoon afterwards, but, upon his paying a certain Sum of Money, reinſtated him in his Dignity. But he died, in a ſhort Time, of a lingering Diſtemper, which ſome aſcribed to a ſlow Poiſon, adminiſtered to him, by the Pope's Order, before he recovered his Liberty [r]. Three other Cardinals were condemned to pay large Sums of Money for not acquainting the Pope with the Menaces, which they had heard the Cardinal of *Siena* throw out againſt him. As by this Severity he greatly

The Cardinal put to Death.

[r] Guicciard. l. 13. Jovius vit. Leon X. ad ann. 1517.

diſobliged

disobliged all the other Cardinals, and estranged them from him, in order to procure new Friends in the Sacred College, he created no fewer than Thirty-one Cardinals at one Promotion; some for their Learning, many for their Money, and others at the Recommendation of different Princes, being Men of all Nations [s].

Year of Christ 1517.

Promotion of Cardinals.

The First Rise of the Reformation.

The present Year 1517 will ever be memorable in the Ecclesiastical Annals for the Foundation and Commencement it gave to the Revolution in the Church, commonly known by the Name of *The Reformation*. But as a Detail of all the Particulars of that great Event would carry me too far from the Design of this Work, I shall confine myself to the Part the Popes acted in it, which alone is my Province, and refer the Reader to *The History of the Reformation, in* Germany, *by* Sleidan, and in these our Kingdoms, by the Bishop of *Salisbury*, whose inimitable Performances contain so full an Account of the Rise and Progress of the *Reformation*, and are so universally known, that all I could say on that Subject would be but an unnecessary Repetition of what every curious Reader must have learned from them. It is well known, that Pope *Leo*'s famous Bull of Indulgences, published this Year in all Christian Kingdoms, first gave Occasion to that Change in Religion, of which so many Nations enjoy the Blessings to this Day. For *Leo*, wanting to continue the magnificent Structure of *St. Peter*'s Church, begun by his Predecessor *Julius*, but finding his Coffers drained, chiefly by his own Extravagance, in order to replenish them granted, by his Bull, a *plenary Indulgence*, or Remission of all Sins, to such as should charitably contribute to that Work. *Albert*, Archbishop of *Mentz* and *Magdeburg*, was commissioned by the Pope to proclaim that Bull in *Germany*, and by the Archbishop was employed a *Domican* Friar, named *John Tetzel*, to preach up the Indulgences, and collect the Money arising from them. Some say, that the Indulgences were by the Pope farmed out to the Archbishop, and by him to the Friar, and his Order. However that be, the Friar, to enhance the Value of these Indulgences, and procure, by that Means, more Customers, used to extoll their Efficacy in the most indecent and shocking Terms, telling the deluded Multitude, that, had any one even ravished the Mother of God, he had wherewithal to cancel his Guilt; that he had saved more Souls from Hell, by these Indulgences, than St. *Peter*

Occasion given to it by Pope Leo's *Bull of Indulgences.*

Absurdities advanced by the Publishers of those Indulgences confuted by Luther.

[s] Idem ibid.

Year of Christ 1517.

had converted to Christianity by his Preaching; that their Virtue extended to the Dead as well as the Living; that upon their paying the Price of the Indulgences the Soul of the Person, whom they intended to deliver out of Purgatory, flew that Moment up to Heaven, *&c.*[t]. These and many such-like impious and absurd Doctrines gave great Offence to all good Men, and among the rest to *Martin Luther*, a Friar of the Order of *St. Austin's Hermeis*, who, being at this Time Professor of Divinity in the newly erected University of *Wittenberg* in *Saxony*, thought it incumbent upon him to confute them: And he did so accordingly in Ninety-five Propositions, which he publicly maintained in that University, on the 30th of *September* of the present Year. He owned the Pope to be vested with the Power of granting Indulgences, that is, of remitting the Punishments due to Sin, but that Power he confined to *canonical* Punishments, or Punishments inflicted by the Canons, by the Church, or its visible Head the Pope. As for *divine* Punishments, or such as are by divine Justice denounced against Offenders in this Life, or the Life to come, he would not allow the Power of the Pope to extend to them, affirming, that they could only be remitted by the Merits of Christ, good Works, and a sincere Repentance. As by this Doctrine the Living reaped very little Benefit from the Indulgences, and the Dead none at all, the Venders of them, enraged beyond measure at the visible Decay of their Trade, fell upon *Luther* with the utmost Fury. He answered their Reasonings, confuted their Objections, and challenged them to answer the following Question, *if the Pope has a Power of delivering Souls out of Purgatory, why does he deliver only some, and those for Money, and not all out of Charity?* His Adversaries, not able to confute his Arguments, nor support their own, had Recourse to a more compendious Way of compassing his Ruin. They represented him to the Pope as an *obstinate* and *incorrigible* Heretic, who were he not restrained by the Authority of the Apostolic See, would soon infect all *Germany* with his pestiferous Errors. On the other Hand, *Luther*, to prevent their prejudicing the Pope against him, wrote a most submissive Letter to his Holiness, sent him his Ninety-five Propositions with their Proofs, and, to clear himself from the Imputation of *Obstinacy*, which alone makes a Heretic,

His Doctrine concerning Indulgences.

[t] See Mosheim Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 16. Note [O].

declared

declared himſelf ready to change his Sentiments the Moment they were proved to be erroneous. Year of Chriſt 1517.

Before I proceed on this Subject, I cannot help obſerving, that the Charge brought againſt *Luther* by ſome Proteſtants, and moſt *Roman* Catholic Writers, of oppoſing the Indulgences out of Jealouſy or Envy, *viz.* becauſe the Commiſſion of publiſhing them, uſually granted to the *Auſtin* Friars in *Saxony*, had been taken from them and given to the *Dominicans*, has been, in my Opinion, unanſwerably confuted by the Rev. Mr. *Maclaine*, the Tranſlator of Doctor *Moſheim's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, in his learned Notes upon that admirable Performance [u]. I ſhall only add, that *Guicciardin*, in ſpeaking of that Oppoſition, ſays, that *it was, perhaps, honeſt, or, at leaſt, from the juſt Occaſion that was given to it, in ſome Degree excuſable* [w]. From theſe Words it is manifeſt, that *Guicciardin*, a Contemporary, and moſt accurate Hiſtorian, knew nothing of the ſelfiſh and ignoble Motives, which *Luther*'s Oppoſition to the Doctrine of Indulgences is aſcribed to by the more modern Writers. For had it been owing to any ſuch Motives, it would have been evidently *diſhoneſt*, and *in no Degree excuſable*. *Not excited by Jealouſy or Reſentment to oppoſe them.*

At firſt *Leo*, wholly taken up with the Pleaſures of his Court, made a Jeſt among his Poets and Buffoons, of the bold Attempt of the Friar of *Wittemberg*. But being informed by the Emperor of the rapid Progreſs the new Doctrine made, and the Diviſions it was likely to produce both in the Church and the Empire, he became ſerious, and ſummoned *Luther* to appear before him at *Rome* in the Term of Sixty Days, in order to maintain there the Doctrine which he was ſaid to propagate in *Germany*. But *Frideric*, Elector of *Saxony*, who had taken *Luther*, as his Subject, into his Protection, urging againſt that Summons the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of the Empire, by which its Subjects, he ſaid, were, in all Cauſes, to be tried upon the Spot, the Pope yielded, and ordered *Luther* to plead his Cauſe before Cardinal *Cajetan*, then Apoſtolic Legate at the Diet of *Augſburg*. As *Cajetan* was a *Dominican*, *Luther* thought it ſomewhat ſtrange, that he ſhould have been appointed Judge and Arbitrator in a Controverſy between him and *Tetzel*, a Man of the ſame Order. However, in Compliance with the Pope's Command, he repaired to *Augſburg*, in the Month of *October* of the preſent Year, and had there Three different Conferences with *Is ſummoned by the Pope to* Rome. Year of Chriſt 1518. *Appears before Cardinal* Cajetan *at* Augſburg.

[u] Moſheim's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. p. 17, 18. Note [*P*]. [w] Guicciard. l. 13.

Year of Chriſt 1518.

the Cardinal. But as the Cardinal imperiouſly inſiſted upon his retracting his Opinions, without ever attempting to prove them erroneous, he ſuddenly withdrew from *Augſburg*, after appealing from the Pope ill informed to the Pope better informed. *Luther* had yet advanced nothing contrary to the Catholic Faith. He only maintained, that the Puniſhments, inflicted upon Offenders by divine Juſtice, in the preſent, or in a future State, came not within the Reach of the Pope's abſolving Power; a Point, that had been frequently diſputed, but had never yet been authoritatively determined. But *Leo*, by a Brief, dated the 9th of *November* of the preſent Year, declared, that the Sovereign Pontiff, as Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, and Chriſt's Vicar upon Earth, was veſted with a Power of remitting all Sins, and all Puniſhments due to them; all Sins by the Sacrament of Penance, and all Puniſhments by Means of Indulgences; ordered all to hold, and to teach, that Doctrine, under Pain of Excommunication, and enjoined Cardinal *Cajetan*, to whom the Brief was addreſſed, to notify it to all the Biſhops and Archbiſhops of *Germany*, and cauſe it to be every-where received and executed. *Luther*, finding his Doctrine thus condemned, though ſupported by Arguments, which his Adverſaries had not been able to confute, repaired to *Wittemberg*, and there, on the 28th of *November*, appealed from the Pope, who had made himſelf a Party, to a General Council [x].

His Doctrine concerning Indulgences condemned by the Pope.

Miltitz *ſent into* Saxony. Year of Chriſt 1519.

Leo, finding that *Luther*, in Defiance of his Brief and the Penalties denounced in it, ſtill continued to preach the ſame Doctrine, and deſpairing of being able to prevail upon him to ſubmit, ſo long as he was protected by the Elector of *Saxony*, in order to gain that Prince ſent him, the following Year 1519, the Golden Roſe, which the Popes uſed to bleſs every Year, and preſent to ſeveral Princes, as a particular Mark of Friendſhip and Eſteem. With this Preſent was diſpatched a *Saxon* Knight, named *Charles Miltitz*, who belonged to *Leo*'s Court. As he was known to be a Man of great Prudence, Penetration, and Addreſs, he was ordered to inſinuate himſelf by all Means into the Favour of the Elector, and demand of him, that he would either oblige *Luther* to renounce his Doctrines, or withdraw from him his Protection. But ſo cold was the Reception *Miltitz* met with from the Elector on his

[x] Paul Sarpi Hiſt. of the Council of Trent, l. 1. c. 22. Frid. Borner. Diſſ. de Colloquio Luth. cum Cajetan. Ern. Loſch. Acta Reform. tom. 2. c. 11.

Arrival

Arrival in *Saxony*, and ſo little did that Prince ſeem to value the Pope's Preſent, that the prudent Nuncio thought it adviſeable to propoſe nothing to him againſt *Luther*, but rather to treat with *Luther* himſelf. Accordingly he had ſeveral Conferences with him at different Places; and by his gentle and inſinuating Manner, ſo very different from that, which *Luther* had hitherto met with from the other Friends of *Rome*, he obtained Two Things of him, to the great Surprize of all who had taken part in the preſent Controverſy. He promiſed to obſerve a profound Silence for the future with reſpect to Indulgences, provided it was in like Manner obſerved by his Adverſaries, and to write a ſubmiſſive Letter to the Pope: And ſuch a Letter he wrote; owning, that he had carried his Animoſity too far, and ſolemnly proteſting that he never intended to attack the Power of the *Roman* Church or the Pope. This Letter is dated the 13th of *March* 1519. He even wrote a circulatory Letter to all his Followers, exhorting them to reverence the *Roman* Church as ſuperior to all other Churches [y].

Year of Chriſt 1519.

The Succeſs of his Negotiations with Luther.

The gentle Methods purſued by *Miltitz*, though attended with ſuch Succeſs, were not at all pleaſing to ſome furious Bigots; and One of theſe, named *Eckius*, Doctor of Divinity, and a ſworn Enemy to *Luther*, flying to *Rome*, and there repreſenting to the Pope the Moderation of his Nuncio as Indifference concerning the Succeſs of his Commiſſion, prevailed upon his Holineſs to remove him, and oblige *Luther* by more forcible Meaſures to ſubmit to his Deciſions. He was ſeconded therein by Cardinal *Cajetan*, and the Reſt of the *Dominicans* at the Pope's Court, deſirous of revenging upon *Luther* the Treatment, which their Brother *Tetzel* had met with at his Hands. To them the Pope hearkened, as they were in high Credit, and bore a great Sway at his Court, and, contrary to the Advice of many ſober and thinking Perſons, iſſued a Bull, by which were condemned Ninety-one Propoſitions, extracted out of *Luther*'s Writings; all were forbidden to hold, teach, or defend any of them, upon Pain of Excommunication to be incurred *ipſo facto*, and *Luther* was required to retract them, in the Term of Sixty Days, on Pain of incurring all the Cenſures and Puniſhments denounced againſt Heretics. This Bull is dated the 15th of *June* 1520 [z]. On the other hand *Luther*, upon the firſt Notice he had

Leo *condemns the Doctrine of* Luther.

Year of Chriſt 1520.

[y] Seckendorf. Comment. Hiſt. Apologet. de Lutheraniſmo. lib. 1. [z] Cherubin. Bullar. mag.

of

Year of Christ 1520.

Who renews his Appeal to a General Council.

And has the Pope's Bull publicly burnt.

of this rash and inconsiderate Step in the Pope, renewed his Appeal to a General Council, declared himself ready to appear when and where he could with any Safety, and begged the Emperor, the Electors, and the other Princes of the Empire to suspend the Execution of the Pope's Bull, till he was heard, and convinced, before equitable Judges, of holding or propagating any heretical or erroneous Opinions. As all, who had any of his Writings in their Custody, were ordered, by the Pope's Bull, to burn them, he, in his Turn, had a Pile of Wood erected without the Walls of *Wittemberg*, and there, in the Presence of an immense Multitude, committed to the Flames *Leo*'s Bull, and with it the Decretals of the Popes. This happened on the 10th of *December* of the present Year, and *Luther*, to justify it, published soon afterwards a Writing containing Thirty Propositions, extracted out of the Decretals, which he maintained to be heretical, and worthy of being consigned to the Flames.

As *Luther* paid no Regard to the Pope's Menaces or Thunders, but, acquiring daily new Followers and Protectors, bid him openly Defiance, *Leo*, to check the Progress his Doctrine daily made in *Germany*, had Recourse to the new Emperor, *Charles* V. King of *Spain*, who, in 1519, had succeeded his Grand-father *Maximilian* in the Empire, and representing to him, that, as the Defender and Protector of the Church, he was bound to restrain and punish all, who rebelled against her sacred Laws, earnestly entreated him to exert his Authority against *Martin Luther*, a Disturber of her Peace, and a notorious Heretic. As *Luther* complained of his being condemned by the Pope without being heard, and a Diet of the Empire was soon to meet at *Worms*, the Emperor, at the Request of the Elector of *Saxony*, to whom he was chiefly indebted for the Empire, consented that the Pope's Bull against the supposed Heretic should not take place till he had pleaded his Cause before that Assembly. He was accordingly summoned to it, and a Safe-conduct, in due Form, being sent to him by the Emperor, he repaired to *Worms*, and there on the 17th of *April* and the next Day pleaded his Cause with the greatest Intrepidity. Being asked, whether the Books, out of which the Propositions, condemned by the Pope, had been extracted, were really his, he answered in the Affirmative. But when they required him to retract them, he returned Answer, that he was ready to renounce and retract them, provided

Diet assembled at Worms.

Year of Christ 1521.

Luther *pleads his Cause before them.*

provided they were proved by the Scriptures, or by ſound Reaſon, to be erroneous, but could not, till they were ſhown to be ſo, depart from them without betraying the Cauſe of God, and wounding his own Conſcience. As he could neither be intimidated by Menaces, nor allured by Promiſes to yield, he was diſmiſſed with a Safe-conduct from the Emperor, ſecuring him againſt any Violence for the Space of Thirty Days. He therefore left *Worms* on the 26th of *April*, on his Return to *Wittemberg*; but he was met, on the 3d of *May*, by Four Men, diſguiſed with Maſks, who, attacking him with great Violence, threw him down, ſeized him, and carried him off full Speed. This Violence was by the Friends of *Luther* generally charged upon the Emiſſaries of *Rome*; and it greatly increaſed the Odium of the Public againſt them. But it was a Contrivance of the Elector of *Saxony*, who hearing that the pretended Heretic had been condemned, in the Diet, by the Emperor and all the Princes, he himſelf being abſent, had cauſed him to be ſeized in the Manner we have ſeen, and conveyed, with the utmoſt Secreſy, to one of his Caſtles, the Caſtle of *Wartenberg*. His Deſign in this was to ſcreen him from the furious Perſecution, which he foreſaw would be ſoon raiſed againſt him. How ſeaſonable this Precaution was appeared in a few Days. For on the 8th of *May* a moſt ſevere Edict was publiſhed againſt *Luther*, declaring him a Member cut off from the Church, a Schiſmatic, a notorious and obſtinate Heretic; forbidding all, on Pain of being declared guilty of High Treaſon, and forfeiting their Eſtates and Dignities, to receive, entertain, or countenance him, and empowering Perſons of all Ranks to ſeize him, at the Expiration of the Twenty-one Days of the Safe-conduct, and treat him as One under the Ban of the Empire, and protected by no Law. However this Edict, ſevere as it was, did not ſtop the Progreſs of the Reformation. For the Emperor being obliged, by the State of his Affairs, to leave *Germany* ſoon after it was publiſhed, the Civil Magiſtrates and the Princes took no Care to have it carried into Execution, ſo that the Followers of *Luther* were ſuffered to hold, nay, and to propagate their Doctrines unmoleſted [a].

Year of Chriſt 1521.

But is condemned.

Edict iſſued againſt him.

While theſe religious Diſputes were carried on with great Warmth in *Germany*, the States of *Italy* enjoyed a profound Peace. But that

[a] Paulo Sarpi Hiſt. Concil. di Trento, l. 1. Pallavicin. Hiſt. Concil. Trid. l. 2. Ulemberg. vit. Luth. c. 6. Cochlæus ad ann. 1521. Sleidan de Statu Relig. et Reip. l. 2. Lutheri Opera, tom. 2.

Peace

Year of Christ 1521.

War kindled in Italy *by* Leo.

Peace was interrupted in the preſent Year by the Pope, who, being deſirous of driving the Emperor *Charles* out of *Italy*, entered into a private Alliance with *Francis* I. King of *France* to attack, with their joint Forces, the Kingdom of *Naples*. But the Emperor offering him better Conditions, he ſecretly concluded a Treaty with him againſt the King; and thus was *Italy*, after a Three Years Peace, involved in a moſt deſtructive War. The *French* loſt by it the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Pope gained the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza*. It was chiefly to recover theſe Cities to the Church that *Leo* kindled this War. For when the Cardinal *de Medicis* endeavoured to divert him from it, he told him, that he was determined, at all Events, to put the Church again in Poſſeſſion of Two ſuch important Places, and whenever that happened he ſhould die content; and he died on the 1ſt of *December* of the preſent Year, having received, a few Days before, the News of the Acquiſition of *Piacenza*, and of the Surrender of *Parma* on the very Day he died. He was ſeized with a ſlow Fever in his Villa at *Magliano*, and being carried the next Day to *Rome*, he died of it in a very few Days, not without ſtrong Suſpicion of Poiſon having been adminiſtered to him by his Chamberlain *Barnabo Malaſpina*, at the Inſtigation, as was conjectured, of the King of *France* [b]. He died in the Forty-ſixth Year of his Age, having held the See Eight Years Eight Months and Twenty Days.

His Death,

And Character.

He was a Prince, ſays *Guicciardin*, worthy, on many Accounts, to be praiſed as well as blamed. He diſappointed the Expectations conceived of him at his Promotion to the Pontificate, ſhewing himſelf endowed with much greater Prudence, but with much leſs Goodneſs than all had imagined. He was by Nature addicted to Idleneſs and Pleaſure, and averſe, beyond Meaſure, to all Buſineſs, ſpending his Time with Muſicians, Jeſters, and Buffoons, and inclined, beyond the Bounds of Decency, to ſenſual Gratifications. His Mind was filled with the moſt exalted Notions of Splendor and Magnificence; in his Appearances and Donations he knew no Meaſure, nor Diſtinction, and thus not only diſſipated, in a very ſhort Time, the immenſe Treaſure accumulated by his Predeceſſor *Julius*, but infinite Sums beſides, accruing from Bulls, Briefs, *&c.* and the Sale of new Offices, and was daily contriving new Methods of exacting Money to ſupport his Extravagance.

b. Guicciard. l. 14.

travagance [c]. *Jovius*, who has writ his Life, or rather his Panegyric, owns that he was naturally averſe to all Buſineſs; that they were the moſt careſſed by him, who were the moſt capable of entertaining him; that he took great Delight in the Company of Poets, Jeſters, Muſicians, and Buffoons, and ſhewed himſelf highly pleaſed with their Jeſts, however inconſiſtent with Modeſty, nay, and with common Decency. The ſame Writer, after deſcribing the Magnificence of his Table, which far exceeded that of the greateſt Kings, adds, that *Quernus*, his Poet Laureat, who had been crowned Arch-Poet with great Solemnity, was preſent at all his Entertainments, but ſat at a ſeparate Table; that the Pope, after plying him with Cup after Cup of his beſt Wine, uſed, for the Diverſion of his Gueſts, to command him to make extemporary Verſes upon the Subject which he propoſed; and that having once ordered him to make ſome Verſes upon the Arch-Poet himſelf, he began thus; Year of Chriſt 1521.

Archipoeta facit verſus pro mille poetis:

But being at a Loſs how to proceed, the Pope immediately ſubjoined,

Et pro mille aliis Archipoeta bibit [d].

A Poet having One Day preſented to him ſome *Latin* Verſes in Rhime, he returned the like Number of Verſes, all in the ſame Rhime; but as he gave him nothing elſe, the Poet, in departing, addreſſed him with the following Diſtich:

Si tibi pro numeris numeros fortuna dediſſet,
Non eſſet capiti tanta corona tua;

Which he was ſo well pleaſed with, that he ordered a conſiderable Sum of Money to be paid him upon the Spot [e]. *Janus Nicius Erythræus* tells us of a Perſon, who, wanting to aſk ſome Favour of the Pope, but finding he could not get Acceſs to him, bethought himſelf of pretending to be a Poet, and to have ſome of the fineſt Verſes, that were ever made, to ſhew to his Holineſs; that he was thereupon immediately introduced to him, when he ingenuouſly owned the Ar-

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Paulo Grovio in Elog. et vit. Leon. [e] Anton. Spelte Saggæ Follie.

Year of Chriſt 1521.

tifice he had made uſe of to get Admittance, and obtained the Favour, which he came to ſue for [f]. Many Inſtances are alleged by Authors of this Pope's trifling and nugatory Genius. But all allow him to have been a great Encourager of Learning, and a moſt generous Patron of the Learned, being himſelf as well acquainted with the liberal Sciences, and as elegant a *Latin* Writer as any of his Time. Poets were his chief Favourites; they had free Acceſs to him, and if they brought any thing with them worthy of his Peruſal, they never departed unrewarded: He is even ſaid to have publiſhed a Bull in Favour of *Arioſto*'s *Orlando Furioſo*, threatening with Excommunication all, who ſhould find Fault with that Performance [g]; which was expoſing himſelf and his thus abuſed Authority to Contempt and Deriſion. *Orlando*, however mad and furious, acted not more mad a Part. *Leo* had but a very ſuperficial Knowlege in Divinity, as is owned by Cardinal *Pallavicino* himſelf; and the Indifference he betrayed, with reſpect to the Intereſts of Religion, gave Occaſion to ſome to charge him with Impiety, nay, and with Atheiſm. However, he did not neglect the grand Object, which moſt of his Predeceſſors had chiefly in their View, *viz.* the extending of the temporal as well as the ſpiritual Power of their See, and raiſing their Families; and theſe were the Motives that induced *Leo* to make War upon the Duke of *Urbino*, to diſturb the Tranquillity of *Italy*, and more than once to betray his Allies.——By this Pope the Title of *Defender of the Faith* was conferred upon *Henry* VIII. for the Book he wrote againſt *Luther*, a Title, which his Succeſſors wear to this Day, and have a much better Right to than he had, being the chief Supporters and Defenders, not of a ſuperſtitious, but of a rational Faith and Religion.

[f] Janus Niſius Eryth. Pinacoth. 2. c. 33.

[g] Blondel. Examen de la Bulle de Leon X.

HADRIAN

CHARLES V. *Emperor.*

HADRIAN VI.

The Two Hundred and Sixteenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

LEO dying, as has been ſaid, on the 1ſt of *December*, the Cardinals having performed his Exequies, according to Cuſtom, and waited ſome time for the Arrival of their abſent Brethren, ſhut themſelves up in the Conclave on the 27th of the ſame Month, and on the 9th of the following *January* choſe with One Voice Cardinal *Hadrian*, Biſhop of *Tortoſa*, who did not change his Name, but ſtiled himſelf *Hadrian* VI. As the Cardinals, in all Thirty-nine, could not agree among themſelves, ſome of them propoſed Cardinal *Hadrian*, not with a Deſign, ſays *Guicciardin*, to conſent to his Election, but only to waſte away the Morning. But as ſome voted for him, the Cardinal of *St. Sixtus* took Occaſion from thence to make an Harangue in his Praiſe, extolling his Learning, and the many excellent Qualities, with which he was endowed. He gained by that Means the Suffrages of ſome, and the Reſt, One after another, more by Impulſe than Deliberation, followed their Example. Thus was *Hadrian* elected by the unanimous Conſent of the whole Conclave, none of thoſe very Perſons, who had elected him, being able to account for their having choſen, at ſo critical a Juncture, a Barbarian, that is a Stranger, abſent in ſo diſtant a Country, One, who had never ſeen *Italy*, who was utterly unacquainted with the Cuſtoms of the Court of *Rome*, had never had an Opportunity of ingratiating himſelf with any of the Cardinals, nay, and was ſcarce known to them by Name. The Cardinals, to excuſe ſo extraordinary a Step, alleged the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, often moving them to elect One, whom they had never once thought of before. Such is the Account *Guicciardin* gives us of the Election of *Hadrian* [h]. But from other Authors it appears, that the greater Part of the Cardinals had privately engaged their Suffrages to the Emperor *Charles* in Favour of his beloved Preceptor *Hadrian*, and could have eaſily accounted, had they pleaſed, for ſo *extraordinary a Step*, without recurring to any Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt [i].

Hadrian elected. Year of Chriſt 1522.

How his Election brought about.

[h] Guicciard. l. 14. [i] Jovio vit. Hadrian. Ciacon. tom. 3. Spond. ad ann. 1522.

Year of Chriſt 1522.

His Birth, Education, Employments, &c.

Hadrian was a Native of *Utrecht*, of a plebeian and obſcure Family. His Father, *Florentius Boyens*, according to ſome a Weaver, according to others a Brewer's Servant, not being able to give his Son a learned Education, though from his Childhood he ſhewed an uncommon Inclination to learn, procured him a Place in the Pope's College at *Louvain*, where poor Children were taught and brought up upon Charity. He ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all his Fellow-Students; and ſuch was his Thirſt after Knowlege, that when the Reſt were all in Bed, he uſed to ſpend great Part of the Night in Reading by the Light of the Lamp, that was kept conſtantly burning in the Church. Thus he became, in the Courſe of a few Years, a great Proficient in Philoſophy and Divinity; but he was no Admirer of polite Literature. His Firſt Preferment was a Rectory in *Holland*, conferred upon him by *Margaret*, Daughter of the Emperor *Maximilian*, Governeſs of the *Low Countries*. In 1491 he took the Degree of Doctor in Divinity, the ſame Princeſs bearing all the Charges incident to that Ceremony. He was afterwards made Profeſſor of Divinity at *Louvain*, Dean of the Cathedral, and Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity; and in the Diſcharge of theſe Employments he not only anſwered, but far ſurpaſſed the Expectation, that all had conceived of him. Being now become no leſs famous for his Learning and Abilities, than his Virtues, and his moſt exemplary Life, he was choſen by the Emperor *Maximilian* for Preceptor to his Grand-Son *Charles*, then Seven Years of Age, as of all the beſt qualified for ſo important a Truſt. As the young Prince ſhewed a great Inclination to Arms, and none to Letters, the Emperor, who entertained the higheſt Opinion of *Hadrian*'s Parts, and placed an entire Confidence in him, thought he could employ him better than in teaching his Grand-Son what he cared not to learn. He therefore ſent him, with the Character of his Embaſſador, to *Ferdinand* the Catholic, King of *Spain*, in order to efface the Prejudices, that had been artfully inſtilled into him by the Enemies of the *Auſtrian* Family, againſt *Charles*, his Grand-Son by the Mother. That Commiſſion he executed with equal Fidelity and Succeſs; and ſo pleaſing was his whole Conduct to the Catholic King, that he conferred upon him the Biſhopric of *Tortoſa*, as a Teſtimony of the entire Satisfaction he had given him. *Ferdinand* died, in *January* 1516, at *Madrid*, then an obſcure Village, and upon his Death, *Spain* and all the Dominions,

minions, of which that vaſt Monarchy was compoſed, fell to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. *Charles*, whom *Ferdinand* left his Heir, and who was then at *Bruſſels*, appointed Cardinal *Ximenes*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, to govern the Kingdom till his Arrival, and nominated *Hadrian* for Preſident of his Council. The Emperor *Maximilian*, to reward the eminent Services of ſo faithful a Miniſter, ſtrongly recommended him to Pope *Leo*, and he was, upon his Recommendation, preferred to the Dignity of Cardinal on the 1ſt of *July* 1517, in the numerous Promotion made then by *Leo* of Thirty-four Cardinals. In the mean time the Emperor died at *Lintz* in the very Beginning of the Year 1519, and *Charles*, who was elected in his Room, being obliged to repair to *Germany*, to receive, according to Cuſtom, the Imperial Crown at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, he appointed *Hadrian* his Lieutenant, or Viceroy over all his *Spaniſh* Dominions; and in that high Station he received the quite unexpected News of his being preferred to a much higher, the ſovereign Pontificate [k].

Year of Chriſt 1522.

That News *Hadrian* received at *Victoria*, a Town of *Biſcay*, with the Acts of the Conclave, and a Letter from the Cardinals, earneſtly entreating him to repair, with all Speed, to *Rome*, where the melancholy Situation of the Affairs of *Italy* made his Preſence abſolutely neceſſary. In Compliance with their Requeſt, he embarked at *Tarragona* on the 2d of *Auguſt*, having firſt ſettled the Affairs of *Spain* in the beſt Manner he could, and, arriving at *Leghorn*, was there received by Cardinal *de Medicis*, Couſin to the late Pope, by the Embaſſadors of moſt of the *Italian* Princes, and by *Francis Gonzaga*, Commander in Chief of the Eccleſiaſtical Army. They all attended him to *Oſtia*, whence he was carried up the River to the Monaſtery of *St. Paul*, where he reſted that Night. The next Day, the 29th of *Auguſt*, he made his public Entry into *Rome*, being attended by the College of Cardinals, by the Clergy in a Body, by the Magiſtrates, the Nobility, and immenſe Crowds of People, and was crowned the following Day in the Church of *St. Peter*, with the uſual Solemnity. At his Arrival a Plague broke out at *Rome*, which greatly damped the public Joy, and was interpreted by many as a very bad Omen of the Pontificate of

His Departure from Spain, *Arrival at* Rome, *and Coronation.*

[k] Jovio in vit. Hadrian. Ciacon. et Spond. ubi ſupra. Pallavicin. Hiſt. Concil. Trident. l. 2. Bayle Dict. Art. Hadrian.

one,

Year of Chriſt 1522.

one, who was alike unacquainted with the Affairs of *Italy* and thoſe of the Court [l].

Recovers Rimini *to the Church.*

The firſt Thing the new Pope undertook was to recover the City of *Rimini*, which *Sigiſmund* and *Pandolfo Malateſta*, the ancient Lords of that Place, had ſeized during the Vacancy of the See. In order to that he ſent a Body of 2500 *Spaniſh* Infantry, which he had brought with him out of *Spain* to drive out the *Malateſtas*. But they, not able to withſtand ſo great a Force, opened their Gates to them, and put them in Poſſeſſion both of the City and the Caſtle. *Hadrian*'s next Care was to adjuſt the Differences, that had ſubſiſted between his Two immediate Predeceſſors and the Dukes of *Ferrara* and *Urbino*; and to both he granted a new Inveſtiture of their Dutchies, upon their obliging themſelves to aſſiſt the Church with a certain Number of Troops, when wanted for the Defence of the Eccleſiaſtical State. *Francis Maria della Rovere*, Nephew to Pope *Julius* II. was at this Time Duke of *Urbino*. He had been deprived of that Dutchy, as has been ſaid, by Pope *Leo*, to make Room for his Nephew *Lawrence de Medicis*, but had recovered it, upon the Death of *Lawrence*, by Force of Arms. *Hadrian* not only re-inveſted the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Alphonſo d'Eſte*, with that Dutchy, but, to his great Diſgrace, ſays *Guicciardin*, or to that of his Miniſters, who impoſed upon his Ignorance, left him in Poſſeſſion of the Caſtles of *San Felice* and *Finale*, which he had taken in the Time of the late Vacancy [m].

Endeavours to ſtop the Progreſs of the Reformation.

But what above all Things *Hadrian* had at Heart was to put a Stop to the rapid and aſtoniſhing Progreſs the Reformation made in moſt Parts of *Germany*. With that View he ſent *Francis Cherepato*, with the Character of his Nuncio, to the Diet, that met, in the latter End of the preſent Year, at *Nuremberg*. The Nuncio was ordered to demand a vigorous Execution of the Imperial Edict, iſſued againſt *Luther* and his Followers at the Diet of *Worms*, and at the ſame time to declare, that his Holineſs was ready to remove the many unwarrantable Practices, which he ingenuouſly confeſſed to have long prevailed in the Court of *Rome*. As the Emperor was not preſent, but reſided at this Time in *Spain*, the Princes of the Empire, encouraged by that ſincere Avowal, propoſed the aſſembling of a general Council in *Germany*, in order to deliberate about the moſt effectual Means of bringing about a

Proceedings of the Diet at Nuremberg.

[l] Guicciard. l. 15. [m] Idem ibid.

general

general Reformation of the Church. At the ſame time they drew up a Memorial, containing an Hundred Grievances, which, they ſaid, gave the *German* Nation juſt Occaſion to complain of the Court of *Rome*, and which they deſired his Holineſs would take Care to redreſs, ſince they could not, nor any longer would tamely ſubmit to ſuch unconſcionable Extortions. That Memorial they ſent to the Pope, and, before they parted, prohibited, by a public Law, all Innovations in religious Matters till the aſſembling of a General Council [n]. *Hadrian* frankly owned the Neceſſity of a Reformation, and looking upon the Complaints of the *German* Nation as juſt and reaſonable, he immediately ſet about redreſſing them. But the Oppoſition he met with from the Courtiers and moſt of the Cardinals, obliged him to proceed ſlowly in ſo neceſſary a Work.

Year of Chriſt 1522.

As in the latter End of the preſent Year the *Turks* had made themſelves Maſters of the City and Iſland of *Rhodes*, and threatened *Hungary* with an Invaſion, the Pope, deſirous of putting an End to the War in *Italy* between the Emperor and the King of *France*, which his Predeceſſor had kindled, and to unite them and all the other Chriſtian Princes in a League againſt the common Enemy, ſent Nuncios to the different Courts, entreating the Princes to come to an Agreement among themſelves, and to ſend for that Purpoſe their reſpective Embaſſadors with full Powers to *Rome*. With that Requeſt they all readily complied. But nothing was concluded, many unſurmountable Difficulties occurring againſt a Peace, and the Emperor refuſing to conſent to a ſhort Truce, while the King of *France* would not agree to a long one. But though the Continuation of the War was equally owing to both, *Hadrian*, led by his Partiality for the Emperor, laid the whole Blame upon the King, and, his Penetration not being equal to his good Intentions, he ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced into an Alliance with the Emperor and the King of *England* againſt *France*. This League or Alliance was ſigned by the Pope on the Third Day of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year, his Holineſs expatiating, on that Occaſion, upon the imminent Danger, to which all Chriſtendom was expoſed from the *Turk*, on Account, he ſaid, of the *French* King's Obſtinacy in refuſing to conclude a Peace, or even to conſent to a Truce with the Emperor. This

Hadrian *enters into an Alliance with the Emperor againſt the King of* France.

Year of Chriſt 1523.

[n] Frid. Georgii. Gravamino German. l. 11. Father Paul. Hiſt. Concil. Trident. l. 1. Onuph. in vit. Hadriani. Pallavicin. Hiſt. Concil. Trident. l. 3.

Con-

Year of Chriſt 1523.

Confederacy was to laſt during the Life of the Confederates, and a Year after the Death of any One of them; and each was to contribute the ſtipulated Quota both in Men and in Money [o].

He dies.

Hadrian did not long ſurvive the ſigning of this Confederacy. He was ſeized with a ſlow Fever the very Day on which he ſigned it, the Third of *Auguſt*, and his Illneſs increaſing daily, with a total Loſs of Appetite, he died on the 14th of the following *September*, when he had lived Sixty-four Years Six Months and Thirteen Days, and held the See One Year Eight Months and Six Days. His Death was a great Loſs to the Confederates, who were thereby not only deprived of the Pontifical Authority, but at the ſame time of the Subſidies, which by the Articles of the Treaty he was engaged to furniſh [p].

His Character.

He left behind him, ſays *Guicciardin*, no great Opinion of his Abilities, either on Account of the Shortneſs of his Pontificate, or of the little Experience he had in Affairs [q]. He was, according to *Giovio*, who has writ his Life, a Man of great Candor, Integrity, and Simplicity of Manners, an Enemy to all Guile and Deceit, and utterly averſe to all Pomp, Grandeur, and Magnificence, which his immediate Predeceſſor had ſo much affected; but, in all other Reſpects, far better qualified to govern a College in the Univerſity of *Louvain*, or a Pariſh, than the whole Church [r]. His Parſimony, his baniſhing all Delicacies from his Table, and admitting none to it but ſome few of his moſt intimate Friends, gave Occaſion to the Author of his Life to compare the Apoſtolic Palace, in his Time, to a haunted Houſe.——He was well ſkilled in Scholaſtic Divinity, and encouraged that Study in others; but was no Friend to the Muſes, nor to the Lovers of polite Literature, calling them, by way of Contempt, *Terentians*. They had their Revenge, eſpecially the Poets, *Genus irritabile*, in the many cutting and ingenious Satires, which they daily publiſhed againſt him, reflecting on his Birth, and miſconſtruing the beſt of his Actions.——*Hadrian* had many poor Relations; but left them all as poor at his Death, as they were at the Time of his Promotion. Some of them having travelled on Foot from *Flanders* to *Rome*, in Expectation of ſome conſiderable Preferment, he received them coldly, exhorted them to content themſelves with the Station, in which Providence had placed them; and,

[o] Guicciard. l. 15. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Giovio in vit. Hadrian VI.

at

at their Departure, presented each of them with a plain Suit of Clothes, and as much Money as would bear their Charges in returning to their own Country[s]——*Hadrian* created only One Cardinal, *William Eickenwort*, a *Fleming*, whom he had preferred before to the Bishopric of *Tortosa*, vacant by his own Promotion to the Pontificate. A little before his Death he canonized *Renno*, formerly Bishop of *Misnia*, and a great Stickler for the Papal Supremacy. Against that Canonization *Luther* published a Writing under the following Title; *Against the new Idol, and the new Devil, that is to be set up at Misnia.*——*Hadrian* was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*, between *Pius* II. and *Pius* III. with the following short Epitaph. *Hadrianus VI. hic situs est, qui nihil sibi infelicius in vita, quam quod imperaret, duxit.* But Cardinal *Eickenwort* afterwards erected, in the Church of *St. Mary* of the *Germans*, a most magnificent Monument to the Memory of his Benefactor, with an Inscription, rehearsing the chief Honours, or Employments, with which he had been distinguished. To that Inscription he added the following Districh; Year of Christ 1523.

Quo Romanorum Sextus Pater atque Sacerdos,

Hoc etiam Pietas conditur in tumulo.

To say, that Piety was buried in the same Tomb with *Hadrian* was, in Truth, to say, that he left no Piety upon Earth behind him, though the Author cannot be supposed to have meant it.——*Hadrian*, while Professor of Divinity at *Louvain*, wrote and published the following Pieces, which have reached our Time; A Comment upon the Fourth Book of Sentences, Twelve Quodlibetic Questions, an Account of a Man at the Point of Death, and a Sermon upon Pride. We have some Letters, written by him after his Promotion to the Pontificate, and among them One to the Elector of *Saxony*, exhorting him, in a very friendly Manner, to abandon the Protection of *Luther*, and adhere to the antient Doctrine of the Church.

[s] Moringus vit. Hadrian. La Mothe, Le Vayer. tom. 11. p. 438.

Emperor, CHARLES V.

CLEMENT VII.

The Two Hundred and Seventeenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Clement VII. *elected.*

HADRIAN dying on the 14th of *September*, the Cardinals, in all Thirty-nine, after performing the Funeral Obsequies of the deceased Pontiff, shut themselves up in the Conclave on the 23d of the same Month, in order to proceed without Delay to a new Election. But the Conclave being divided into Two pretty equal Parties, the One headed by Cardinal *de Medicis*, the other by Cardinal *Colonna*, and neither caring to yield to the other, the Election was protracted to the 19th of *November*, when Cardinal *Colonna* went, of his own Accord, to Cardinal *de Medicis*, and offered him his Interest. *Colonna* was a sworn Enemy to *de Medicis*, but being dissatisfied with the Cardinals of his own Party, obstinately refusing to chuse Cardinal *Jucovaccio*, a *Roman*, who entirely depended upon him, he took that unexpected Step to be revenged upon them, and at the same time to ingratiate himself with his Enemy and Competitor. *De Medicis*, overjoyed at so sudden a Change in One, who alone stood between him and the Pontificate, gave him instantly a Bond under his Hand, engaging to confer upon him the Dignity of Chancellor, then held by himself, and to make a Present of the most magnificent Palace, which *Raphael Riarius*, Cardinal of *St. George*, had built, and *Leo* had given to him upon that Cardinal's Death. This Coalition of the Two Parties, in favour of *de Medicis*, was no sooner known, than all the rest strove to be the foremost in offering their Service to him: And thus was he that very Night adored as Pontiff, and the next Morning, the 19th of *November*, unanimously elected in due Form, being then in the 45th Year of his Age. He was crowned the next Day, and on that Occasion took the Name of *Clement* VII [a].

Some Account of him before his Promotion.

He was the posthumous and natural Son of *Julian de Medicis*, who was murdered in the Conspiracy spoken of above [b]. As his Illegitimacy was, by the Canons, an Obstacle to his Preferment in the Church, he betook himself to the Profession of Arms in the Military Order of the Knights of *Rhodes*, and being Grand Prior of *Capua* when *Leo*, his

[a] Guicciard. l. 15. [b] See above, p. 308.

Cousin

Couſin German, was elected Pope, he carried the Standard of the Order, armed Cap-a-pe, at his Coronation, and was that very Day, while yet in Armour, preferred by him to the Archiepiſcopal See of *Florence*. As to his Illegitimacy, Witneſſes were produced, who preferring the Favour of Men, ſays *Guicciardin*, to Truth, depoſed that his Mother had obtained of his Father a Promiſe of Marriage before ſhe admitted him to her Embraces; and that Promiſe was by *Leo* declared ſufficient to legitimate his Birth [c]. As if a Promiſe of Marriage had been equivalent to Marriage itſelf. He was ſoon afterwards promoted by the ſame Pope to the Dignity of Cardinal, and raiſed to the high Poſt of Chancellor of the holy *Roman* Church. In that Employment he exerciſed the whole Power of the Pontificate, *Leo* himſelf being utterly averſe to all Buſineſs, and wholly addicted to his Diverſions and Pleaſures.

Year of Chriſt 1523.

Clement was ſcarce warm in his Chair when Embaſſadors were ſent to him both by the Emperor and the King of *France*, then at War in the *Milaneſe*, to engage him in their Intereſt. But his Holineſs, hearkening to neither, returned to both the ſame Anſwer, that it was incumbent upon him, as the common Father of all Chriſtian Princes, not to join the one againſt the other, but to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to diſpoſe them all to Peace. Accordingly, he ſent ſoon afterwards Nuncios to the Courts of the Emperor, and the Kings of *France* and *England*, to perſuade them to lay down their Arms, and enter into a Treaty of Peace, or at leaſt to agree to a Truce. But the King of *France* being averſe to a Peace, and the Emperor to a Truce, the Negotiations proved all unſucceſsful, and the War was purſued with more Vigour than ever in the *Milaneſe*, till the *French* were every-where driven out of that Dutchy, and forced to repaſs the Mountains. But the King having obliged the Imperialiſts, who had invaded *Provence* and beſieged *Marſeilles* both by Sea and Land, to abandon that Enterprize and quit his Dominions, croſſed the *Alps* again this very Year, and, getting into the Dutchy of *Milan* before the Enemy, made himſelf Maſter of that Capital, and laid Siege to *Pavia*. The Pope no ſooner heard that the King had got Poſſeſſion of *Milan*, than, being deſirous of ſecuring his own Affairs, he diſpatched to him the Biſhop of *Verona*, his Datary, one in whom he placed an intire Confidence, to exhort him, as was

Reſolves to ſtand neuter between the Emperor and the King of France.

Year of Chriſt 1524.

Concludes a Treaty with the King of France.

[c] Guicciardin. l. 12.

Year of Christ 1524.

pretended, to a Peace, but his real Business was to conclude an Agreement with the King; and it was soon brought to a Conclusion, his Holiness engaging, that neither he nor the *Florentines* should lend any Assistance to his Enemies; and the King, on his Side, taking them both into his Protection. In the mean time the Siege of *Pavia* was carried on but slowly, the *French* were repulsed, with great Loss, in all their Attacks, and the Imperial Army being seasonably reinforced by a Body of 500 *Burgundian* Horse, and 6000 *German* Foot, under the Command of the famous Duke of *Bourbon*, who had raised them in *Germany*, they attacked the *French*, defeated them with great Slaughter, and took the King himself Prisoner. This memorable Battle was fought on the 25th of *February* of the present Year 1525, and the *French* are said to have lost above 80,000 Men, and about Twenty of the first Rank of the *French* Nobility. The King of *Navarre* was taken Prisoner, and with him almost all the General Officers, who were not killed. With this Calamity the King immediately acquainted the Queen by a Letter, that contained nothing but the following Words; *Madam, all is lost but Honour*[d].

Whose Army is defeated, and he himself made Prisoner.

Year of Christ 1525.

League formed against the Emperor.

Year of Christ 1526.

The Pope no sooner heard of the King's Captivity than he sent the Bishop of *Pistoia* to comfort him in his Name; and, being not a little alarmed at an Event so favourable to the Emperor, he began privately to treat of an Alliance with the *Venetians*, and the other *Italian* States and Princes against him, representing to them, that as *Charles* was already Master of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and certainly would, after so signal a Victory, get Possession of the Dutchy of *Milan*, he would have it in his Power to bring all *Italy* under the Yoke, unless they all joined to oppose him. They were all alike sensible of the Danger they were threatened with, and an Alliance was soon concluded between the Pope, the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, and *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, for the Security and Liberty of *Italy*. This Alliance was called the *Holy League*, because the Pope was at the Head of it. The King of *France*, having recovered his Liberty, but upon very hard Conditions, acceded to it, and so did the King of *England*, *Henry* VIII. being, on many Accounts, dissatisfied with the late Conduct of the Emperor towards him; and he was declared the Protector of the *Holy League*. Thus was the War, to which it was thought that the Capti-

[d] Guicciardin. l. 15. Memoires du Bellay. l. 3. De Vera. hist. du Charles V.

vity of the King would have put an End, revived and carried on with the utmoſt Fury [e].

Year of Chriſt 1526.

The Confederacy, entered into by the Pope, was no ſooner known at *Rome*, than the *Colonnas*, zealous Partizans of the Emperor, began Hoſtilities, ravaging all the neighbouring Country, and threatening *Rome* itſelf. As the Pope had ſent moſt of his Forces into *Lombardy*, he was glad to come to an Accommodation with that powerful Family. Accordingly an Agreement was concluded on the 22d of *Auguſt* between his Holineſs and *Veſpaſian Colonna*, in the Name of the whole Family. But they only intended to amuſe the Pope; and he had no ſooner diſbanded the Troops he had levied to oppoſe them, than aſſembling their Forces, to the Number of 800 Horſe and 3000 Foot, they marched to *Rome* with ſuch Speed as to prevent all Notice of their coming, arrived at the Gates in the Night preceding the 20th of *September*, and entering through the Gate of *St. John Lateran*, advanced towards *St. Peter*'s, and the Pontifical Palace. The Pope hearing they had ſurpriſed the City, and were proceeding ſtrait to his Palace, reſolved, after the Example of *Boniface* VIII. when inſulted by One of the ſame Family, *Sciarra Colonna* [f], to place himſelf in his Pontifical Ornaments in the Pontifical Chair and die there. But by the preſſing Inſtances of the Cardinals he was, with much Difficulty, prevailed upon to take Refuge in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, with ſome of the Cardinals his particular Friends. He was ſcarce gone when the *Colonnas*, entering the Palace, plundered it of all its rich Furniture, nay, and the Church of *St. Peter* of all its ſacred Ornaments, without any Regard to Religion, or to the Sacredneſs of the Place. As no One offered to ſtir in the Pope's Defence, he ſent for Don *Hugh di Moncada*, the Emperor's Embaſſador, in order to treat with him about an Accommodation. Don *Hugh*, having received the Two Cardinals *Cibo* and *Ridolfi*, the Pope's Grand Nephews, as Hoſtages for his Security, went into the Caſtle to confer with his Holineſs; and the next Day, the 21ſt of *September*, an Agreement was concluded between them upon the following Terms: That for the Space of Four Months all Hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe between the Pope and the Emperor; that the Pope ſhould withdraw his Troops from the Army of the Confederates, and ſhould par-

Rome *ſurpriſed by the* Colonnas.

The Pope flies to the Caſtle of St. Angelo.

Is obliged to conclude a Four Months Truce with the Emperor.

[e] Guicciardin. l. 17. Memoires du Bellay. l. 3. ibid. p. 369.

[f] Vol. VI. of this Hiſt.

Year of Chriſt 1526.

don the *Colonnas*, and all who were concerned in the late Attempt, or had any way offended his Holineſs. On the other Side, the *Colonnas* and the Imperialiſts were to withdraw from *Rome* and the whole State of the Church, and retire to *Naples*. They were no ſooner gone than the Pope, not thinking himſelf bound to obſerve an Agreement extorted from him by Violence, pronounced the Sentence of Depoſition againſt Cardinal *Pompey Colonna*, and at the ſame time ſent all the Troops he had then in *Rome* and the neighbouring Caſtles into the Territories of the *Colonnas*, with Orders to deſtroy all before them with Fire and Sword. They took ſeveral of their Towns, diſmantling ſome, burning others, and committing every-where ſuch Devaſtations, as reduced great Part of the Country to a Deſert g.

Takes Revenge upon the Colonnas.

The Duke of Bourbon *reſolves to march to* Rome.

The *Colonnas* and the other Friends of the Emperor ſoon had their Revenge. For the Duke of *Bourbon*, who commanded the Imperial Army againſt the Confederates in the *Milaneſe*, wanting Money to pay them, and purchaſe the neceſſary Proviſions for their Subſiſtence, reſolved to force his Way into the State of the Church, and let his Army live upon Plunder. Accordingly he took the Field in the latter End of the preſent Year, with an Intention to lead them to *Rome*; which he carefully concealed, leſt the Pope ſhould have Time to prepare for the Defence of the City, and the Army of the Confederates, then before *Milan*, ſhould abandon that Enterpize, and follow him. It was a bold, not to ſay, a deſperate Attempt. But *Bourbon* had no other Means, for Want of Money, of keeping his Troops together; and he well knew, that ſhould the Attempt be attended with Succeſs, ſhould he make himſelf Maſter of *Rome*, and take the Pope himſelf Priſoner, the powerful Confederacy of ſo many Princes againſt the Emperor would be broken, and he be put in a Condition of obliging the Confederates to agree to his own Terms. He allowed his Men to plunder ſeveral Towns, through which he paſſed, promiſing them, without naming any Place, much better Booty. When they had got beyond *Arezzo*, they plainly ſaw that he was conducting them to *Rome*, and, forgetting all paſt Fatigues, they marched with great Alacrity and ſuch Speed, that, notwithſtanding their Want of Proviſions, and the heavy Rains that fell for ſome Days, they arrived in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, when the Pope had hardly received any certain Advice of their coming.

Arrives in the Neighbourhood of that City.

Year of Chriſt 1527.

g Guicciard. l. 18. Giornale del Roſſo, p. 4.

His

His Holineſs had, a little before, concluded a new Truce with *Charles di Lanoja*, Viceroy of *Naples*, and engaged him to ſtop *Bourbon*'s March. But the Soldiery were ſo bent upon the Sacking of *Rome*, and enriching themſelves with the Plunder of ſo opulent a City, that the Perſon, whom the Viceroy ſent to acquaint *Bourbon* with the Truce, and require him to halt and forbear all Hoſtilities, would have been murdered by them, had he not ſaved himſelf by Flight. The Duke being therefore obliged, agreeably to his own Inclination, to purſue his March, encamped, on the 5th of *May*, with his whole Army in the Meadows about *Rome*, and, without any Regard to the Pontifical Dignity, ſent a Trumpet to the Pope to demand a Paſſage for himſelf and the Army through *Rome* in their Way to the Kingdom of *Naples*. His Demand being rejected, he attacked the Suburb next Morning by Break of Day on the Side of the *Mount of the Holy Ghoſt*. But fancying, that the *German* Foot ſhowed themſelves ſomewhat backward in the Attack, he put himſelf at their Head, and received that Inſtant a Shot, from an Arquebuſs, which killed him upon the Spot. Upon his Death *Philibert* of *Chalons*, Prince of *Orange*, took the Command, and the Aſſault was carried on by the Soldiery, enraged at the Loſs of their General, with a Valour next to Fury. At laſt they made themſelves Maſters of the Quarter beyond the *Tiber*, and the ſame Evening, an Hour before Night, they entered the City by the Bridge of *Sixtus*.—— No Inſtances occur in Hiſtory of Cruelty, Luſt, Avarice, and Contempt of every Thing that is ſacred, which were not practiſed, on this Occaſion, by the bigotted *Spaniards* as well as by the *Germans*, who were for the moſt Part *Lutherans*, and Enemies to *Rome*. They, who relate the Particulars, agree all in this, that though *Rome* had been frequently taken, and plundered by the Barbarians, it had never ſeen, ſince its Foundation, ſo diſmal a Day g.

Year of Chriſt 1527.

Attacks it and is killed in the Attack.

Rome *is taken and ſacked.*

The Pope, inſtead of leaving *Rome*, and retiring, as many adviſed him, to ſome Fortreſs of the Eccleſiaſtical State, fled to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, which was immediately inveſted by the Prince of *Orange*. In the mean time the Army of the Confederates advanced to the Relief of the Pope, and even came within Sight of *Rome*. But the Duke of *Urbino*, General of the Confederate Army, urging many Difficulties

The Pope retires to the Caſtle of St. Angelo.

g Guicciard. l. 18. Memoires du Bellay. l. 7. Giornale del Roſſo. Summont. tom. 4. Raynald. ad ann. 1527.

againſt

Year of Chriſt 1527.

againſt their attempting to raiſe the Siege of the Caſtle, they marched back. And now the Pope, deſtitute of all Hopes of Relief, found himſelf obliged to come to an Agreement with the Imperialiſts; and accordingly an Agreement was concluded, on the 6th of *June*, upon the following Terms: That the Pope ſhould pay to the Imperial Army Four hundred thouſand Ducats, One hundred thouſand immediately, Fifty thouſand within Twenty Days, and Two hundred and Fifty thouſand within Two Months; that he ſhould deliver up the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and ſome Cities, to the Emperor, who ſhould keep Poſſeſſion of them ſo long as he thought fit; that he ſhould continue Priſoner in the Caſtle with all the Cardinals, who were with him, being Thirteen in Number, till the firſt One hundred and Fifty thouſand Ducats were paid; that he ſhould give Hoſtages to the Army for the Payment of the reſt; and, laſtly, that he ſhould abſolve the *Colonnas* from the Cenſures they had incurred. As ſoon as this Convention was ſigned, one *Alercon*, a *Spaniſh* Officer, entered the Caſtle with Three Companies of *Spaniſh* and Three of *German* Foot, being charged with the Guard of the Pope: And by him he was moſt ſtrictly guarded, was confined to a very ſmall Apartment, and allowed but very little Liberty [h].

How treated during his Confinement.

Pretended Concern of the Emperor at his Impriſonment.

When News was brought to the Emperor of the Sacking of *Rome*, and the Impriſonment of the Pope, he expreſſed the deepeſt Sorrow and Concern for his Holineſs's Misfortune, ſtopt the Rejoicings, that were then making all over *Spain* for the Birth of Prince *Philip*, his eldeſt Son, put himſelf and all his Court into Mourning, ordered public Proceſſions to be made, and Prayers to be put up in all the Churches for the Deliverance of their common Father, and Chriſt's Vicar upon Earth; as if he had been in the Hands of the *Grand Turk*, when his Deliverance depended wholly and ſolely upon himſelf. The Pope's Nuncio having preſented himſelf before the Emperor with Ten Biſhops, all in deep Mourning, and demanded the Pope's Liberty, in the moſt ſubmiſſive Terms, he returned no other Anſwer to them than, that he *deſired it more than they*. In a Grand Council that was held, on this Occaſion, the Duke of *Alba* declared, that if the Pope were not a Temporal Prince, if he had not made War upon his Imperial Majeſty, and by his Authority united ſo many Princes in a League againſt him, he

[h] Guicciard. l. 18.

would

would adviſe his Majeſty to reſtore him, without Delay, to his Liberty; but as he had forfeited, by his hoſtile Conduct as a Temporal Prince, the Veneration that was due to him in his Spiritual Capacity, he was of Opinion, that he ſhould be detained in his Priſon, till he learned, at his own Expence, to be wiſer [i]. Year of Chriſt 1527.

Kings of France *and* England *employ their good Offices in behalf of the Pope.*

The Grief, expreſſed by the Emperor, for the Sacking of *Rome* and the Captivity of the Pope, was mere Diſſimulation, and the groſſeſt Hypocriſy. But that of the Kings of *France* and *England* was more ſincere. For upon the firſt Intelligence they received of that great Event, they ſent jointly Embaſſadors to the Emperor to demand the Pope's Liberty, as a Matter, that concerned all Chriſtian Princes. The Emperor, being unwilling to diſoblige Two ſuch powerful Princes, immediately diſpatched into *Italy* the General of the *Franciſcans*, and one *Veri di Mighan*, with an Order for *Charles di Lanoja*, Viceroy of *Naples*, to agree with the Pope, and ſet him at Liberty. But *Lanoja* dying, the Affair was negotiated with *Hugh di Moncada*, whom the Viceroy had ſubſtituted in his Room, and, on the laſt Day of *October*, an Agreement was concluded upon the following Conditions: I. That the Pope ſhould take no Part in the War, that was then carrying on by the *French*, in the *Milaneſe*, under the Command of the brave *Oden de Foix*, Marſhal of *Lautrech*, nor in that which the Kingdom of *Naples* was threatened with. II. That his Holineſs ſhould grant to the Emperor a Tenth of the Eccleſiaſtic Revenues in all his Kingdoms. III. That he ſhould deliver up to the Imperialiſts the Cities of *Oſtia*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Civita Caſtellana*, and the Citadel of *Forli*, as cautionary Places, and his Two Nephews, *Hippolytus* and *Alexander*, for Hoſtages. He was, beſides, to pay immediately to the *Germans* Seventy-ſeven thouſand Ducats, and Thirty-five thouſand to the *Spaniards*, upon their leaving him at Liberty to come out of the Caſtle, and go out of *Rome*. Another like Sum he was to pay to the *Germans* a Fortnight after his Departure from *Rome*, and the Reſt, to the Amount of Three hundred and Fifty thouſand Ducats and upwards, within Three Months more. To raiſe theſe Sums the Pope was obliged to recur to extraordinary Ways and Means, which he had been utterly averſe to before. He created ſome Cardinals for Money, Perſons altogether unworthy of that Dignity, granted a Power to alienate ſome Church Lands, and mort-

Is reſtored to his Liberty, and upon what Conditions.

[i] Giornale del Roſſo. Bellegarde Hiſt. General d'Eſpagne, tom. 7.

Year of Christ 1527.

gaged the Tythes in the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Payments being thus ſettled and ſecured at the fixed Times, the 9th Day of *December* was appointed for his Deliverance, when the *Spaniards* were to guard and conduct him to ſome Place of Safety. But his Holineſs apprehending, that *Hugh di Moncada*, who was now Viceroy of *Naples*, and had been always againſt his Releaſement, might ſtart new Difficulties, and play him ſome Trick, he went the Night before out of the Caſtle, in the Diſguiſe of a Merchant, and retired to *Orvieto*, which City he entered before Day-break, not One of the Cardinals accompanying him. Thus did *Clement* recover his Liberty on the 8th of *December*, when he had been kept cloſely confined ever ſince the 6th of *May*, and treated by his Guards with all the *Spaniſh* Pride and Inſolence [k].

Progreſs of the Reformation in Germany.

While theſe Things paſſed in *Italy*, the Reformation was carried on, with wonderful Succeſs, in *Germany*, ſeveral of the *German* Princes, and moſt of the Imperial Towns having embraced the new Doctrine, and allowed it to be freely preached within the Limits of their reſpective Juriſdictions.

Diet of Nuremberg.

As a Diet was to be held at *Nuremberg* in the Beginning of the Year 1524, *Clement* diſpatched, ſoon after his Election, Cardinal *Campegius*, a Man of great Addreſs and Abilities, to aſſiſt at that Aſſembly with the Character of his Legate. His Inſtructions were to repreſent to the Princes the fatal Conſequences, that would inevitably attend their ſuffering new Doctrines, or rather old Hereſies to take Root in their Dominions, and from thence he was to take Occaſion of exhorting them to cauſe the Edict of *Worms* to be executed as it had been approved, and enacted by themſelves [l]. But the Legate found, to his great Mortification, moſt of the Members of the Diet to be rather Friends than Enemies to the Reformation. For, taking no Notice of the Edict of *Worms*, they inſiſted on the Pope's redreſſing, before all other Things, the many Grievances, which the *German* Nation had ſo long and ſo juſtly complained of, renewed their Demands of a General Council, and left all other Matters in Diſpute to be decided at the Diet, that was to meet, in a ſhort Time, at *Spire*. On the other Hand, the Legate, returning to *Ratiſbon*, with the Biſhops, and ſuch of the Princes as favoured the Cauſe of *Rome*, prevailed upon them to promiſe a ſtrict Compliance with the Edict of *Worms*, and to agree to ſeveral Regula-

Aſſembly of Ratiſbon.

[k] Guicciard. l. 18. Jovius, l. 25. Ciacon. vit. Clement. VII.

[l] See above, p. 415.

tions,

tions, calculated to prevent the Reformation from taking place in their Dominions. At the ſame time the Pope procured a Letter from the Emperor to all the Members of the Empire, commanding them, in virtue of their Allegiance, to cauſe the Edict of *Worms*, and every Article of that Edict to be ſtrictly obſerved in their reſpective Dominions, on Pain of being deemed guilty of High Treaſon, of being put under the Ban of the Empire, and forfeiting their Eſtates and all the Privileges granted to them by his Predeceſſors. This Letter is dated at *Burgos* the 15th of *July* 1524. But the Emperor being wholly taken up in ſettling the diſtracted State of his Dominions in *Spain* and *Italy*, and not at Leiſure to attend to the Affairs of *Germany*, his Commands were by very few complied with; nay, in the Diet, that met at *Spire* in 1526, it was carried by a great Majority, that the Execution of the Edict of *Worms* ſhould be ſuſpended till the Doctrines, which had given Occaſion to it, were examined, and either condemned or approved by a General Council. At the ſame time it was agreed, that a ſolemn Addreſs ſhould be preſented to the Emperor, entreating him to aſſemble One without Delay, and that, in the mean while, every Prince ſhould be at Liberty to regulate Eccleſiaſtical Matters, in his own Dominions, as he ſhould think expedient. And now the *German* States and Princes, who were Friends to the Reformation, being thus delivered from all Reſtraint, made it their Buſineſs to baniſh the Superſtitions of Popery out of their Dominions, and introduce genuine Chriſtianity in their Room. This Liberty they enjoyed for the Space of Three whole Years, and, improving it to the Advantage of their Cauſe, they introduced, during that Time, the Reformation among their Subjects quite unmoleſted. But the Reſolutions of this Diet of *Spire* were revoked, at the End of Three Years, by another held in the ſame Place, and every Change in Religion was declared unlawful till authorized by the General Conncil, that was ſoon to meet. Againſt that Declaration Four Princes of the Empire and Thirteen Imperial Cities entered a ſolemn *Proteſt*; and hence aroſe the Denomination of *Proteſtants*, that has thenceforth been given to all who renounce the Errors of *Rome*.

Year of Chriſt 1527.

Letter from the Emperor.

Diet of Spire.

Favourable to the Reformation.

And now to reſume the Thread of our Hiſtory with reſpect to the Conduct of the Pope after his Deliverance; he had been but a few Days at *Orvieto*, when he was earneſtly preſſed by the Embaſſadors of the Kings of *France* and *England* to enter into the Confederacy, and declare for them

The Pope declines entering into a Confederacy with the

Year of Chriſt 1528.

Kings of France *and* England.

againſt the Emperor. But to both he returned the ſame Anſwer, *viz.* that having neither Men, nor Money, nor Authority, his Declaration could be of no Service to them, and would be of great Prejudice to himſelf. But as his Family, exerciſing a Kind of ſovereign Power in the free State of *Florence*, had been driven out of that City upon the News of his Captivity, and the popular Government had been reſtored, his Holineſs, thinking the Emperor better able to reinſtate them in their former Grandeur, than either of the Kings, entered privately into a Treaty with the Imperial Miniſters; and the following Year an Agreement was concluded at *Barcelona* upon Terms very advantageous to the Pope. Of theſe Terms the moſt material were: That the Emperor ſhould give in Marriage his natural Daughter *Margaret* to *Alexander de Medicis*, the Pope's Nephew, with a Dowry of Twenty thouſand Ducats yearly Revenue, and ſhould reinſtate the ſaid *Alexander* in the ſame Grandeur, that the Family had enjoyed before their Expulſion: That the Emperor ſhould take Care, as ſoon as poſſible, by Arms, or by ſome other more convenient Means, to put the Pope in Poſſeſſion of *Cervia*, *Ravenna*, *Modena*, *Reggio* and *Rubiera*, without Prejudice to the Right of the Empire: That the Pope ſhould grant to the Emperor the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, reducing the Tribute to a white Horſe, and ſhould allow him the ancient Nomination to Twenty-four Cathedrals in that Kingdom, concerning which there had been ſome Diſpute: That the Pope and the Emperor ſhould have a perſonal Conference, when his Imperial Majeſty paſſed into *Italy*: That neither the Pope, nor the Emperor, ſhould make new Leagues with reſpect to the Affairs of *Italy* to the Prejudice of this Confederacy, nor obſerve thoſe contrary to it, which they might have already made: And laſtly, That both the Emperor, and his Brother *Ferdinand*, now King of *Hungary*, ſhould uſe all poſſible Endeavours to reduce the Heretics to the true Way, and, if they perſiſted in their Obſtinacy, ſhould employ their Arms againſt them. This Agreement was ſigned at *Barcelona* on the 29th of *June* 1529, and ſolemnly ſworn to by the Embaſſadors of the Two contracting Powers, before the High Altar of the Cathedral of that City [m].

But concludes an Agreement with the Emperor.

Year of Chriſt 1529.

The Emperor comes into Italy.

The Emperor, ſoon after the Concluſion of this Treaty, ſet out for *Italy*, in order to have a perſonal Conference with his Holineſs, and,

[m] Guicciard. l. 18.

at

at the ſame time, to receive the Imperial Crown at his Hands. He embarked at *Barcelona*, being attended by a very numerous Fleet, and in a Fortnight arrived at *Genoa*, the Place where his Holineſs and he had propoſed to meet. But *Bologna* appearing to both far more convenient, they repaired thither in the latter End of the preſent Year. The Pope, who came the firſt, received the Emperor with all the Marks of the moſt ſincere Friendſhip. They lodged in the ſame Palace, had Rooms contiguous to each other, and from the Familiarity that appeared between them, one would have thought that they had ever lived in perfect Harmony. The chief Subject of their Conferences was the reſtoring of the Family *De Medicis* to their former Power and Dignity in *Florence*; and it was agreed that the Imperial Army, which had already entered that State, ſhould purſue the War with the utmoſt Vigour, and the Pope ſhould pay monthly Sixty thouſand Ducats to the Prince of *Orange*, Commander in Chief of the Imperial Forces, the Emperor being, as he declared, in no Condition to ſupport ſo great an Expence. Theſe and ſome other Articles being agreed to, the Pope had prevailed upon the Emperor to repair with him to *Siena*, in order to be near at Hand to favour the Enterprize againſt *Florence*, which his Holineſs had above all Things at Heart. But while they were upon the Point of ſetting out, the Emperor received Letters from the Electors and other *German* Princes, preſſing him to haſten into *Germany*, in order to aſſiſt at the Diet, that was ſoon to be held at *Augſburg*. Giving therefore over all Thoughts of proceeding further, he received the Imperial Crown at *Bologna*, on the 24th of *February* 1530, the Feſtival of St. *Matthias*, the Day on which he was born, and had taken the King of *France* Priſoner. From *Bologna* the Emperor ſet out for *Germany* on the 22d of *March*, and the Pope for *Rome* on the laſt Day of the ſame Month [n].

Year of Chriſt 1529.

Has a Conference with the Pope at Bologna.

Year of Chriſt 1530.

Where he receives the Imperial Crown.

In the mean time the City of *Florence*, after a Siege of Eleven Months, was obliged to ſubmit, being reduced to the greateſt Straits for Want of Proviſions. At this Siege the Prince of *Orange* was killed, while he rather performed the Duty of a private Man than of a General. He had often expreſſed his Deteſtation and Abhorrence of the Pope's Ambition and Injuſtice, in enſlaving his own Country, in cauſing ſo much Blood to be ſhed, and ſo famous a City to be deſtroyed, in

Florence *reduced by the* Imperialiſts, *and delivered up to the Family* De Medicis.

Year of Chriſt 1531.

[n] Idem, l. 19, 20.

order

Year of Christ 1531.

order to raiſe his Nephew to the Rank of a Prince. The Surrender of the City put an End to the Liberty of that famous Republic. For the Emperor ordered, that *Alexander de Medicis*, his own Son-in-Law, and the Pope's Nephew, ſhould be at the Head of the Government, with a Right of tranſmitting it to his Deſcendants, and, if he had no Iſſue, to his collateral Relations, and the neareſt of Kin to his Family. Thus was the Family *De Medicis* raiſed to that State of Grandeur and Power, which the Grand Dukes of *Tuſcany* have enjoyed to our Days. One of the Articles, upon which the City ſurrendered, was, that all, who had injured the Pope, or his Friends, ſhould be forgiven. But his Holineſs, to weaken the oppoſite Party, and prevent their raiſing any new Diſturbances, cauſed, by an open Breach of that Article, Six of the leading Men among them to be beheaded, and ſent all, whom he ſuſpected of Diſaffection to his Family, into Exile [o].

Diet of Augſburg.

The Emperor ſet out from *Bologna* on the 22d of *March*, with a Deſign, as has been ſaid above, to aſſiſt at the Diet, which had been appointed to meet at *Augſburg* on the 20th of *June*. Accordingly the Firſt Seſſion was held on that Day, being preceded by a Maſs, celebrated with extraordinary Solemnity. The Emperor aſſiſted at it with all his Court, and ordered the Elector of *Saxony*, as Sword-bearer of the Empire, to attend him, and carry the Sword of State before him. That the Elector declined at firſt, but the Divines, whom he conſulted, declaring that on the preſent Occaſion he might aſſiſt at Maſs, being called to it, not as to a religious Ceremony, but as to a Function of his Office, he complied. As no regular Syſtem was yet compoſed of the Doctrines, embraced by *Luther* and his Followers, on the 25th of *June* was preſented to the Diet a very diſtinct and particular Account of their religious Principles and Tenets. It was drawn up by *Melancthon*, and contains Twenty-eight Chapters, of which Twenty-one are employed in declaring the Opinions of the Reformers, and the remaining Seven in pointing out the Errors and Abuſes, that gave Occaſion to their Separation from the Church of *Rome*: And this is what has been ſince diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *The Confeſſion of Augſburg*. Some Copies of this Confeſſion were delivered to the Emperor, ſigned, by Way of Approbation, by the Elector of *Saxony*, by Four Princes of the Empire, and ſome Imperial Towns. It was im-

Confeſſion of Faith delivered to the Diet by the Reformers.

[o] Guicciardin. l. 20.

mediately

mediately anſwered by the *Roman* Catholic Divines, and their Anſwer being publicly read in the Diet, the Reformers drew up a Reply to it, and preſented it to the Emperor. But he would not receive it. On the contrary, he forbad any new Writings to be publiſhed; which was forbidding any Reply to be made to the Arguments alleged by the *Roman* Catholics to ſupport their own Doctrine, and impugn that of the Reformers. While the Diet was ſitting ſeveral Conferences were held between the moſt eminent Men for Piety and Learning of both Sides, in order to find out ſome Method of terminating their Diſputes. But all the Methods they could think of proving ineffectual, the whole Blame was laid upon the Friends of the Reformation; and on the 19th of *November* an Edict was iſſued by the Diet, confirming that of *Worms*, condemning all the Changes in Doctrine and Worſhip introduced by the Reformers, and commanding the Princes, States, and Cities, that had withdrawn their Obedience to *Rome*, to return to their Duty, on Pain of incurring the high Diſpleaſure of the Emperor, and the Ban of the Empire.

Year of Chriſt 1531.

Edict of Worms *confirmed in the Diet of* Augſburg.

This Edict alarmed the Princes, who had embraced the Reformation, and in order to put themſelves in a Condition of repelling Force, if any were offered, by Force, they met at *Smalcald* in the Landgraviate of *Heſſe*, and there entered into a Confederacy in Defence of their Religion and Liberties. This Confederacy was highly diſpleaſing to the Emperor; but as *Solyman*, Emperor of the *Turks*, entered at this Time the Kingdom of *Hungary* at the Head of a very numerous Army, and the Confederates refuſed to concur, in the Defence of that Country, either with Men or with Money, unleſs the Emperor revoked the Edicts of *Worms* and of *Augſburg*, or, at leaſt, ſuſpended their Execution, he was obliged to come to an Agreement with them. Accordingly, on the 13th of *July* 1532, a Peace was concluded at *Nuremberg* upon the following Conditions: That the Confederates ſhould furniſh the Emperor with the neceſſary Subſidies for the Defence of the Kingdom of *Hungary*; and the Emperor, on his Side, ſhould ſuſpend the Execution of the above-mentioned Edicts, and moleſt no Man on Account of his Religion, till the Points in Diſpute were finally determined in a free General Council, which he ſhould cauſe to be ſummoned within Six Months, and to be opened within a Year. A religious Truce being thus concluded to the inex-

League of Smalcald.

Peace of Nuremberg. Year of Chriſt 1532.

preſſible

Year of Chriſt 1532

preſſible Joy of the Confederates, they ſent, at their own Expence, ſuch powerful Reinforcements to the Imperial Army, commanded by the Emperor in Perſon, that, at his Approach, *Solyman*, though at the Head of Two hundred thouſand Men, thought it adviſeable to retire, and march quietly back to *Conſtantinople*. Upon his Retreat the Emperor returned to *Germany*, and, after a ſhort Stay there, proceeded to *Italy* to confer with the Pope about the Aſſembling of the promiſed General Council p.

A Second Interview at Bologna *between the Pope and the Emperor.*

The Pope and the Emperor met again at *Bologna*, but the Emperor found his Holineſs extremely averſe to the Aſſembling of a Council; and the Reaſons he alleged againſt it were, That Peace was not yet well eſtabliſhed amongſt the Chriſtian Princes; that it was much to be feared that the *Turk* would invade *Hungary* anew, and it was not fit, that, at ſo critical a Juncture, *Chriſtendom* ſhould be employed in the Diſputes and Contentions of a Council; that they, who demanded a Council, made uſe of that Demand only as a Pretence to profeſs and propagate their Errors undiſturbed till the Council met, and would, as ſoon as their Errors were condemned, which certainly would happen, have Recourſe to ſome other Shift to elude the Sentence. Such were the Reaſons alleged by *Clement* to the Emperor againſt the Aſſembling of a General Council. But his Averſion to ſuch an Aſſembly was, in Truth, owing to his being apprehenſive, that, in order to remedy the many enormous Abuſes of the Court, they would curtail the Pontifical Power and Authority; that, as his Birth was certainly illegitimate, though his Predeceſſor *Leo* had impoſed the contrary upon the World, his Illegitimacy might be urged againſt the Validity of his Election, ſince no Baſtard had ever yet been preferred to the Pontifical Dignity; that the Simony, practiſed upon Cardinal *Colonna* in the Conclave q, might be brought to Light, and his Election be, on that Account, declared null; and laſtly, that he might be called to an Account by the Council for the cruel War, which he had induced the Emperor to make upon the *Florentines*, and carry on with the Loſs of ſo many Lives, merely out of a criminal Ambition of aggrandizing his Family, and making them, contrary to all Juſtice, Sovereigns of a free and independent State. *Clement*, filled with theſe juſt Fears and Appre-

Year of Chriſt 1533.

The Pope averſe to a General Council, and why.

p Matheum. p. 50 —— 56. Pallavicino. Father Paul, Concil. Trident. Sleidan. Burnet.

q See above, p. 426.

henſions,

henſions, was determined, in his own Mind, never to conſent to the Aſſembling of a Council. However, concealing his real Sentiments from the Emperor, he promiſed to call one upon the following Conditions; that it ſhould be celebrated in *Italy*, in *Bologna*, *Piacenza*, or *Mantua*; that the Emperor ſhould aſſiſt at it in Perſon; that the *Lutherans* and other Heretics ſhould promiſe to ſtand to its Deciſions, and, in the mean time, ſhould return to their Obedience to the Apoſtolic See. The Pope well knew, that the Proteſtants never would agree to ſuch Conditions, and it was only to put off the evil Day that he propoſed them. However, at the preſſing Inſtances of the Emperor, he diſpatched Nuncios to the Courts of the different Princes to invite them to the Council, which, he ſaid, he intended to aſſemble, provided they all conſented to it [r].

Year of Chriſt 1533.

His deceitful Conduct.

At this Interview the Emperor propoſed a Marriage between *Catherine de Medicis*, the Pope's Niece, and *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, in order to engage, by that Means, his Holineſs in the Defence of that State againſt the *French*, ſhould they ever attempt to recover it, and, at the ſame time, to break off the Treaty of Marriage, that was then negotiating between the ſaid *Catherine de Medicis*, and *Henry*, Duke of *Orleans*, the King of *France*'s Second Son. But the Match, propoſed by the Emperor, was rejected by the Pope, alleging that he was under ſuch Engagements with the King, as would not allow him, in Honour or Decency, to recede. The Emperor was very much diſſatisfied with this Alliance; but not being able to divert the Pope from it, he left *Bologna*, and repairing to *Genoa*, embarked there on his Return to *Spain*. Upon his Departure, the Negotiations between the Pope and the King of *France* were reſumed; and the Treaty of Marriage between the Pope's Niece, and the King's Second Son being concluded, it was agreed that the Pope and the King ſhould have a perſonal Interview at *Nizza*; and that the Marriage ſhould be ſolemnized in that City on the Borders of *France* and *Italy*. But the Duke of *Savoy*, Lord of *Nizza*, ſhewing himſelf unwilling to accommodate his Holineſs with the Caſtle, leſt he ſhould thereby diſoblige the Emperor, the City of *Marſeilles* was, to the great Satisfaction of the King, choſen for the Place of their Meeting. The Pope arrived there, with his Niece, on board the *French* Fleet on the 4th of *October*,

The Emperor propoſes a Match between the Duke of Milan *and the Pope's Niece*

Marriage concluded between her and the King of France's *Second Son.*

The Pope in France.

[r] Guicciard. l. 20. Father Paul. Concil. Trident. l. 1.

Year of Chriſt 1533. and landing under the Diſcharge of Three hundred Pieces of Cannon, lodged that Night in the Palace of the Duke of *Montmorency*. The next Day he made his public Entry into the City, in all the gaudy Attire of High Pontiff, being carried in his Chair upon Mens Shoulders, while a white Horſe, carrying the Hoſt, was led by Two Men with ſilken Reins before him, then followed the Cardinals in their Habits, mounted upon their Mules richly capariſoned, and after them came the Bride, loaded with Jewels and precious Stones, and attended by the Flower of the *Italian* and *French* Nobility. The next Day the King, who came the firſt, and had paid his Holineſs a Viſit by Night, made his public Entry, and waiting upon his Holineſs was received by him with all poſſible Marks of Eſteem and Affection. The Marriage Ceremony was performed a few Days afterwards by the Pope himſelf with the utmoſt Pomp and Magnificence, the Bride being in the Thirteenth Year of her Age, and the Bridegroom in his Sixteenth [s]. The Pope and the King lodged in the ſame Palace, had daily private Conferences, and the Pope negotiating, with conſummate Art, his Affairs with the King himſelf, entirely gained his Confidence and Affection. He had ſolemnly engaged his Word to the Emperor, at their Interview in *Bologna*, to make no new Confederacy or Agreement with any Prince without his Knowlege and Conſent. But as it was cuſtomary with him to keep his Word no longer than he found his own Account, or that of his Family in keeping it, he ſecretly concluded an Agreement with the King, by virtue of which they were to fall unexpectedly upon the State of *Milan* with their joint Forces, and put his Niece and Nephew-in-Law in Poſſeſſion of that Dutchy [t]. Thus would all *Italy* have been involved in a new War, and all the Calamities attending it. But, fortunately for that Country, the Pope died before his ambitious Deſigns could be carried into Execution.

How received there.

The Marriage ſolemnized.

Confederacy between the Pope and the King.

The Pope returns to Rome. The Pope, having ſtaid about a Month at *Marſeilles*, departed on board the ſame Gallies, that had brought him thither. But, putting no Truſt in the Skill of the *French* Mariners, on his Arrival at *Savona* he ſent them back, and was conveyed from thence to *Civita Vecchia* on board the Gallies of *Andrew Doria*, the moſt experienced Sea-Officer of that Age. From *Civita Vecchia* he returned to *Rome*, highly pleaſed and elated with his good Fortune in having obtained for his natural

[s] Guicciard. l. 10. Memoires du Bellay. [t] Du Bellay Memoir. l. 7. p. 141.

Nephew

Nephew (*Alexander de Medicis*, the natural Son of his Brother *Lawrence*, formerly Duke of *Urbino*) the natural Daughter of the Emperor, and for his legitimate Niece the legitimate Son of the King of *France*, though his Family was of little more than a private Rank. Year of Chriſt 1533.

But he did not long enjoy his good Fortune. For a few Months after his Return to *Rome* he was ſeized with a violent Pain in his Stomach, and a ſlow Fever, which put an End to his Life on the 25th of *September* 1534, when he had lived Fifty-ſix Years and Four Months, and governed the Church Ten Years Ten Months and Seven Days. He died hated by the Court, ſuſpected by the Princes, and generally reputed a Man of no Faith, and naturally averſe from doing any Man a good Office. He was grave, circumſpect in all his Actions, much Maſter of himſelf, a great Diſſembler, endowed with excellent Parts, and uncommon Penetration. But the extreme Timidity, to which he was ſubject ever after his Impriſonment, ſeldom allowed him to make a free Uſe of his own Judgment [u]. *His Illneſs and Death.* Year of Chriſt 1534.

He was greatly embarraſſed, during the Seven laſt Years of his Pontificate, with the famous Divorce of our *Henry* VIII. But that whole Affair has been ſo fully related by all our Hiſtorians, with all the Circumſtances and Conſequences attending it, and is ſo well known to all, who know any thing at all of the Hiſtory of *England*, that I may well be allowed to wave ſo trite a Subject. However, I cannot help obſerving, that from the whole Conduct of the Pope it evidently appears, that in this Affair, an Affair of Conſcience, his Holineſs was entirely ſwayed by worldly Views, or Motives of Policy, without any the leaſt Regard to the intrinſic Merits of the Cauſe; that he was only reſtrained, by the Awe he ſtood in of the Emperor, from declaring *Henry*'s Marriage with *Catherine* null; and that it was only to gratify, or rather not to provoke ſo powerful a Prince, of whoſe Indignation he had already felt the Effects with a Witneſs, that he delayed coming to any Reſolution, till the King, tired with Delays, Apologies, Pretences, and vain Promiſes, cut the Knot, which his Holineſs would not untie, putting away *Catherine*, and taking *Anne Bullen* to his Royal Bed in her Room. This was openly renouncing the Pope's Juriſdiction and Supremacy, and delivering himſelf and his Kingdom from the Tyranny of *Rome*. But this Renunciation was attended with very little *His Conduct in the Affair of the Divorce of* Henry VIII.

[u] Guicciard. l. 20.

Year of Chriſt 1534.

Benefit to the Cauſe or the Friends of the Reformation during the King's Life-time. For *Henry* being, on the 3d of *November* 1534, declared by the Parliament *Supreme Head, on Earth, of the Church of England*, he thought himſelf, by virtue of that Title, Maſter of the Religious Sentiments of his Subjects; and as he ſtill retained moſt of the groſſeſt Errors of Popery, and with them the perſecuting Spirit of that Church, they, who denied any of them, met with no better Treatment from the King, than they did from the Pope. And thus Matters continued in *England* during the whole Reign of *Henry* VIII. ——*Clement* left a great many Jewels in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, but very little Money.——He created, at different Times, Thirty-one Cardinals, but not one of that Number, except his Nephew *Hyppolitus de Medicis*, of his own ſpontaneous Choice. The Reſt he raiſed to that Dignity, againſt his Will, to gratify thoſe, who recommended them, eſpecially the Emperor and the King of *France*.——He was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*; but his Body was ſoon afterwards tranſlated by his Family to the Church of *St. Mary ſuper Minervam*, and being depoſited there, near the Remains of *Leo* X. his Couſin, a ſtately Monument of Marble was erected over it, which is to be ſeen to this Day.

CHARLES V. *Emperor.*

PAUL III.

The Two Hundred and Eighteenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Election of Paul III.

IN the Room of *Clement*, deceaſed on the 25th of *September*, was unanimouſly elected, on the 13th of *October*, by the Thirty-four Cardinals, who compoſed the Conclave, *Alexander Farneſe*, Cardinal Biſhop of *Oſtia*, who took the Name of *Paul* III. He was come of a noble and an ancient *Roman* Family, and is therefore ſaid to have been by Birth a *Roman*, though he was born at a Place in *Tuſcany*, called *Carino*, which his Anceſtors had long poſſeſſed. He ſtudied, in his Youth, at *Florence*, under the moſt famous Profeſſors of that Age invited thither by the *De Medicis*, great Encouragers of Learning, and had early diſtinguiſhed himſelf, above all his Fellow-Students, by

His Birth, Education, and Employments before his Promotion.

his

his Application and Proficiency in every Branch of polite Literature. Upon his Return to *Rome* he was made Apoſtolic Prothonotary by *Innocent* VIII. and by *Alexander* VI. preferred firſt to the Biſhopric of *Monteſiaſcone*, and ſoon afterwards, that is, in 1493, to the Dignity of Cardinal, being then but Twenty-ſix Years of Age. *Julius* II. tranſlated him to the Biſhopric of *Parma*, and *Leo* X. to that of *Tuſculum*, and he was, by his immediate Predeceſſor *Clement* VII. ſucceſſively appointed Biſhop of *Paleſtrina*, *Sabina*, *Porto* and *Oſtia* [g]. He was recommended to the Cardinals by the ſame Pope, on his Death-Bed, as the moſt worthy of the whole College to ſucceed him; and they readily concurred in his Election, as he was in the Sixty-ſeventh Year of his Age, and reputed to be of a bad Conſtitution, which Opinion he promoted with ſome Art [h]. Thus *Guicciardine*, who terminates his excellent Hiſtory of *Italy* with the Death of *Clement*, and the Election of *Paul*. Year of Chriſt 1534.

The new Pope was not, or, at leaſt, pretended not to be, ſo averſe to a General Council as his Predeceſſor. On the contrary, in a general Congregation of the Cardinals, held on the 16th of *October*, but Three Days after his Election, and before his Coronation, he named Commiſſioners to deliberate about the Time, the Place, and the Manner of Proceeding in the Council, with Orders to make their Report to him in the Firſt Conſiſtory after his Coronation. He was crowned on the 3d of *November*, and in the Firſt Conſiſtory, held on the 13th of the ſame Month, he appointed Six Cardinals and Three Biſhops to draw up a Plan for the Reformation of the Church in general, and of the Church of *Rome* in particular. At the ſame time he ſent for *Verger*, his Nuncio in *Germany*, and being informed by him, that nothing but a General Council could put an End to the Diſturbances, that continued to reign in moſt of the Provinces of the Empire, he remanded him with Orders to prevent a National Council from being convened in *Germany*, and propoſe the aſſembling of a General One at *Mantua*, to be opened in that City on the 27th of *May* of the following Year 1537. The Propoſal was agreed to by the Catholic Princes. But the Proteſtants at a Meeting at *Sma'cald*, conſiſting of Fifteen Princes, and Thirty Deputies of Imperial Cities, declared againſt a Council held any-where without the Borders of the Empire, and much more againſt

Not averſe to a General Council.

A Plan for the Reformation of Rules.

Mantua *named for the Place of the Council.* Year of Chriſt 1536.

[g] Onuph. in Paulo III. Pallavicin. Hiſt. Concil. Trid. l. 3. [h] Guicciard. l. 20.

One

Year of Chriſt 1536.

One held in *Italy*, and in a City ſubject to a Prince, whoſe Brother was a Cardinal. Beſides, the Duke of *Mantua* himſelf was not inclined to receive ſo many Gueſts at once, and ſome of them very turbulent ones, into the Place of his Reſidence, unleſs his Holineſs furniſhed him with a large Sum of Money to maintain a numerous Garriſon. That the Pope would not agree to, either on Account of the Expence, or becauſe he apprehended that the Proteſtants would take Occaſion from thence to pretend that the Council was not free [i].

But objected to by the Proteſtants.

The Council appointed to meet at Vicenza.

Year of Chriſt 1537.

The Deſign of aſſembling the Council at *Mantua* being thus laid aſide, the Pope, by a Bull, dated the 20th of *May* 1537, prorogued it till the Beginning of *November*, without naming the Place where it was to be held. But a Ten Months Truce being, in the mean time, concluded between the Emperor and the King of *France*, then at War for the Dutchy of *Milan*, claimed by both upon the Death of *Francis Sforza* the laſt Duke, the Pope, by a Bull of the 8th of *October* 1537, appointed the Council to meet at *Vicenza* on the 1ſt of *May* of the following Year. At the ſame time, to remove all Obſtacles to the Council, he undertook to negotiate, in Perſon, a Peace between the Emperor and the King, and, with that View, invited them to a perſonal Conference with him at *Nizza*. Both complied with the Invitation, and the Pope, who arrived at the appointed Place the firſt, received both with the greateſt Marks of Friendſhip and Eſteem, but could not prevail upon them to ſee and embrace one another. His Holineſs therefore, taking upon him the Office of Arbitrator, heard the Complaints, Demands, and Claims of both. But he found ſo many difficult and knotty Points to be determined, that laying aſide all Thoughts of a Peace, he propoſed a Ten Years Truce, and in the End perſuaded both Princes to agree to it. In the private Conferences, which the Pope had, on this Occaſion, with the Emperor, a Marriage Treaty, that had been ſome time on Foot, was at laſt concluded between *Octavius Farneſe*, the Pope's Nephew, and *Margaret*, the Emperor's natural Daughter, now a Widow, her Huſband, *Alexander de Medicis*, having been lately murdered by One of his own Family. The Pope, wholly intent upon aggrandizing his Family, propoſed a Match, in his Conferences with the King of *France*, between his Grand-daughter *Vittoria*, and the Duke of *Vendome*, One of the Princes of the

Interview between the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of France.

Year of Chriſt 1538.

[i] Father Paul. et Pallavicin. Hiſt. Concil. Trident.

Blood. But it was oppoſed by the other Princes, and the *French* Nobility in general. Some Writers tell us, that it was to promote theſe Marriages, and thus raiſe his Family, that the Pope propoſed an Interview with the Two Princes, thinking he ſhould better ſucceed therein by treating with them in Perſon, than by Nuncios, or Legates, and that the procuring of a Peace was but a Blind or mere Pretence. The Pope, on his Return from *Nizza*, was attended by the Emperor to *Genoa*, and from thence he proceeded, partly by Sea, partly by Land, to *Rome*. Soon after his Arrival there, he diſpatched Cardinal *De Medicis* with a grand Retinue to *Florence*, to attend Princeſs *Margaret* from thence to *Rome*. She made her public Entry into that City in the latter End of *October*, was received by the Pope, the Cardinals, and the *Roman* Nobility of both Sexes, with extraordinary Pomp and Magnificence, and the Nuptials were celebrated on the 3d of *November* [k]. Year of Chriſt 1538.

In the preſent Year 1538 was at laſt publiſhed the Bull of Excommunication againſt *Henry* VIII. It had been drawn up in 1535, on Occaſion of the Execution of Cardinal *Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, had been ſubmitted to the Judgment of the Cardinals, and approved by moſt of them in a full Conſiſtory. However the Pope, flattering himſelf that an Accommodation with *England* might ſtill be brought about, delayed the Publication of it till the preſent Year, when finding an Agreement with the King quite deſperate, he publiſhed it with the uſual Solemnity, and cauſed it to be ſet up on the Doors of all the chief Churches of *Rome*. By that Bull the King was deprived of his Kingdom, his Subjects were not only abſolved from their Oaths of Allegiance, but commanded to take Arms againſt him, and drive him from the Throne, the whole Kingdom was laid under an Interdict, all Treaties of Friendſhip or Commerce with him or his Subjects were declared null, his Kingdom was granted to any who ſhould invade it, and all were allowed to ſeize the Effects of ſuch of his Subjects as adhered to him, and enſlave their Perſons, *&c.* But theſe were all *Bruta Fulmina*; and the King, provoked beyond Meaſure at the Inſolence of the Pope, continued to perſecute, with more Severity than ever, all without Diſtinction, who refuſed to renounce the Papal Supremacy, and acknowlege his own [l]. Henry VIII. *excommunicated.*

[k] Jovius Hiſt. l. 37. Onuph. ex Paulo III. Ciaconius, tom. 3. Valer. Paul Pallavicin. Hiſt. Concil. Trident. Sanders de Schiſ. l. 1.

[l] Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. l. 3. Pallavicin. l. 4.

In

Year of Chriſt 1538.

Diets held in Germany *for reconciling the Religious Differences.*

In the mean time ſeveral Diets were held in *Germany* to terminate the religious Diſputes, and the Diviſions ariſing from them among the Members of the Empire, at a Time when they ought all to unite againſt their common Enemy, who had again invaded *Hungary* with a formidable Army, and even reduced the ſtrong City of *Buda*. But in thoſe Diets nothing could be concluded on Account of the Oppoſition they met with from the Pope's Legates, pretending that all religious Diſputes ought to be determined by his Holineſs alone, or by his Holineſs and a General Council. In a Diet, held at *Ratiſbon* in *March* 1541, at which the Emperor aſſiſted in Perſon, and all the Princes of the Empire either in Perſon, or by Proxy, great Advances were made towards an Union of the Two Parties. But the Pope's Legate, Cardinal *Contarini*, objecting to ſome of the Articles, that both Parties were inclined to agree to, the Diet was divided; and upon that Diviſion the Emperor concluded, that the final Deciſion of their Debates ought to be referred to a General Council, or if a General Council could not be ſo ſoon obtained, to a National One, or to the next Diet of the Empire. He added, that he ſhould, in a very ſhort Time, go into *Italy*, ſhould preſs the Pope to convoke, without Delay, the ſo often promiſed Council, and if its Meeting ſhould be prevented by any unforeſeen Obſtacles, he ſhould, within the Space of Eighteen Months, aſſemble a General Diet for finally determining all Diſputes. He forbad the Proteſtant Princes to ſollicit any, in the mean time, who were not their Subjects, to embrace their Religion. But as he ſtood in great Need of their Aſſiſtance againſt the *Turk*, he gave them Leave to receive all, who ſhould unſollicited, and of their own Accord, chuſe their Religion, and ſuſpended all Proſecutions in the Imperial Chamber againſt thoſe of their Perſuaſion [m].

Interview of the Pope and the Emperor at Lucca.

The Diet broke up on the 28th of *July*, and the Emperor ſoon afterwards ſet out for *Italy*, in order to proceed from thence upon his intended Expedition againſt *Algiers*. The Pope met him at *Lucca*, as it had been agreed before-hand between them. They had ſeveral Conferences and Conſultations concerning the ſo much wanted General Council, and the War againſt the *Turks*, threatening *Germany* itſelf with an Invaſion. On this Occaſion the Pope informed the Emperor, that the *Venetians* would not ſuffer the Council, which he had ap-

[m] Father Paul et Pallavicin. Hiſt. Concil. Trident. l. 1.

pointed to meet at *Vicenza*, to be held in that City, or in any other of their Dominions, alleging, that a Peace having been lately concluded between them and *Solyman*, they apprehended, that the Meeting of a Council in One of their Towns for uniting the Chriſtian Princes in a Confederacy againſt him, would be looked upon by that Prince as a Breach of the Peace, and bring on a new War, which they were in no Condition to ſupport. The Pope, after complaining to the Emperor of this Diſappointment, which obliged him to put off the Meeting of the Council to a farther Day, aſſured his Imperial Majeſty, that upon his Return to *Rome* he ſhould, before all Things, ſettle, with the Advice of the Cardinals, the Time when, and the Place where, it ſhould aſſemble, and ſend immediately Notice thereof to his Majeſty, as well as to the other Chriſtian Princes [n].

Year of Chriſt 1541.

In the Beginning of the following Year 1542, a Diet was held at *Spire*, *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, preſiding at it in the Abſence of the Emperor. To this Aſſembly was ſent by the Pope *John Morone*, Biſhop of *Modena*, with Orders to declare, that his Holineſs, mindful of the Promiſe he had made to the Emperor and the *German* Nation, was determined to aſſemble a General Council, and that *Trent*, upon the Borders of *Germany* and *Italy*, ſhould be the Place of its Meeting, if the Diet had no Objection to that City. *Ferdinand*, and the Princes of the Popiſh Party, agreed to the Propoſal. But the Proteſtant Princes objected both againſt a Council ſummoned by the Pope, who had no Authority of ſummoning One, but what he had uſurped by encroaching upon the Rights of the Emperor, and againſt the Place appointed for its Meeting, as being too near to *Italy*, and rather in *Italy* than in *Germany*. They added, that the Pope, in his Bull of 1536, ſummoning the Council to meet at *Mantua*, had made himſelf a Party, openly profeſſing, that he convoked it, to root out the *Lutheran* Hereſy, and conſequently that they could not, in Juſtice, be required to acknowlege him for a lawful Judge, nor to countenance, with their Preſence, a Council, called on Purpoſe to condemn them. However, the Pope, paying no Regard to their Remonſtrances, by a Bull, dated the 22d of *May*, appointed the Council to meet at *Trent* on the 1ſt Day of the enſuing *November*, commanded all the Biſhops to repair to it, and earneſtly entreated the Emperor, the moſt Chriſtian

The Council appointed to meet at Trent.

Year of Chriſt 1542.

The Proteſtants object both to the Council and the Place.

[n] Iidem.

Year of Chriſt 1542.

King, and the other Kings and Princes, to attend it in Perſon, or ſend proper Perſons to repreſent them, and aſſiſt at it in their Room. He ſent ſoon afterwards the Three Cardinals, *Peter Paul Pariſio*, *John Morone*, and *Reginald Pole*, to preſide at the Council, and open it, when they ſhould think proper; but they were to proceed to no publick Act without giving previouſly Notice thereof to his Holineſs. The Emperor immediately diſpatched to *Trent John Mendoza*, *Nicholas Granvelle*, and his Son the Biſhop of *Arras*, with the Character of his Embaſſadors, to repreſent him at the Council. They preſſed the Legates, in the Emperor's Name, to open the Council without Delay. But, as very few Biſhops were yet come, and the War between the Emperor and the King of *France* prevented others from coming, the Legates, after waiting ſome Time, in vain, for a ſufficient Number of Biſhops to compoſe a General Council, retired from *Trent*, and the Pope, by a Bull, dated the 6th of *July* 1543, put off the Meeting of the Council to a farther Day [o].

Legates ſent to preſide at the Council.

Which is put off to a farther Day.

Interview of the Pope and the Emperor at Buſſeto.

Year of Chriſt 1543.

The following Year the Pope being informed, that the Emperor intended to paſs through *Italy* in his Way from *Spain* to *Germany*, his Holineſs reſolved to lay hold of that Opportunity to have a perſonal Conference with him. Accordingly, he ſet out from *Rome* on the 26th of *February* 1543, and having, notwithſtanding his advanced Age and the Severity of the Seaſon, viſited moſt of the Cities of the Eccleſiaſtical State, he repaired to *Bologna*, to wait there till he heard of the Emperor's Arrival. *Charles* landed at *Genoa* on the 26th of *May*, which the Pope no ſooner underſtood, than he diſpatched, in all Haſte, *Octavius Farneſe*, his Grand-Son, who had married the Emperor's Daughter, as has been ſaid above, to congratulate his Imperial Majeſty upon his ſafe Arrival, and at the ſame time to propoſe a Conference between him and his Holineſs upon Affairs of the utmoſt Importance to both. To that Propoſal the Emperor returned Anſwer, that he well knew, that his Holineſs's only Buſineſs was to mediate a Peace between him and the King of *France*, but that he was determined to hearken to no Terms of Accommodation with One, who had made it his Buſineſs to croſs all his Deſigns, partly by open Force, and partly by Treachery, had ſeduced ſeveral of the *German* Princes from the Obedience they owed him, as the Head of the Empire, and

[o] F. Paul, ubi ſupra. Bulla Pauli in Sleidan, l. 14. Concil. Labbe, tom. 14.

had

had even entered into a Confederacy with the *Grand Turk* againſt him, to the great Diſgrace of the Chriſtian Name. *Charles*, however, was afterwards, with great Difficulty, prevailed upon by Cardinal *Alexander Farneſe*, another of the Pope's Grand-Children, to conſent to the propoſed Interview; and it was agreed, that the Pope ſhould meet him at *Buſſeto*, a ſmall Town between *Parma* and *Piacenza*, through which he was to paſs in his Way to *Germany*. At that Place the Pope arrived on the 21ſt of *June*, and the Emperor the Day following; they both lodged in the ſame Caſtle, and ſpent in private Conferences the Three Days the Emperor continued there. The Pope pretended, when he left *Rome*, that it was only to mediate a Peace between the Emperor and the King of *France*, and thus remove all Obſtacles to the Council, that he undertook, in the Depth of Winter, ſo long and ſo fatiguing a Journey. That the Emperor himſelf, it ſeems, believed. But it ſoon appeared that his Holineſs had ſomething elſe in View, and much more at Heart, the aggrandizing of his Family. For knowing that the Emperor ſtood in great Want of Money to carry on the War againſt *France*, the Firſt Thing he propoſed to him was his diſpoſing of the Dutchy of *Milan*, which he offered to purchaſe for *Octavius Farneſe*, his own Grand-Son, and the Emperor's Son-in-Law. He engaged to pay him for it 150000 Ducats, to enter into an Alliance with him againſt *France*, to create a certain Number of Cardinals at his Nomination, and to leave him in Poſſeſſion of the Caſtles of *Milan* and *Cremona*. But the Emperor demanding a much larger Sum, and *Coſmus*, Duke of *Florence*, offering, at the ſame time, to ſupply him with 200000 Ducats, upon Condition that he withdrew all his Garriſons out of the Caſtles and Strong-Holds of that State, he cloſed with him. The Pope, finding his Ambition thus diſappointed, began to treat with the Emperor of a Reconciliation with *France*, leſt it ſhould be thought, that it was only to promote the Grandeur of his Family, that he had given himſelf ſo much Trouble, and had undertaken ſo long a Journey. But the Emperor broke off the Conference abruptly, declaring that it was not conſiſtent with his Dignity to conclude either a Peace, or a Truce with ſo perfidious an Enemy, till he had fully revenged the many unpardonable Injuries, which he had received at his Hands [p].

Year of Chriſt 1543.

The Subject of their Conferences.

[p] F. Paul Concil. Trident. l. 2. Pallavicin. l. 3. Onuph. in Paulo III.

Year of Chriſt 1544. *Diet of* Spire.

The following Year a Diet was held at *Spire*, at which the Emperor, his Brother *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, the Seven Electors, and moſt of the Princes of the Empire aſſiſted in Perſon. It met on the 20th of *February*, and ſat till the 10th of *June*. As the Emperor had called it to procure extraordinary Supplies from the Proteſtant, as well as the *Roman* Catholic Princes, againſt the victorious *Solyman*, he gave his Aſſent, contrary to all Expectation, to the following Reſolutions, highly favourable to the Cauſe of the former: I. That the Proteſtant as well as the Catholic Churches ſhould enjoy their Revenues quite undiſturbed. II. That the Judges of the Imperial Chamber, which is the ſupreme Court in *Germany*, ſhould conſiſt of an equal Number of Catholics and Proteſtants. III. That no Man ſhould be moleſted on Account of his Religion, but all Proſecutions, on that Score, be ſuſpended till the Meeting of a General Council; which was granting, in the mean time, to all Liberty of Conſcience. Theſe Reſolutions were, as we may well imagine, highly diſpleaſing to the Pope; and they were no ſooner communicated to him, than he wrote to the Emperor, reproaching him, in very ſharp Terms, with betraying the Cauſe of the Church, and even threatening to employ againſt him the Arms, that Chriſt had put into his Hands as his Vicar upon Earth. This Brief, or Letter, the Emperor anſwered with great Temper; and having concluded a Peace with the King of *France* at *Creſpi* in *Valois* on the 14th of *September* of the preſent Year, he acquainted his Holineſs therewith, begging, in the King's Name, as well as his own, that, as there were now no Wars to prevent the Meeting of the Council, he would aſſemble it without Delay, and begin with reforming the Abuſes, that had given Occaſion to the preſent Diſputes and Diviſions. The Pope, though not a little mortified at the Peace being made without his Interpoſition, and even without his Knowlege, expreſſed great Joy at ſo happy an Event, and by a Bull of the 19th of *November* of the preſent Year, appointed anew the Council to meet at *Trent* on the 15th of *March* of the following Year. On the 6th of *February* 1545 he named the Legates, who were to preſide at it in his Name, *viz. John Maria del Monte*, Cardinal Biſhop of *Paleſtrina*, *Marcellus Cervini*, Cardinal Preſbyter of the *Holy Croſs*, and *Reginald Pole*, Cardinal Deacon of *St. Mary in Coſmedin*. They repaired immediately to *Trent*. But the Opening of the Council was, for ſeveral Reaſons,

Reſolutions of the Diet favourable to the Proteſtants.

The Council appointed anew to meet at Trent.

Reaſons, put off from the 15th of *March* to the 6th of *May*, and again from the 6th of *May* to the 13th of *December*. On the 11th of that Month arrived, at laſt, a Meſſenger from *Rome* with a Bull, dated the 4th, ordering the Legates to open the Council at the Time laſt appointed, the 13th of *December*. It was, accordingly, opened on that Day, though no more than Twenty-five Biſhops were yet come, and they either *Spaniards* or *Italians*. However, the Legates, attended by them in their Pontifical Habits, by the Clergy of the Place, by the Religious, and an immenſe Crowd of People, walked in ſolemn Proceſſion from the Church of the Trinity to the Cathedral, where the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt was ſung by the Firſt Legate, and a Sermon was preached by *Cornelius Muſſo*, Biſhop of *Bitonto*, One of the moſt celebrated Preachers of his Time, upon the Words of the Epiſtle of the Day, *Rejoice in the Lord alway; and again I ſay rejoice*, (Philip. iv. 4.) adding the following Words to them from the Second Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, Chap. vi. 2. *Behold, now is the accepted Time; behold, now is the Day of Salvation.* When he had done, the Fathers took their Places, and the Council began.——As a Detail of the Tranſactions of this Council would prove a long and a tedious Work too, and they have been related, with great Care and Exactneſs, by ſeveral eminent Writers both Popiſh and Proteſtant, eſpecially by the celebrated Father *Paul Soave*, in his well known Hiſtory, I ſhall refer the curious Reader to them, and only obſerve here, that all Things were determined in that Aſſembly by the arbitrary Will of the Pope; that the propoſing of all Matters to be treated of was reſerved to his Legates; that they propoſed nothing, till they had ſent to *Rome* to know his Holineſs's Pleaſure, and received his Directions, whence Couriers were ſeen flying conſtantly backwards and forwards between *Trent* and *Rome*, which gave Occaſion to the famous Sarcaſm of the Cloak Bag; that in all controverted Points the Pope was ſure of a Majority, the *Italian* Biſhops, who ſurpaſſed in Number thoſe of all other Nations together, being either his Dependents, or Penſioners: In ſhort, from the whole Conduct of the Fathers of *Trent* it manifeſtly appears, that they were but the Tools of the Pope, and conſequently, that the Decrees they iſſued ought no more to be received as an ultimate Rule of Faith, than if they had been iſſued by him alone [m].

Year of Chriſt 1545. *Is opened in that City.*

Entirely regulated by the Will of the Pope.

[m] F. Paul. l. 2.

While

Year of Chriſt 1545. While the Fathers at *Trent* thundered out their Anathemas againſt all, who received not their Decrees, and, on the other hand, the Proteſtant Princes, aſſembled in a Diet at *Ratiſbon*, proteſted againſt their Authority, the Pope and the Emperor entered privately into a Confederacy againſt them, in order to cruſh them by a ſudden Blow, and thus put an End, by Dint of Arms, to the Diſputes, that could not be decided by Force of Argument. By virtue of this League or Confederacy, the Pope was to furniſh the Emperor with 12000 *Italian* Foot and 500 Horſe, to pay him, at Two different Payments, 200,000 Ducats, and grant him One half of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues of *Spain*, during the Courſe of the preſent Year 1546. With this Supply of Men and Money the Emperor was enabled to take the Field early next Spring. But the Proteſtants, whom he intended to have ſurprized, having received timely Intelligence of his Deſign, appeared in the Field, as early as he, under the Command of *John Frederic*, Elector of *Saxony*, and *Philip*, Landgrave of *Heſſe*. The Two Armies engaged on the 24th of *April*, when that of the Elector and the Landgrave was entirely defeated, and both were made Priſoners. Had the Pope and the Emperor improved this Advantage, they might have either entirely ruined the Cauſe of the Reformation, or greatly retarded its Progreſs [m]. But the Pope, jealous of the growing Power of the Emperor, and apprehending that, ſhould he get the better of the Proteſtants, his Ambition would tempt him to carry his victorious Arms into *Italy*, not only recalled the Eccleſiaſtical Troops, under various Pretences, from his Army, and with-held the ſtipulated Subſidies, but entered into a Confederacy with the new King of *France*, *Henry* II. againſt him. *Charles*, provoked beyond Meaſure at the Perfidiouſneſs of the Pope, as he ſtiled it, at his thus preferring his private Intereſts to thoſe of the Church, and the Indifference he ſhewed with reſpect to the religious Diſputes, that divided the whole Empire, reſolved to compoſe thoſe Differences by his own Authority, quite independent of that of the Pope or his See. Accordingly he appointed a Diet to meet at *Augſburg* on the 1ſt of *September* of the preſent Year, and aſſiſting at it in Perſon with his victorious Army at hand, he propoſed the ſettling of ſome Articles, which all, Proteſtants as well as Catholics, ſhould agree to, and Peace thus be maintained in religious Matters, till all their Dif-

Confederacy formed by the Pope and the Emperor againſt the Proteſtants.

Year of Chriſt 1546.

The Proteſtants entirely defeated.

Year of Chriſt 1547.

The Pope enters into a Confederacy with France *againſt the Emperor.*

Diet of Augſburg.

[m] Idem ibid. Sleidan. l. 17.

ferences were, by ſome other Means, finally determined. *Julius Pelagius*, Biſhop of *Naumburg*, *Michael Sidonius*, and *John Agricola*, a *Lutheran*, were charged with the drawing up of thoſe Articles. As the Articles, or Formulary, drawn up by them, was to ſerve, not as a permanent, but only as a temporary Rule of Faith and Worſhip to both Parties, it was called the *Interim*. It contained all the eſſential Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, but artfully ſoftened, and in a Manner diſguiſed; and it was therefore diſapproved and rejected by the Proteſtant Party. However it was, by the Emperor's Command, publiſhed with great Solemnity, and all were enjoined, upon the moſt grievous Penalties, to conform, in Practice, to this Imperial Creed; which produced in *Germany* moſt deplorable Scenes of Violence and Bloodſhed. As by this Formulary all were left at Liberty to uſe the Cup, or abſtain from it, and the Clergy were allowed to embrace a State of Marriage, or a State of Celibacy, as they ſhould think fit, it was no better received by the Popiſh, than it was by the Proteſtant Party. The Pope, highly offended at the Emperor's taking upon him to preſcribe Laws, by his own Authority, concerning the Doctrine or the Diſcipline of the Church, and looking upon ſuch an Attempt as derogatory, in the higheſt Degree, to the Majeſty of the Pontificate, condemned the *Interim* in the ſtrongeſt Terms, and would have proceeded to Extremities againſt the Emperor himſelf, had not the Cardinals wiſely interpoſed, putting his Holineſs in Mind of the dreadful Conſequences, that had lately attended the too haſty Proceedings of his Predeceſſor againſt the King of *England* [n].

Year of Chriſt 1547.

The famous INTERIM.

Diſpleaſing both to the Papiſts and Proteſtants.

The Miſunderſtanding Petween the Pope and the Emperor was greatly heightened the enſuing Year on the following Occaſion. The Pope had ever ſince the Year 1545 inveſted his natural Son, *Pier-Luigi Farneſe*, with the Dutchies of *Parma* and *Piaenza*, though both were unqueſtionably Imperial Fiefs. But the new Duke having, by his unheard-of Debauchery and tyrannical Government, incurred the Deteſtation and Hatred of all his Subjects, he was by them aſſaſſinated in his City of *Piacenza* on the 10th of *September* of the preſent Year. As *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, Governor of *Milan* for the Emperor, had advanced with a Body of Troops into the Neighbourhood of *Piacenza* a little before the Conſpiracy was executed, and had ſeized on that City

Pier-Luigi *the Pope's natural Son murdered.*

Year of Chriſt 1548.

[n] F. Paul et Sleidan. ibid. Oſiander. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3.

in

Year of Christ 1548. in his Master's Name, as soon as it took place, the Pope concluded the Emperor to have been privy to the Murder, and, bent on revenging it at all Events, he dispatched immediately a Nuncio into *France*, to treat with that King of an Alliance against him. But being, in the mean time, seized with a violent Fever, occasioned by his excessive Grief and Concern for the Death of his Son, and the Loss of *Piacenza*, he died of it the fifth Day, the 10th of *November* 1549, in the Eighty-second Year of his Age, when he had held the See Fifteen Years and Twenty-eight Days. His Body was carried from the Palace of *Monte Cavallo*, where he usually resided, to the Church of *St. Peter*, and interred with the usual Solemnity [o].

Paul III. *dies.*

Year of Christ 1549.

His Character.

The Character of this Pope has given Occasion to much Debate, even in our Days, between Cardinal *Quirini*, and *Schelhorn*, *Kieling*, and others. The Cardinal, in a Piece under the Title of *Imago optimi Pontificis expressa in gestis Pauli III.* paints him as a Prince of great Merit and Probity, while the Two learned Authors, just mentioned, represent him as a perfidious Politician, without either Faith or Conscience, as one wholly intent upon raising his Family, and ever ready to sacrifice the Good of the Church to the Grandeur and Interests of his unnatural Brood [p]; and they advance nothing but what they prove with incontestable Facts. *Paul* had an unnatural Son, *Pier-Luigi Farnese*, whom he created Duke of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, as has been said, and an unnatural Daughter, named *Constantia*, who was married into the *Sforza* Family; and their Offspring, *Alexander Farnese* and *Guido Ascanius Sforza*, he created Cardinals soon after his Election, though they had scarce yet attained to the Years of Discretion. The numerous Tribe of his other Grand-children, and all, who were, at what Distance soever, related to him, he took Care to prefer and enrich, either at the Expence of the Church or the State.——He created, at different Promotions, no fewer than Seventy-one Cardinals; a far greater Number than had been ever yet preferred to that Dignity by any Pope, and he had Four of them for his immediate Successors, *viz.* *Julius* III. *Marcellus* II. *Paul* IV. and *Pius* IV.———In this Pope's Time was founded the Order of *Jesuits* by *Innigo* or *Ignatius* of *Loyola*, a Native of the Province of *Guipuscoa* in *Spain*, who, being a

The Order of Jesuits *founded in his Time.*

[o] Onuph. in vit. Pauli III. Ciaconius, Pallavicin. &c. et Kieling. Ep. de Gestis Pauli III.

[p] See Schelhorn, Ep. 2.

Soldier,

Soldier, gave it the Military Name of *The Company of Jeſus*, and from thence they are called *Jeſuits*. To the Three Vows of Poverty, Chaſtity, and Obedience, common to all religious Orders, they add a Fourth, that of implicit, blind, and unlimited Submiſſion to the Pope; and thus are they at his abſolute Diſpoſal, always ready, at a Moment's Warning, to repair to what Part of the World he ſhall think fit to ſend them. The preſent Pope, *Paul* III. confirmed their Order by a Bull, dated the 27th of *September* 1540, but upon Condition that it ſhould not exceed the Number of Sixty Perſons. This Reſtraint the ſame Pope took off by a Second Bull, of the 14th of *March* 1543, leaving them at Liberty to admit as many as they pleaſed. Thus they became in the Space of 136 Years a very numerous and formidable Body. For in 1543 the whole Order conſiſted of no more than 80 Perſons, and in 1675, when their laſt Catalogue was printed at *Rome*, they were increaſed to the Number of 17,655, and are ſuppoſed to be, at this Time, in all about 20,000. It may be ſaid with Truth, that this Order alone has contributed more, than all the other Orders together, to confirm the wavering Nations in the Faith of *Rome*, to ſupport the tottering Authority of the High Pontiff, to check the Progreſs of the Reformation, and to make Amends for the Loſſes their Holineſſes had ſuſtained in *Europe*, by propagating the Goſpel, and with it a blind Submiſſion to the Holy See, among the *African*, *American*, and *Indian* Infidels. The *Jeſuits* are hated by moſt other Orders, eſpecially by the *Benedictines* and the *Dominicans*; by the former, becauſe they have been enriched at their Expence; by the latter, for ſupplanting them, and engroſſing to themſelves the Favour and Confidence of Sovereign Princes: For till the Inſtitution of this artful and inſinuating Order, the *Dominicans* alone directed the Conſciences of all the Kings and Princes of *Europe*.——In the Pontificate of *Paul* III. and at his Inſtigation, the Emperor attempted to introduce the Inquiſition, which he had eſtabliſhed in his *Spaniſh* Dominions, into the Kingdom of *Naples*. But the *Neapolitans* of all Ranks and Conditions flying to Arms upon the firſt Steps that were taken towards the Execution of ſuch a Deſign, obliged the Viceroy, Don *Pedro di Toledon*, to drive out of *Naples* all, who belonged to that bloody Tribunal. The ſame Attempt was made by the Court of *Rome* during the Reigns of *Philip* III. *Philip* IV. *Charles* II. and *Charles* VI. But it was always oppoſed with the ſame

Year of Chriſt 1549. *Some Account of that famous Order.*

Paul III. *attempts in vain to introduce the Inquiſition into the Kingdom of* Naples.

Year of Christ 1549.

Reſolution and Vigour; and the Kingdom of *Naples* is the only State in *Italy*, where the Inquiſition has not, to this Day, got the leaſt Footing, all Cauſes, relating to Faith, being tried there by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, agreeably to an Edict of the Emperor *Charles* VI. dated at *Barcelona* the 15th of *September* 1709 y.——*Paul* III. is ſaid by *Onuphrius* to have been well verſed in moſt Branches of Literature, and a generous Encourager of Learning. He wrote a Comment upon *Cicero's Epiſtles to Atticus* before his Promotion to the Pontificate, and after it ſome Letters, in a polite *Latin* Stile, to his particular Friend.——In the Firſt Year of his Pontificate he laid the Foundation of the ſumptuous Building in *Rome*, called the *Palazzo Farneſe*, one of the moſt ſtately Edifices in all *Europe*. It was begun by *Antonio Gallo*, a celebrated Architect, and finiſhed by the famous *Michael Angelo Buonarota*.

JULIUS III. *the 219th Biſhop of* Rome.

Paul III. died, as has been ſaid, on the 10th of *November*. But the Cardinals, waiting for ſome of their abſent Brethren, did not enter the Conclave till the 28th of that Month. As they were divided into Three Parties or Factions, the Imperial, the *French*, and the *Farneſe*, conſiſting of the Creatures of the late Pope, the Election was prolonged till the 7th of *February* 1550, when at length they united in the Perſon of *John-Maria Giocci*, who took the Name of *JULIUS* III. and was crowned on the 22d of the ſame Month with the uſual Solemnity. He was a Native of *Rome*; but as his Family came originally from *Monte Sanſavino* in *Tuſcany*, he changed the Name of *Giocci* for that of *del Monte*. He was created Cardinal by *Paul* III. in 1536, and having acquired, in ſundry Legations, the Reputation of a Man of great Application and uncommon Abilities, he was choſen by the ſame Pope in 1545 to preſide, as his Firſt Legate, at the Council of *Trent*.

His Election. Year of Chriſt 1550.

Greates his Monkey-keeper a Cardinal.

——*Julius* was ſcarce warm in the Papal Chair, when, to the great Aſtoniſhment of all, he preferred a Boy, named *Innocent*, to the Dignity of Cardinal, though he was come of the very Scum of the People, and had no other Employment in his Family but that of his Monkey-keeper. Such a Promotion was looked upon by the Cardinals as a groſs Affront offered to them. But when they complained to his Holineſs of his introducing ſo unworthy a Member into the ſacred College, One quite

y Giannoni Hiſt. Civil di Napoli, lib. 32. c. 5. ſect. 2 et 3.

deſtitute

deſtitute of all Virtue, Learning, and Merit, he confounded and ſilenced them, aſking *what Virtue or Merit they had found in him that could have induced them to prefer him to the Pontifical Chair?* His extraordinary and unaccountable Kindneſs to ſo mean and ſo deſpicable a Perſon gave juſt Grounds to ſuſpect, that he was kept by the Holy Father for other Uſes, than that to look after his Monkies [a].——*Paul* III. had removed the Council from *Trent*, where the Plague broke out, or was ſaid to have broken out, to *Bologna*. But *Julius*, at the preſſing Inſtances of the Emperor, ordered the Fathers to return to *Trent*; and the Council was there opened a Second Time on the 1ſt of *May* 1551. But the War, that was kindled in *Germany* the following Year, between the Emperor and *Maurice*, Elector of *Saxony*, afforded the Pope a plauſible Pretence for ſuſpending it; and he ſuſpended it, accordingly, for the Space of Ten Years. And now *Julius*, delivered, for the preſent, from the Apprehenſions he was under from the Council, abandoned himſelf wholly to his Diverſions and Pleaſures, rioting and feaſting in his Gardens with ſome ſelect Friends, Men of the ſame Stamp with himſelf. This indolent and voluptuous Life he continued to lead till Death put an End to it; which happened on the 23d of *March* 1555, when he had held the See Five Years One Month and Sixteen Days. He left behind him a moſt infamous Character, branded with the moſt flagrant Debauchery, with the Sin againſt Nature, and Blaſphemy.

Year of Chriſt 1549.

His Death, Year of Chriſt 1555.

His Character.

In the Room of *Julius* III. was elected, on the 5th of *April*, and crowned the next Day, *Marcellus Cervini*, Cardinal Preſbyter of the *Holy Croſs in Jeruſalem*, who changed not his Name, but called himſelf *MARCELLUS* II. He was a Native of *Fano*, or *Monte Fano*, in the *March of Ancona*, was created Cardinal by *Paul* III. in 1536, and appointed to preſide at the Council of *Trent* with the Two Cardinals mentioned above. He is ſaid to have been a Man of an irreproachable Character, of invincible Reſolution and Conſtancy, and to have formed great Deſigns with reſpect to the Reformation of the Court and the Clergy. But Death prevented him from carrying them into Execution. He died on the 1ſt Day of *May*, the Twenty-firſt of his Pontificate [b].

MARCELLUS II. *the 220th Biſhop of* Rome.

His Death and Character.

[a] Thuan. l. 6. et 15. Sleidan Hiſt. l. 21. Hottinger Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 5. [b] F. Paul l. 5. Burnet Hiſt. of the Reform. l. 11. Spond. ad ann. 1555. Polliodar in vita Marcelli II.

Year of Chriſt 1555. On the 23d of *May* was choſen, and crowned on the 26th of the ſame Month, *John-Peter Caraffa*, come of a noble Family of *Naples*, and formerly Archbiſhop of that City, but, at the Time of his Election, Cardinal Biſhop of *Oſtia*. He was created Cardinal by *Paul* III. in 1536, and, to ſhow his Gratitude, aſſumed the Name of his Benefactor, ſtiling himſelf *PAUL* IV.——Nothing could equal the Pride and Arrogance of this haughty and impetuous Pope. In the very Beginning of his Pontificate he quarrelled both with the Emperor, and his Brother *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, on Account of the *Religious Peace*, as it is commonly called, concluded on the 25th of *September* of the preſent Year 1555, in the famous Diet of *Augsburg*. For by the Articles of that Peace the Subjects of the Empire were allowed to judge for themſelves in Matters of Religion, and full Liberty was granted to all to conform to that Church which they thought the pureſt, and the moſt agreeable to the true Spirit of Chriſtianity [c]. This Peace, and the Protection granted, by the Duke of *Alva*, Viceroy of *Naples*, to the *Colonna* Family, which this furious Pope had reſolved to extirpate, provoked him to ſuch a Degree, that he invited the *French* to the Conqueſt of *Naples*, and aſſiſted them, in that Undertaking, with all the Forces of the Church. But the Two famous Victories gained over the *French* at *St. Quintin* and *Gravelines*, obliged their King to recall his Troops out of *Italy*, and the Pope to conclude a diſadvantageous and diſhonourable Peace [d]. In 1557 and 1558 *Paul* quarrelled at the ſame time with his Ally *Henry* II. of *France*, and with *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, with the former, for ſomewhat abating the Perſecution againſt his Proteſtant Subjects, with the latter for accepting without his Conſent the Imperial Crown, reſigned to him, with the Approbation of the Electoral College, by *Charles* his Brother.——This Pope, in the cloſe of his Life, gave a remarkable Inſtance of his Severity in puniſhing Crimes without Diſtinction of Perſons. For being made acquainted with the many Enormities, of which his Nephews, Cardinal *Caraffa*, the Duke of *Pagliano*, and the Marquis of *Montebello* were guilty, he turned them out of their Employments, drove them from *Rome*, with their whole Families, and forbad them, upon

PAUL IV. *the* 221*ſt Biſhop of* Rome.

Quarrels with the Emperor and Ferdinand, *and why.*

Invites the French *to the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of* Naples.

His Severity towards his Nephews. His Death.

Year of Chriſt 1559.

[c] Moſheim, l. 4. c. 4, ſect. 1. Hiſt. Civil di Napoli, l. 33. c. 1.

[d] Thuan. l. 27. Mezerai, tom. 4. Giannon. in

Pain

Pain of Death, ever again to ſet Foot in that City [e]. He died on the 18th of *Auguſt* 1559, when he had lived Eighty-three Years, and governed the Church Four Years Two Months and Twenty-ſeven Days. Year of Chriſt 1559.

I find nothing laid to the Charge of this Pope but an exceſſive Severity, and a Zeal, at this Time very unſeaſonable, to aſſert the uſurped Prerogatives and Claims of his See. He was univerſally hated by the People of *Rome*; and they no ſooner heard, that his Recovery was deſpaired of, than they roſe in a tumultuous Manner, and flying to the Capitol, ſtruck off the Head of a Statue erected to him there but Three Months before, dragged it with a thouſand Inſults through all the public Streets of the City, and even applauded with loud Acclamations a *Jew*, who had the Boldneſs to put upon the Head of the Statue the yellow Hat, which this Pope had ordered all of that Nation to wear, and they wear it to this Day throughout the whole State of the Church. The Populace having thus vented their Rage upon the Statue, crowded to the Priſon of the Inquiſition, broke open the Doors, releaſed 1700 Priſoners, only requiring them to ſwear that they were good Catholics, and then ſet fire to the Building, which ſoon reduced it to Aſhes with all the Proceſſes, Papers, and Records of that Court. They did not ſtop here, but ſpreading themſelves all over the City, broke or defaced every Monument bearing the Name of *Caraffa*, or the Arms of that Family [f]. The mutilated Statue being accidentally found, and dug up in 1708, *Clement* XI. then Pope, cauſed it to be reſtored, and placed again in the Capitol with the following Inſcription on the Pedaſtal.

His Character.

Hated by the Roman People, and inſulted after his Death.

Paulo IV. Pont. Max.
Sceterum. Vindici integerrimo
Catholicæ Fidei acerrimo Propugnatori
Statuam olim a S. P. R. in Capitolio erectam
Ac diu obſcuro loco jacentem
Clemens XI. Pont. Max.
Reſtitui juſſit
Ann. Salut. MDCCVIII.

[e] Magius, et Caraccius in vit. Paul. IV. F. Paul et Pallavicin. Hiſt. Concil. Trident.
[f] Thuanus, l. 23. F. Paul. Hiſt. l. 5. Mezerai, tom. 5.

The

Year of Christ 1559.

PIUS IV. *the 222d Bishop of* Rome.

His Election.

Year of Christ 1560.

The Death of *Paul* IV. was followed by a Vacancy of Four Months and Seven Days, occasioned by the Intrigues of the different Parties. But on the 28th of *December* they all unanimously concurred in the Election of *John-Angelo de Medicis*, Cardinal Presbyter of *St. Prisca*, who was crowned on the 6th of the following *January* 1560, and called himself PIUS IV. He was a Native of *Milan*, come of a Family remotely, if at all, related to the illustrious Family reigning at *Florence*, was created Cardinal by *Paul* III. in 1549, and had acquired under that Pope and his Successor the Reputation of a Man of great Parts, and no less Integrity. He began his Pontificate with granting a general Pardon to all, who had been concerned in the late Riot. But so many and so enormous were the Crimes laid to the Charge of the deceased Pope's Nephews, that he could not help calling them to an Account. They were accordingly tried, and, being found guilty, condemned to forfeit their Lives as well as their ill-acquired Wealth. The Cardinal was strangled, and his Two Brothers, the Duke of *Pagliano* and the Marquis of *Monte-bello*, were beheaded, with several other Persons of Rank, their Accomplices g.——In the Conclave the Cardinals had laid an Obligation on the future Pope to restore the Council, which had been suspended, as has been said above. With this Obligation the Pope was no ways inclined to comply; but not being able to withstand the pressing Instances of the new Emperor *Ferdinand*, of the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and most other Catholic States, he took off the Suspension, and the Council was opened, or rather began to be continued, on the 18th of *January* 1562, and sat from that Time till the 3d of *December* 1563, when the 25th or last Session was held. The Pope by a Bull, dated the 26th of *January* 1564, confirmed all the Definitions and Decrees, without Exception, that had passed in that Assembly, during the Pontificate of his Two Predecessors, and his own; and well he might, as they had been all previously communicated to him, and approved by his Privy-Council at *Rome* h. The Decrees of this Council were received in some Catholic Countries without any Limitation whatever, but in *Spain* and all the *Spanish* Dominions with the Clause, *Saving the Rights of the Crown, and the Privileges of the Subjects*, but in *France* the Decrees, relating to Discipline and the Government of the Church, have been strenuously opposed

The late Pope's Nephews tried, condemned, and executed.

The Council of Trent *opened again.*

Year of Christ 1562.

How received by the Catholic Princes.

g Onuph. in vit. Pii IV. h F. Paul. Hist. l. 8.

and

and rejected to this Day, as derogatory to the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, and the Rights of the Crown.——In 1564 Pope *Pius* publiſhed a thundering Monitory againſt *Joan d'Albret*, Queen of *Navarre*, accuſed of *Calviniſm*, ſummoning her to appear, in Perſon, within Six Months, before the Tribunal of the Holy Inquiſition at *Rome*, on Pain of forfeiting her Crown, her Kingdom, and all her Dominions. But the *French* King, *Charles* IX. highly provoked at the Preſumption of the Pope in ſummoning to *Rome* the Widow, and Mother of the Two firſt Princes of the Blood Royal of *France*, obliged him to ſuppreſs the Monitory, and drop the Proſecution [i]. By this Pope was granted, at the preſſing Inſtances of the Emperor *Maximilian* II. the Uſe of the Cup to the Laity of *Auſtria* and *Bohemia*. But his Holineſs could, by no Means, be prevailed upon to conſent to the Marriage of the Prieſts, though no leſs earneſtly requeſted by the Emperor, and the other Catholic Princes of *Germany*, declaring, that they could no longer bear with the impure Celibacy of the Clergy [k]. The Bull, granting the Uſe of the Cup, as above, is dated at *Rome* the 16th of *April* 1564.——*Pius* died on the 9th of *December* of the following Year, having preſided in the See Six Years, wanting Seventeen Days. *Onuphrius*, who was intimately acquainted with him, and had the Honour of being frequently admitted to his Table, gives him the following Character, that he was, while Cardinal, or ſeemed to be, poſſeſſed of every Virtue, that could render him worthy of the high Station, to which he was raiſed, but that he was no ſooner raiſed to it, than he abandoned himſelf, without Reſtraint, to all the oppoſite Vices, ſticking at nothing to accumulate Wealth, wherewithal to enrich and aggrandize his Relations and Nephews [l].

Year of Chriſt 1562.

Pius's *Monitory againſt* Joan *Queen of* Navarre.

Grants the Uſe of the Cup to the Laity of Auſtria *and* Bohemia.

Year of Chriſt 1564.

His Death.

Year of Chriſt 1565.

His Character.

Upon the Demiſe of *Pius* IV. *Michael Ghiſlieri*, Cardinal of *St. Mary ſuper Minervam*, was choſen on the 8th of *January* 1566, and crowned on the 17th of the ſame Month, when he took the Name of *PIUS* V. He was a Native of *Boſchi*, a ſmall Town in the Territory of *Aleſſandria della Paglia*, was come of an obſcure Family, and had, from his early Years, embraccd a religious Life in the Order of *St. Dominic*. In 1557 he was created Cardinal by *Paul* IV. and appointed Commiſſary

PIUS V. *the* 223*d Biſhop of* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1566.

[i] Varillas Hiſt. de Charles IX. tom. 2. Thuan. Hiſt. l. 36

[k] Leonardi de laudibus, Pii IV. p. 73.

[l] Onuph. in vit. Pii IV.

Year of Chriſt 1566.

General of the Court of Inquiſition at *Rome*. That Office he exerciſed with the utmoſt Barbarity, and being actuated by the ſame perſecuting Spirit when raiſed to the Popedom, he ſpared none, who were but ſuſpected of approving the new Doctrine. *Peter Carneſecchi*, a Man of Diſtinction in *Florence*, was, by his Order, condemned to the Flames, being convicted of correſponding with ſome of the Reformed Religion in *Germany*, and in *Italy* with *Victoria Colonna*, and *Julia Gonzaga*, who were both ſuſpected of Hereſy. *Antonius Palearius*, One of the beſt Writers of his Age, underwent the ſame Fate, for ſaying, that in ſome Things the *Lutherans* were excuſable, and that the Inquiſition was the Bane of all Learning [m].——*Pius*, not ſatisfied with thus clearing *Italy* of all Perſons, whoſe Faith was ſuſpected, encouraged *Charles* the Ninth of *France* to make War upon his Proteſtant Subjects, and, in order to put him in a Condition of utterly extirpating them, he ſent the Eccleſiaſtical Army to join the King's, and by a Bull, dated at *Rome* the 24th of *November* 1568, allowed the Eſtates of the *Gallican* Church to be alienated, to the Amount of 150,000 Crowns of yearly Revenue, for carrying on this holy War [n].——This Pope exerted no leſs Zeal againſt the common Enemy of the Chriſtian Name, and with much better Succeſs, than againſt the pretended Heretics. For by his Means was concluded an Alliance between himſelf, the *Venetians*, and *Philip* of *Spain*; and One of the moſt ſignal Victories, that we read of in Hiſtory, was gained by the Chriſtian Fleet over that of the Infidels [o].——In 1569 *Pius* beſtowed the Title of *Grand Duke of Tuſcany* upon *Coſmus de Medicis*, Duke of *Florence*, who went to *Rome* to receive the Crown at his Holineſs's Hands. But, as *Tuſcany* was a Fief of the Empire, *Maximilian* highly reſented the Preſumption of the Pope in granting that Title, and would never acknowlege it [p].

A furious Perſecutor of pretended Heretics.

Signal Victory gained by the Chriſtian Fleet over that of the Turks.

Erects the Dutchy of Florence *into a Grand Dutchy.*

Year of Chriſt 1569.

——On the 25th of *February* of the ſame Year *Pius* thundered out a Bull of Excommunication againſt our excellent Queen *Elizabeth*, abſolved her Subjects from all Subjection to her, and damned all, who ſhould thenceforth acknowlege or obey her. This Bull was privately put up at the Gate of the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace. But the Commotions it raiſed were ſoon quelled, and they, who raiſed them, made to

Excommunicates Queen Elizabeth.

He dies.

Year of Chriſt 1572.

[m] Thuan. l. 39. Hieron. Catena in vit. Pii. V. [n] Thuan. l. 40. Varillas vie de Charles IX. tom. 2. [o] See Du Verdier Abregé de l'Hiſt. de Turcs, tom. 3. [p] Thuanus, ibid. et Maffei in vit. Pii V.

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undergo the Puniſhment their Treaſon deſerved, as is related at length by all our Hiſtorians.——*Pius* died on the 1ſt Day of *May* 1572, when he had ſat in the See Six Years Three Months and Twenty-three Days. He was by Principle, a Principle which he had imbibed in the horrid School of the Inquiſition, as bloody a Perſecutor as a *Nero* or a *Dioclesian*, and a moſt zealous Aſſertor of the pretended Privileges of his See. But in all other Reſpects he led a moſt irreproachable Life, and was therefore beatified by *Clement* VIII. and canonized in 1712 by *Clement* XI. By *Pius* V. was iſſued, in 1567, the famous Bull *In Cœna Domini*, which is every Year publiſhed on *Maunday-Thurſday* at *Rome*. It is calculated to aſcertain the extravagant Claims of the Pope, to deprive the Princes of the Sovereignty of their Dominions, and make them and their Subjects entirely dependent on the Will of his Holineſs. But that Bull has been no-where received to this Day, except in *Italy*. The Popes dare no longer exert againſt Sovereign Princes the Power, of which they made ſo unhallowed an Uſe in the dark Ages. But their publiſhing yearly that Bull, excommunicating Princes in ſundry Caſes, plainly ſhews, that they ſtill claim the ſame Power.

Year of Chriſt 1572.

He dies.

His Character.

Author of the famous Bull In Cœna Domini.

The Cardinals had ſcarce been ſhut up Five Hours in the Conclave, when, by the Intrigues and the Intereſt of Cardinal *Granville*, then Viceroy of *Naples*, *Hugh Buoncompagno*, Cardinal of *St. Sixtus*, was unanimouſly elected. His Election fell on the 13th of *May*, and he was crowned on the 25th of the ſame Month 1572, taking, on that Occaſion, the Name of *GREGORY* XIII. He had acquitted himſelf with great Integrity, and general Satisfaction, in different Employments under *Paul* III. *Julius* III. *Paul* IV. and *Pius* IV. and was, in 1565, preferred by the latter to the Dignity of Cardinal.——*Gregory*'s firſt Care after his Exaltation, was to purſue the War againſt the common Enemy. But after ſome fruitleſs Attempts, the *Venetians*, departing from the Alliance, concluded a Truce with the Infidels. This good Pope was an Enemy to all Strife and Contention, as appears from the Two following Facts. A Criminal, who had robbed a Church in *Naples*, was apprehended by the Officers of the Archbiſhop, pretending that it belonged to him to take Cognizance of the Crime of Sacrilege. But, as the Criminal was a Layman, the Viceroy, Cardinal *Granville*,

GREGORY XIII. *the 224th Biſhop of* Rome.

His Election.

An Enemy to all Strife and Contention.

Two Inſtances of his pacific Diſpoſition.

Year of Chriſt 1572.

Granville, inſiſted upon his being tried and puniſhed by him, and upon the Archbiſhop's refuſing to deliver him up, he cauſed his Priſon to be broke open, the Criminal to be taken from thence, and, as ſoon as found guilty, to be publicly hanged. The Archbiſhop ordered his Vicar to excommunicate all, who were any-ways concerned in executing the Viceroy's Orders; which was done accordingly, and the Sentence was poſted up in all public Places of the City. But the Cardinal ordered all the Copies of it to be daubed over with Ink, ordered the Vicar to quit the City of *Naples* within Twenty-four Hours, and the Kingdom as ſoon as he poſſibly could, impriſoned all the Archbiſhop's Officers, and ſequeſtered all his Revenues, even his Patrimonial. The good-natured Pope, inſtead of eſpouſing the Cauſe of the Archbiſhop, privately agreed with the Cardinal, that the Affair ſhould be dropt, and all Things reſtored to the Condition they were in, before the Quarrel broke out [q]. We have another remarkable Inſtance of *Gregory*'s pacific Diſpoſition in an Affair of much greater Importance, that of the Succeſſion to the Kingdom of *Portugal*. For *Sebaſtian*, King of that Country, being cut off, with the Flower of his Nobility, in his unhappy Expedition into *Africa*, many Pretenders to that Crown ſtarted up, as *Sebaſtian* died without Iſſue, and, among the Reſt, *Philip* of *Spain* and the Pope. *Philip* maintained, that he was the ſole lawful Heir to the deceaſed King, and the Pope that the Kingdom was a Fief of the Church, that as ſuch it was devolved to the Apoſtolic See, and conſequently that he was at Liberty to keep it, or diſpoſe of it to whom he pleaſed. But *Philip*, paying no Regard to the Claims and Remonſtrances of the Pope, ordered the famous Duke of *Alba* to enter the Kingdom of *Portugal* at the Head of 30,000 Men, who ſoon reduced the whole Country. Of this *Gregory* was no ſooner informed, than apprehending, that to quarrel at this Time with ſo powerful a Prince might prove highly prejudicial to the Catholic Cauſe, he ordered Cardinal *Riario*, whom he had ſent to divert the King from that Undertaking, to congratulate him, in his Name, upon the Succeſs that had attended his Arms in carrying it on [r].——We are indebted to this Pope for the new Calendar: For it was in his Pontificate, and by his Order, that the Calendar was rectified, and the *New Stile*, as they

The Reformation of the Calendar in 1582 owing to Gregory.

[q] Giannoni Hiſt. di Napoli. l. 34. c. 1.

[r] Bellegarde Hiſt. General d'Eſpagne, tom. 7. Amelot du la Houſſaye Mem. Polit. tom. 2.

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call it, introduced. It firſt took Place in the Month of *October* 1582, and was immediately received in all Catholic Countries, but rejected by the Proteſtants, chuſing rather to continue in their Error, than to be ſet right by the Pope. It has been adopted, within theſe few Years, by the *Britiſh* Parliament, and now, if I miſtake not, it univerſally prevails.——*Gregory* is charged by ſome with having approved the Maſſacre at *Paris*; and indeed it is true, that great Rejoicings were made, on that Occaſion, at *Rome*; but it does not appear that they were made by his Order, or with his Conſent.——This Pope received, a little before his Death, a ſolemn Embaſſy from Three Princes, or Kings, of the Iſlands of *Japan*, where the Labours of the *Roman* Miſſionaries, eſpecially the Jeſuits, were crowned with amazing Succeſs. The Embaſſadors, Four in Number, and all young Men of the Firſt Rank, were ſent by their reſpective Sovereigns, who had embraced the Chriſtian Religion, to pay their Obeiſance to the Pope. They embarked at *Nangaſagui* in the Iſland of *Bungo* on the 20th of *February* 1582, being attended by Father *Valignani*, a Jeſuit, but they did not reach *Rome* till the 22d of *March* 1585. They were received at the Gate by the Senate, the Magiſtrates, and all the Nobility, and conducted, amidſt the loud Acclamations of People of all Ranks, to the Houſe of the profeſſed Jeſuits, where they lodged during their Stay at *Rome*, and were moſt magnificently entertained at the Expence of the Pope. The next Day they went with the ſame Attendance to wait on the Pope, who received them, in a full Conſiſtory, with all poſſible Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem. They kiſſed his Holineſs's Foot with the greateſt Submiſſion and Modeſty, and delivered to him, on their Knees, the Letters, which they were charged with by the Princes, who ſent them. *Gregory* ordered the *Te Deum*, &c. to be ſung in all the Churches of *Rome*, and Rejoicings to be made throughout the City for ſeveral Days together [s]. But their Joy was ſoon damped and turned into Grief by the unexpected Death of the Pope, who died of a Quinſey on the 10th of *April* of the preſent Year 1585, after a Pontificate of Thirteen Years and One Month, wanting Three Days [t]. He was of a pacific Diſpoſition, utterly averſe to all violent Meaſures, and as much beloved for the Mildneſs of his Government, as his Two immediate

Year of Chriſt 1582.

He receives a ſolemn Embaſſy from Japan.

Year of Chriſt 1585.

Gregory's *Death and Character.*

[s] Vareni. Deſcript. Japan. l. 3. Cicarella in vit. Greg. XIII. Bartoli Hiſt. di Japan. l. 4. [t] Cicarell. in vit.

Year of Chriſt 1585.

Predeceſſors were hated for the Severity of theirs. He was a great Friend to the Jeſuits, granted them a great many Privileges, built for their Uſe and richly endowed the *Roman* College, One of the moſt ſtately Edifices this Day in all *Rome*, founded and endowed no fewer than Twenty-ſeven Seminaries in different Parts of the World, Four even in *Japan*, for the Inſtruction of Youth in the *Roman* Catholic Religion; and all under the Direction of the Jeſuits. I find nothing laid to the Charge of this Pope, but his having had a natural Son before he was Cardinal, *John Buoncompagno*, whom he created Cardinal as ſoon as he was preferred to the Popedom, and his raiſing him, as well as the Reſt of his Relations, to the Firſt Honours both in the State and the Church [u].

The Founder of ſeveral Colleges, all under the Direction of the Jeſuits.

Not free from Nepotiſm.

SIXTUS V. *the* 225*th Biſhop of* Rome.

His Birth, Education, Preferment, &c.

In the Room of *Gregory* was elected on the 24th of *April*, and crowned on the 1ſt of *May* of the preſent Year 1585, *Felix Peretti*, Cardinal of *St. Jerome*, who took the Name of *SIXTUS* V. He was a Native of *Le Grotte*, a Village in the *March of Ancona*, and brought up at *Montalto*, another Village in the ſame Province. His Father was by Profeſſion a Vine-dreſſer, his Mother of as mean a Condition, and both ſo poor, that not being able to maintain him, they placed him, when Nine Years old, with a Farmer of the ſame Village to look after his Swine. As he was thus employed One Day in the Fields, a *Franciſcan* Friar, who was going to *Aſcoli*, and had miſſed his Way, called him to him to know which was the right Road to that City. *Peretti* offered to go along with him, and his Offer being accepted, the Friar was ſo charmed with his civil and obliging Behaviour, far above that of a Swine-herd, that he took him with him to the Convent, as he expreſſed, on the Road, a great Deſire of embracing a religious Life, and recommended him to the Guardian. His Anſwers to the Queſtions, put to him by the Guardian, were ſo ſatisfactory, that he was admitted into the Convent, in the Quality of a Servant, or a Lay-brother, till he had learnt the Rudiments of the *Latin* Tongue, which One of the Friars was appointed to teach him. Having acquired, in Two Years Time, a ſufficient Knowledge of that Language, he was received into the Order, and there purſued his other Studies, eſpecially the Study of Divinity, with ſuch Succeſs, that in

[u] See Ciappi et Maffei vit. Greg. XIII.

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a few Years he was preferred to the Degree of Doctor in that Faculty. In Proceſs of Time he was raiſed to the Firſt Employments of the Order; and having artfully inſinuated himſelf into the Favour of *Pius* V. he was by him firſt created Biſhop of *St. Agatha*, and afterwards Cardinal of *St. Jerome*; but he is commonly called Cardinal *Montalto* from the Place of his Education. He was no ſooner veſted with that Dignity, than, depending upon the good Fortune that had hitherto attended him, he began to aſpire at the Popedom. As for the various Artifices, which *Sixtus* is ſaid to have made uſe of to cloak his Ambition, and diſguiſe his real Temper, in order to attain to that Dignity, I ſhall refer the Reader to the well-known *Hiſtory of Pope* Sixtus V. by *Gregorio Leti*, and confine myſelf to a brief Account of the moſt remarkable Tranſactions of his Pontificate.——*Sixtus* found the whole Eccleſiaſtical State over-run with Robbers, Aſſaſſins, and Banditti; which was chiefly owing to the Mildneſs of the late Pope's Government. But the new Pope, by the exceſſive Rigor he exerted againſt them, as well as againſt thoſe who employed or protected them, ſoon obliged them to quit his Dominions, and fly for Shelter to the neighbouring States. It was cuſtomary at the Election of a new Pope to throw open the public Priſons, and ſet all the Priſoners at Liberty. But *Sixtus*, inſtead of complying with that Cuſtom, ordered, as ſoon as he was crowned, Four Perſons, upon whom prohibited Arms had been found a few Days before his Election, to be hanged. There is not One ſingle Inſtance of his pardoning a Criminal; but many Inſtances occur of his depoſing, and other ways puniſhing ſuch of the Judges, as had ſhewn any Mercy; nay, he declared it criminal to intercede for a Criminal, and ordered all, who interpoſed in Behalf of a Convict, to be treated as his Accomplices. Thus was an entire Stop put to the Murders and Robberies, that were become ſo frequent in the late Pontificate, and were either connived at, or but ſlightly puniſhed w.——*Sixtus* found, at his Acceſſion to the Chair, the Kingdom of *France* involved in the utmoſt Confuſion on Account of the League, formed there by the Catholic Party, with the Duke of *Guiſe* at their Head, chiefly to exclude *Henry*, King of *Navarre*, from that Crown. Their Agents at *Rome* ſpared no Pains to gain over the Pope to their Party. But *Sixtus*, looking upon the League as a dangerous

Year of Chriſt 1585.

Clears the State of Robbers, Aſſaſſins, and Banditti.

His Severity againſt Criminals.

w Leli, l. 5. Maffei Hiſt. ab exceſſu Greg. XIII. l. 1. Cicarella in vit. Sixti V.

Con-

Year of Chriſt 1585.

Conſpiracy, calculated to extirpate the Royal Family, as well as the Proteſtant Religion, could by no Means be prevailed upon to countenance it, or be concerned any-ways in it. However, he thought it incumbent upon him to purſue ſuch Meaſures, as he ſhould judge proper or neceſſary to prevent the eſtabliſhing of the Proteſtant Religion in *France*, and its becoming the reigning Religion by the Promotion of an heretical Prince to the Throne. He therefore publiſhed a Bull againſt *Henry heretofore* King of *Navarre*, and his Brother, *ſtiled* Prince of *Condé*, excommunicating both theſe Princes, depriving them and their Heirs of all their Eſtates, and particularly of the Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *France*, and not only abſolving their Subjects from the Oath of Allegiance, but involving in the ſame Sentence all, who acknowleged or obeyed them. This Bull is dated the 10th of *September* 1585, and was ſigned by Twenty-five Cardinals. The King of *Navarre* wanted not Friends at *Rome*; and to be revenged on the Pope, he got a Paper ſet up, by their Means, on the very Gates of the *Vatican* Palace, wherein he ſhewed the Injuſtice and Nullity of the Sentence, appealed from the Pope to a General Council, and to the Parliament, and implored the Aſſiſtance of all ſovereign Princes, as in a Cauſe common to them all [x]. We are told that *Sixtus*, inſtead of reſenting this Inſult, commended the King for his Reſolution and Intrepidity, and that he was frequently heard to ſay, that he had no great Eſteem for any of the Chriſtian Princes, except *Henry* of *Navarre*, and *Elizabeth* of *England*, whoſe Prudence, Courage, and Steadineſs he could not but admire.——*Sixtus* did not approve, as has been ſaid, of the Catholic League in *France*, but, on the contrary, looked upon it as a dangerous Conſpiracy; and therefore took no Notice of the Death of the Duke of *Guiſe*, when ſlain, as is well known, by the King's Order. But what provoked his Holineſs beyond all Meaſure againſt the King, *Henry* III. was his cauſing the Cardinal of *Guiſe* to be killed the very next Day, and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, to be arreſted and cloſely confined. This *Sixtus* no ſooner underſtood, than, fired at ſo open a Violation of the Eccleſiaſtical Immunity, he ſent for the *French* Embaſſador, the Marquis *Piſani*, and deſired him, in great Wrath, to let his Maſter know, that he was no longer a poor Friar, but ſovereign Pontiff, ready

Would grant no Aſſiſtance to the Catholic League in France.

Excommunicates Henry *King of* Navarre.

The King's Conduct on that Occaſion.

Monitory iſſued by Sixtus *againſt* Henry *III. for the Murder of the Cardinal of* Guiſe, *&c.*

Year of Chriſt 1589.

[x] Cayet Dialogue, tom. 2.

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to defend, coſt what Blood and Treaſure it would, the Honour and Rights of the Church. The *French* Embaſſador, and the King's other Friends at *Rome*, did all in their Power to appeaſe the Pope, and excuſe the King's Conduct. But *Sixtus*, deaf to all they could offer, iſſued, on the 5th of *May* 1589, a Monitory, requiring and commanding the King to ſet the Cardinal and the Archbiſhop at Liberty within Ten Days after the Monitory was notified to him, and declaring him excommunicated, if he did not comply within the prefixed Term. The King was determined to aſſert his Right of puniſhing his Rebel Subjects, of what Condition ſoever, as he ſhould think fit. But he was, in the mean time, barbarouſly murdered, and by his Death the fatal Conſequences were prevented, that would, at ſo critical a Juncture, have attended a Rupture between him, and ſo aſſuming and reſolute a Pope *y*. In *Henry* III. ended the Race of *Valois*, and Room was made for the Family of *Bourbon* in the Perſon of *Henry*, King of *Navarre*, deſcended from *Robert*, Lord of *Bourbon*, the Fifth and Laſt Son of *Lewis* IX. or, as he is commonly called, *St. Lewis*. *Sixtus* had excommunicated that Prince, and deprived him of the Right of Succeſſion to the Crown, as has been ſaid. But being preſſed by the Agents of the League to renew that Sentence upon the Death of the King, he declined it, ſaying, that no Prince was more worthy of a Crown, and that he would order public Prayers to be put up for his Converſion.——*Sixtus* entertained no ſmall Jealouſy of the overgrown Power of *Philip* of *Spain*, and was therefore glad to keep on good Terms with Queen *Elizabeth*, declining, under various Pretences, to lend any Aſſiſtance to *Philip* againſt her, beſides his uſeleſs Anathemas, which he could not well refuſe, and which he knew would do the Queen very little Hurt.——*Sixtus* had, from the very Beginning of his Pontificate, formed a Deſign of conquering the Kingdom of *Naples*, and uniting it to the Dominions of the Church. This Deſign he reſolved to carry into Execution upon the Firſt News he received of the total Defeat of the *Spaniſh* Armada in 1588, and ordered with that View 25,000 Men to be raiſed with all poſſible Expedition. But in the mean time Death put an End to all his Deſigns on the 27th of *Auguſt* 1590, when he had governed the Church Five Years Four Months and Three Days. His Death at this Juncture gave Occaſion

Year of Chriſt 1589.

Upon the Death of Henry III. Sixtus *refuſes to confirm the Sentence againſt the King of* Navarre.

Declines aſſiſting King Philip *againſt Queen* Elizabeth.

Sixtus *dies.* Year of Chriſt 1590.

y Mezerai Abregé Chron. tom. 5. Thuan. Hiſt. l. 96.

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Year of Christ 1590.

to ſuſpect, that it was not natural.—*Sixtus* V. is repreſented by all, who ſpeak of him, as a Man of the greateſt Abilities, that ever was raiſed to the Chair, as One, who in Magnificence, Intrepidity, and Strength of Mind, ſurpaſſed by far all his Predeceſſors. He had a thorough Knowledge of the Intereſts of his See, and choſe the moſt effectual Means to promote them. He was a moſt zealous Aſſertor of the Pontifical Authority, and, on ſeveral Occaſions, ſhewed himſelf ready to maintain it even at the Expence of Religion itſelf.—

His Character.

His many public Works to improve the Splendor of Rome.

The City of *Rome* owes more to *Sixtus* alone than to all his Predeceſſors together, for the many ſtately Edifices, new Streets, Aqueducts, and other Ornaments, with which he improved and beautified it above all the Cities of the known World. The Four famous Obeliſks, that had lain many Ages buried under Ground, were, by his Order, and at his Expence, dug up and erected in the Places where they ſtill ſtand, *viz.* in the great Squares before the Churches of *St. Peter*, of *St. Mary the Greater*, of *St. John Lateran*, and *St. Mary del Popolo*. A great Number of Hands were employed for a whole Twelvemonth, under the Direction of the celebrated Architect *Dominico Fontana*, in digging up the firſt of theſe Obeliſks, in tranſporting it from the Place, where it lay buried, and erecting it anew. It was dedicated by *Auguſtus*, in whoſe Time it was brought out of *Egypt*, to the *Sun*, but by *Sixtus*, to the *Croſs*. The reſtoring of theſe Four Obeliſks coſt an immenſe Sum of Money. But *Sixtus* grudged no Expences to tranſmit his Name to Poſterity. There is ſcarce a Street in all *Rome* that cannot ſhow ſome noble Monuments of this Pope's Munificence. By him were raiſed from the Foundations, and brought to the State, they are ſtill to be ſeen in, the *Lateran* Palace, ſpacious enough to lodge conveniently the Pope himſelf, and the whole College of Cardinals, the preſent *Vatican* Library with all the Buildings annexed to it, the Hoſpital near *Ponte Siſto*, capable of receiving, and ſufficiently endowed to maintain 2000 Perſons, whom old Age or Infirmities had rendered incapable of earning their Bread, and many other moſt ſumptuous Edifices ſtill to be ſeen in every Quarter of *Rome*. But the moſt ſtupendous of all *Sixtus*'s Works was his collecting a great Number of ſmall Springs into One Stream, at the Diſtance of Thirteen Miles from *Rome*, and building an Aqueduct to convey them to Mount *Quirinal*, now *Monte Cavallo*, that ſtood in great Want of that neceſſary Commodity.

modity. This great Work *Sixtus* undertook in Spite of the many Difficulties that were urged, as quite unſurmountable, againſt it; and employing conſtantly Two thouſand Workmen, and often Three and Four thouſand, he completed it in the Space of Eighteen Months, to the inexpreſſible Joy of all the Inhabitants of that Quarter of the City. The magnificent Temple of the Virgin *Mary* at *Loreto* was likewiſe the Work of this extraordinary Pope; and he had begun another, no leſs magnificent, at *Montalto*, the Place where he was educated, but the Foundations, that are ſtill to be ſeen, were ſcarce laid, when the Death of the Founder put a Stop to that Undertaking [z]. In theſe public Works *Sixtus* is ſaid to have expended ſome Millions; and at his Death he left Five Millions of Crowns in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, requiring his Succeſſors, by a ſpecial Bull, to make uſe of them only for the Service of the Church againſt the *Turks* and Heretics, or to relieve the People in the Time of a Famine or Plague.——*Sixtus* was not more free from Nepotiſm than any of his Predeceſſors. His Siſter *Camilla* he raiſed to the Rank of a Princeſs. She had by her Daughter Two Grand-Sons, and as many Grand-Daughters. One of her Grand-Sons he preferred, though yet very young, to the Dignity of Cardinal, under the Name of Cardinal *Montalto*, and allowed him the yearly Income of One hundred thouſand Crowns. The other he raiſed to the firſt and moſt lucrative Employments of the State, and left him ſeveral Lordſhips at his Death, obliging him to take the Name of *Peretti*. His Two Grand-Nieces he married, with great Fortunes, into the *Orſini* and *Colonna* Families, the Two Firſt Families in *Rome*. ——He fixed the Number of Cardinals at Seventy, and ordered, by a ſpecial Bull, that Four of that Number, at leaſt, ſhould be Doctors of Divinity, choſen out of the Religious Orders.——He was no Friend to the *Jeſuits*, could not bear that they ſhould be called by that Name, as if their Order had been founded by *Jeſus* himſelf, was for having them ſtiled *Ignatians*, from the Name of their Founder *Ignatius* [a].—— I ſhall conclude with obſerving that the Life of this extraordinary Pope has been written, with great Exactneſs, by *Caſimir Teinpeſti*, and publiſhed at *Rome* 1755 in Two Volumes, *Quarto*. As for his Life by *Gregorio Leti*, it has more of the Romance than of the

Year of Chriſt 1590.

Leaves Five Millions at his Death.

His Nepotiſm.

Fixes the Number of Cardinals at Seventy.

Was no Friend to the Jeſuits.

[a] See Bocca de Sixti Ædificiis. [z] See Robardi Geſta Quinquenalia Sixti V. et Teinpeſti Storia della Vita e Geſte di Siſto Quinto.

Year of Christ 1590.

true History, and I have therefore advanced nothing upon his Authority alone.

URBAN VII. *the 226th Bishop of* Rome.

In the Room of *Sixtus* was chosen, on the 27th of *September*, *John Baptist Castagna*, Cardinal of *St. Marcellus*, a *Roman* by Birth, but of a *Genoese* Family. He took the Name of *URBAN* VII. and died on the Twelfth Day of his Pontificate, the 15th of *September* of the present Year [b].

GREGORY the 227th Bishop of Rome.

Urban was succeeded by *Nicholas Sfondrati*, Cardinal of *St. Cecilia*, under the Name of *GREGORY* XIV. He was elected on the 5th of *December*, and crowned on the 18th of the same Month. As he was by Birth a *Milanese*, and consequently a Subject of *Philip* of *Spain*, to gratify that Prince he declared for the Catholic League in *France*, excommunicated King *Henry*, under the Name of *Henry of Bourbon*, and assisted his Enemies, to the utmost of his Power, both with Men and with Money. But in *France* his Bull was declared scandalous, seditious, contrary to the Canons and the Rights of the *Gallican* Church, and ordered to be torn and publicly burnt by the Hands of the common Executioner [c]. But his Time was short; for he died on the 15th of *October* 1591, after a Pontificate of Ten Months and Ten Days [d].

Declares for the League, excommunicates Henry IV. *and dies.*

Year of Christ 1591.

INNOCENT IX. *the 228th Bishop of* Rome.

Upon the Death of *Gregory*, *John Antony Facchinetti*, a Native of *Bologna*, was raised to the Chair, on the 29th of *October*, by the Name of *INNOCENT* IX. was crowned on the 12th of *November*, and died on the 30th of *December*.

CLEMENT VIII. *the 229th Bishop of* Rome.

Hypolitus Aldobrandini, Cardinal of *St. Pancras*, a *Florentine*, succeeded under the Name of *CLEMENT* VIII. He was chosen on the 30th of *January* 1592, and crowned on the 2d of *February*. The Pontificate of *Clement* is remarkable chiefly for the Three following Events; the Conversion, Absolution, and Reconciliation of *Henry* IV. of *France* in 1595 [e]; the Reversion of the Dutchy of *Ferrara* to the Apostolic See upon the Death of Duke *Alphonsus* II. in 1597, he being

Year of Christ 1592.

Three remarkable

[b] Arrighi vit. Urbani VII. l. 100.
[c] Perefix, Hist. Henry IV. Mezerai. tom. 6. Thuan.
[d] Arrighi in vit.
[e] Ossat. ep. 32. Thuan. l. 110. Mezerai. tom. 7.

the laſt lawful Prince of the Family of *Eſte*; and the Peace, concluded at *Vervins* in 1598, between *France* and *Spain*, by the Mediation of *Clement* [f].——The famous Controverſy between the *Jeſuits* and the *Dominicans*, concerning *Grace*, *Free Will*, and *Predeſtination*, aroſe in the Time of this Pope, and was likely to produce fatal Diviſions in the Church. *Lewis Molina*, a *Spaniſh Jeſuit*, Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Ebora*, firſt gave Occaſion to it, by a Book, publiſhed in 1588, to ſhew, that the Operations of *Divine Grace* are entirely conſiſtent with the Freedom of *human Will*. In order to that he maintained, that the Decrees of God, relating to the Salvation or Reprobation of Men, are founded upon that Divine and unlimited Knowlege, by which God foreſaw the Merits and Demerits of every Individual. Thus, according to *Molina*, the Divine Decree of the Election or Reprobation, with reſpect to each particular Perſon, is poſterior to and depending upon his foreſeen co-operating or not co-operating with the *ſufficient* Grace afforded to all Men to work out their Salvation. On the other hand, the *Dominicans* aſſerted the *eternal Decrees* of God to be abſolute, arbitrary, and quite independent of any foreſeen Merits or Demerits whatever. This the *Dominicans* pretended to be the true Doctrine of St. *Auſtin*, and of their Leader and Oracle *Thomas Aquinas*; and laying hold of this Opportunity to vent their Rage againſt the *Jeſuits* for the Aſcendant they had gained over them in the Courts of all the Chriſtian Princes of *Europe*, they charged them (for they all embraced the Doctrine of their Brother *Molina*) with renewing the condemned Errors of the *Semipelagians*, and the Alarm of Hereſy was every-where ſounded againſt them. This theological War was carried on with true theological Fury and Rage till the Year 1594, when *Clement* impoſed Silence on the contending Parties, promiſing to examine himſelf the Points in Diſpute. He accordingly appointed a particular Congregation, conſiſting of Three Biſhops and Seven Divines of different Religious Orders, with Cardinal *Madrucci*, Biſhop of *Trent*, at their Head, to hear and weigh the Arguments offered by the oppoſite Parties in favour of their reſpective Opinions. This Congregation was called *De Auxiliis*, or of Aids, on Account of the principal Point in Debate, the Efficacy of the Aids of Divine Grace. As nothing had yet been determined by the Congregation in 1602, the Pope reſolved

Year of Chriſt 1592. *Events of his Pontificate.* *An Account of the famous Controverſy between the* Dominicans *and* Jeſuits *concerning Grace, Free Will,* &c.

[f] Thuan. l. 129. Mezerai. tom. 6. Bellegarde Hiſt. Gener. d'Eſpagne, tom. 7.

Year of Christ 1592. to preſide at it in Perſon, and accordingly heard both Parties with the greateſt Attention and Patience. But both defended their Cauſe with ſo much Zeal and Dexterity, that *Clement*, wiſely avoiding to make uſe of his Infallibility, leſt he ſhould thereby diſoblige either of the Two moſt learned Orders of the Church, left the final Deciſion of the Points in Diſpute to his Succeſſor. He died on the 3d of *March* 1605, having preſided in the See Thirteen Years One Month and Three Days. *Clement* VIII. is repreſented by the contemporary Writers as a Man of uncommon Abilities; of great Diſcretion and Prudence. It was at the preſſing Inſtances of this Pope that the Reſtoration of the *Jeſuits*, who had been baniſhed *France* upon the Murder of *Henry* III. was brought about in 1603 by his Succeſſor *Henry* IV [g].——In *Clement*'s Time a ſolemn Embaſſy appeared at *Rome*, with Profeſſions of Obedience from *Gabriel*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*. But that Embaſſy is looked upon, even by ſeveral *Roman* Catholic Writers, as a mere Impoſture, or Stratagem of the *Jeſuits* to perſuade the *Abyſſinians* to follow the Example of their Brethren of *Alexandria*, and to ſubmit to the Pope [h].

Clement's *Death.*

Year of Chriſt 1605.

LEO XI. *the 230th Biſhop of* Rome.

The See being vacant by the Death of *Clement*, the Cardinals, after ſome Diſagreement between the *Spaniſh* and the *French* Factions, unanimouſly concurred in the Election of *Alexander de Medicis*, of the illuſtrious Family reigning at *Florence*, who took the Name of *LEO* XI. He was elected on the 1ſt of *April*, was crowned on the 10th, and died on the 26th of the ſame Month. The famous Cardinal *Baronius* had a ſtrong Party in the Conclave. But the *Spaniards*, exerting all their Intereſt againſt him, on Account of ſome of his Writings, procured his Excluſion [i].

PAUL V. *the 231ſt Biſhop of* Rome.

Leo was ſucceeded, on the 16th of *May*, by Cardinal *Camillo Borgheſo*, who took the Name of *PAUL* V. and was crowned on the 29th of the ſame Month. His Anceſtors were Perſons of ſome Diſtinction in *Siena*, but he himſelf was a Native of *Rome*. He entertained ſo high an Opinion of the Papal Power and Authority, that he ſuffered himſelf to be publicly ſtiled, *Vice-god upon Earth*, *the Monarch of Chriſtendom*, and *the Supporter of Papal Omnipotence*. Of his furious

[g] See d'Oſſat's Letters. [h] See Geddes Church Hiſtory of Alexandria. [i] Wadding in vit. Leon. XI.

Zeal

Zeal in aſſerting the pretended Privileges and Rights of his See he gave, when ſcarce warm in his Chair, a remarkable Inſtance in his Conteſt with the Republic of *Venice*. This Conteſt aroſe partly from Two Decrees of the Republic, calculated to prevent the immoderate Increaſe of Religious Houſes in their Dominions, and to ſet ſome Bounds to the new Acquiſitions of Wealth made daily by the Religious and Clergy, and partly from their refuſing to deliver up to the Eccleſiaſtical Court Two Eccleſiaſtics, guilty of capital Crimes. *Paul*, highly provoked at ſuch Proceedings, as manifeſt Encroachments upon his Authority, laid all the Dominions of the Republic under an Interdict, by a Bull dated at *Rome* the 17th of *April* 1606. On the other hand, the *Venetians*, declaring the Bull to be void and null, obliged the Clergy to perform Divine Service as uſual, and baniſhed from all their Dominions the *Capuchins* and *Jeſuits*, the only Religious Orders that complied with the Bull. Preparations for War were making on both Sides, when an Accommodation, not very honourable to the Pope, was brought about by the Mediation of *Henry* IV. King of *France*. The *Capuchins* were reſtored without Difficulty; but the Senate could by no Means be prevailed upon to conſent to the Reſtoration of the *Jeſuits*, and the Pope was forced to acquieſce, though the *Jeſuits* had diſtinguiſhed themſelves above all the reſt by their Zeal in his Cauſe. The Two Priſoners were delivered up to the *French* Embaſſador by One of the Secretaries of the Republic, with this Proteſt, That he conſigned them to him merely to gratify his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, without any Prejudice to the Right which the Republic had to paſs Judgment upon Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and ſummon them before their Secular Tribunals of Juſtice [m]. The Hiſtory of this Interdict takes up the Fourth Volume of F. *Paul*'s Works.——By this Pope was approved the impious Doctrine of the famous Jeſuit *Suarez*, concerning the Murder of Kings, and the Power veſted in the Pope of depoſing them. But in *France Suarez*'s Book was condemned by the Parliament of *Paris*, and ordered to be burnt by the Hands of the common Executioner. This the Pope highly reſented, but he could never obtain the Revocation of the Sentence, condemning the Book and the Doctrine it contained [n]. We are told, that *Suarez* upon hearing of the Fate of

Years of Chriſt 1606.

His Conteſt with the Republic of Venice.

The Republic put under an Interdict.

The Jeſuits *and* Capuchins *baniſhed out of the Dominions of the Republic.*

This Difference adjuſted.

The Book of Suarez *concerning the Murder of Kings.*

[m] See F. Paul Iſtoria dell Interditto, et Bzovius in vit. Pauli IV.

[n] Vaſſer Hiſt. de Louis XIII. tom.

his

his Book, repeated the Two following Verſes out of *Ovid* with the Alteration of One Word:

Parve, nec invideo, ſine me, Liber, ibis in IGNEM
Hei mihi, quid domino non licet ire tuo.

An Embaſſy to Paul *from the King of* Congo.

A little before the Pope's Death an Embaſſador arrived at *Rome* from the King of *Congo*, to beg his Holineſs would ſend Miſſionaries with the Embaſſador, on his Return, to preach the Goſpel to his Subjects. But the Embaſſador died a few Days after his Arrival, and the Pope did not long ſurvive him. He died on the 22d of *January* 1621, after a Pontificate of Fifteen Years Eight Months and Thirteen Days. He was a Man of very good Parts, and of no ſmall Learning, and would have made a much better Figure in Hiſtory, had he not ſuffered his impetuous Zeal for the Authority of his See to get the better of his Judgment, and lead him into Meaſures, which he could not ſupport. In beautifying the City of *Rome* he even rivalled *Sixtus* himſelf, and had the Honour of completing, at laſt, the ſtupendous Fabric of the Church of *St. Peter*.——Under this Pope Eighteen Seſſions were held of the Congregation *De Auxiliis*, and Sixty had been held under his Predeceſſor. But the Points in Diſpute were ſo very obſcure and intricate, that the Cardinals, Prelates, and Divines, who compoſed that Aſſembly, were at a Loſs what to determine. At the ſame Time they apprehended, that a final Deciſion would only ſerve to inflame the Animoſities already ſubſiſting between the Two Orders; and they therefore reſolved to come to no Deciſion. Thus, after ſo many Conſultations, the contending Parties were left in the quiet Poſſeſſion of their reſpective Opinions, with a ſtrict Prohibition to caſt any reproachful Reflections upon each other; and the ſame Doctrines are held to this Day by the Two rival Orders, and publicly taught in their Schools. ——The great Eſtates, the ſumptuous Palaces, and the magnificent Villas, ſtill poſſeſſed by the *Borgheſe* Family, are laſting Monements of this Pope's ſcandalous Nepotiſm.

The Pope dies. Year of Chriſt 1621.

His Character.

Concluſion of the Congregation De Auxiliis.

Paul's Nepotiſm.

GREGORY XV. *the* 232*d Biſhop of* Rome.

The new Pope was *GREGORY* XV. called before his Election *Alexander Ludoviſi*. He was a Native of *Bologna*, and, when elected, Archbiſhop of that City. He is repreſented in Hiſtory as a Man of a mild Diſpoſition; yet he ſuggeſted and promoted the moſt violent Meaſures

Meaſures againſt all who profeſſed the Reformed Religion. The War made by *Lewis* XIII. King of *France*, upon his Proteſtant Subjects, was, in a great Meaſure, owing to his Exhortations and his Influence over that Prince. He aſſiſted, to the utmoſt of his Power, the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. and *Maximilian*, Duke of *Bavaria*, againſt the Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, Son-in-Law to our King *James* I. and was, upon that Account, preſented by the Duke, upon his taking the City of *Heidelburg*, with the moſt valuable Part of the invaluable Library of the Counts *Palatine*, which *Gregory* cauſed to be removed to *Rome*, and placed in the *Vatican* Library [o].——By this Pope was founded at *Rome* in 1622, and richly endowed, the famous College *De Propaganda Fide*. By the ſame Pope the City of *Paris*, which till the preſent Year 1622 had been ſubject to the See of *Sens*, was, at the Requeſt of *Lewis* XIII. erected into an Archiepiſcopal See [p]. *Gregory* was a great Friend to the *Jeſuits*, and by him were canonized *Ignatius* their Founder, and the famous *Xavier*, ſtiled the *Apoſtle of the Indies*. He died on the 8th of *July* 1623, having held the See Two Years Five Months and Twenty Days. He was buried in *St. Peter*'s, but his Remains were afterwards tranſlated from thence to the Church of the *Roman* College, where his ſtately Tomb is ſtill to be ſeen with a moſt pompous Epitaph.

Year of Chriſt 1621.

Inſtances of his Zeal againſt thoſe of the Reformed Religion.

Founds the College De Propaganda Fide.

Erects the City of Paris *into an Archbiſhopric.*

Dies.

Year of Chriſt 1623.

The next Election was carried, on the 6th of *Auguſt*, in favour of Cardinal *Maffei Barberini*, a Native of *Florence*, who took the Name of *URBAN* VIII. He began his Pontificate with raiſing Two of his Nephews to the Dignity of Cardinals, and beſtowing the Title of *Eminence* upon all of that Order, upon the Three Eccleſiaſtical Electors, and the Grand Maſter of *Malta*. But Kings and the Republic of *Venice* were diſpenſed from giving them that Title.——*Urban* was more inclined to *France* than to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, but nevertheleſs could not be prevailed upon by *Lewis* XIII. to enter into an Alliance with him againſt the Emperor, but anſwered, when preſſed to it by that Prince, that it was incumbent upon him, as the common Father of all Chriſtian Princes, to adjuſt their Differences, and obſerve, in order to render his Mediation more effectual, a perfect Neutrality. Accordingly he

URBAN VIII. *the* 233*d Biſhop of* Rome.

Gives the Title of Eminence to Cardinals.

Obſerves a Neutrality in the Differences between Princes.

[o] Spanheim Memoires de le Electrice Palatine Louyſe Julianne, of Mezerai Hiſt. de Louis XIII.

[p] Continuation

inter-

Year of Chriſt 1632.

interpoſed his good Offices; and at his Interpoſition were concluded the Treaties of *Rivalte*, *Ratiſbon*, and *Queraſque* p.——In 1632 died *Franciſco Maria della Rovere*, Duke of *Urbino*, and by his Death, as he left no Male Iſſue behind him, that Dutchy, a Fief of the Church, devolved to the Apoſtolic See.——In 1641 the Pope, at the Inſtigation of his Nephews, and upon the moſt frivolous Pretences, ſent an Army to ſeize on the City of *Caſtro*, belonging to *Odoard Farneſe*, Duke of *Parma*. But the Duke being ſupported by the Republic of *Venice*, by the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, and the Duke of *Modena*, the *Barberini* were obliged, after an unſucceſsful War, that is ſaid to coſt them Twenty Millions of Crowns, to reſtore *Caſtro*, and conclude a diſhonourable Peace q.——As the Book of *Cornelius Janſenius*, Biſhop of *Ypres*, intituled *Auguſtinus*, was firſt condemned by this Pope, it will be expected, that I ſhould give here ſome Account of that Book, and the Principles it contains; Principles, that divided, and ſtill continue to divide the Church of *Rome*, notwithſtanding her boaſted Unity, into Two, almoſt, as oppoſite Parties or Sects, as any Two of the Reformed Religion. *Janſenius* was, as is agreed on all hands, a Prelate of great Learning, of an exemplary Life, and an Enemy to all Strife and Contention. But diſliking the Doctrine of the *Jeſuits* concerning Grace and Free Will, ſpoken of above, he undertook to unfold the Sentiments of St. *Auſtin*, commonly called the *Doctor of Grace*, with reſpect to thoſe intricate Points; a difficult Undertaking, as that good Father is not always conſiſtent with himſelf, nor intelligible to others. We are told, that *Janſenius*, to attain to his true Meaning, read Ten Times over all his voluminous Books, and Thirty Times thoſe upon Grace and Free Will. The End *Janſenius* propoſed therein to himſelf was, not to give his own Sentiments concerning thoſe important Points, but to ſhew how they had been underſtood and explained by St. *Auſtin*, whom the Church revered as her Oracle; and he therefore ſtiled his Book *Auguſtine*. It was not publiſhed till after his Death, which happened on the 6th of *May* 1638. The Sentiments it contained were diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of the *Jeſuits*. For the following Principles were there adopted as St. *Auſtin*'s, that *there are no Remains of Purity or Goodneſs in Human Nature ſince its Fall*, that *the Impulſe of Grace is irreſiſtible*, that *in the Work of Converſion*

The Dutchy of Urbino *reverts to the Church.*

The Book of Janſenius, *intituled* Auguſtinus.

The Doctrine it contained.

p Hiſt. des Traites de Paix, tom. 1. p. 933.

q Eſtat du Siege di Rome, tom. 1.

and

and Sanctification all is to be aſcribed to Grace, and nothing to Human Nature, and ſeveral others connected with theſe, which I ſhall have Occaſion to mention in the Sequel. On the contrary, the *Jeſuits* maintained, as they ſtill do, that *Human Nature is far from being deprived of all Power of doing good*; *that Man, before he receives Grace, is capable of Faith and holy Deſires*; that *the Operations of Grace offer no Violence to Human Nature, and conſequently* that MAN, BORN FREE, MAY RESIST THEM. The Book of *Janſenius* no ſooner appeared, than the *Jeſuits*, looking upon it as an Attack upon their Syſtem, took the Alarm; and a Paper War was commenced, and carried on, with the utmoſt Fury, between them and the Friends of the deceaſed Biſhop, till the Year 1641, when the *Jeſuits*, adding to their Arguments the Intereſt they had at the Court of *Rome*, got the Book *Auguſtinus* prohibited by the Inquiſition, and the following Year ſolemnly condemned by the Pope, as *reviving the Errors that his Predeceſſors had baniſhed from the Church*. This Subject I ſhall occaſionally reſume more than once in the Sequel.——*Urban* died on the 29th of *July*, having held the See Twenty-one Years wanting Eight Days. In Nepotiſm he vied even with his Predeceſſor *Paul* V. beſtowing upon his Nephews and other Relations all the moſt honourable and lucrative Employments both in the Church and the State. Two of his Nephews he created Cardinals, and purchaſed for the Third the Principality of *Paleſtrina*, which the Family enjoys to this Day with the ſtately Palace, built by him near *Monte Cavallo*, One of the moſt ſtately in all *Rome*. *Urban* is repreſented by the contemporary Writers as One endowed with as good Talents as any of his Predeceſſors, and charge upon his Nephews, in whom he blindly confided, all that was blame-worthy in his Pontificate. He was a generous Friend to the Learned, eſpecially to the Poets, being no mean Poet himſelf. We have a Collection of his *Latin* Poems, which have undergone ſeveral Editions. He wrote moſt of them when he was a Cardinal, and had no Occaſion to be aſhamed of them when he was Pope [r]. His deſtroying ſome *Roman* Antiquities, (which the *Barbarous* Nations had ſpared when Maſters of *Rome*) in order to employ the Materials for other Uſes, gave Occaſion to the famous Paſquinade, *Quod non fecerunt Barbari fecerunt Barberini*. *Urban*'s

Year of Chriſt 1632.

The Book condemned by the Pope.

Urban *dies.*

Year of Chriſt 1644.

His Character.

His Poems.

[r] Janus Nicias Erythræus in Pinacotheca, p. 152, &c.

Year of Chriſt 1644.

ſtately Tomb in *St. Peter*'s was erected by himſelf under the Direction of the famous Cavalier *Bernini*.

INNOCENT X. *the* 234*th Biſhop of* Rome.

To *Urban* was ſubſtituted, on the 15th of *September*, *John Baptiſt Pamfili*, a *Roman*, who took the Name of *INNOCENT* X. The new Pope had, before his Promotion, an unlawful Commerce with his Brother's Widow, the famous *Donna Olympia Maldachini*, a Woman of inſatiable Avarice and boundleſs Ambition; and that Commerce he not only continued after his Elevation, but ſuffered her to govern the Church, the State, the Court, and himſelf, with an abſolute Sway. All Benefices and Biſhopricks, all Employments, whether Eccleſiaſtic, Civil, or Military, were diſpoſed of by her, and, without any Regard to Friendſhip or Merit, beſtowed only upon thoſe, who came up to her Price. As the *Barberini* were poſſeſſed of immenſe Wealth, ſome ſay to the Amount of 260,000 Crowns of yearly Revenue, the Pope at the Inſtigation of *Donna Olympia*, who wanted to enrich her own Family at their Expence, began his Pontificate with a furious Perſecution againſt them. But *France* interpoſed, and, eſpouſing their Cauſe, obliged the Pope, much againſt his Will, to come to Terms with them [s].——The moſt remarkable Tranſaction of *Innocent*'s Pontificate was his condemning by a Bull, dated the 31ſt of *May* 1653, the Five following Propoſitions, ſelected by the *Jeſuits* out of *Janſenius*'s *Auguſtinus*, as the moſt apt to diſcredit that Work. The Propoſitions were: I. *There are divine Precepts, which good Men, notwithſtanding their Deſire to obſerve them, are abſolutely unable to obey; nor has God given them that Meaſure of Grace, which is abſolutely neceſſary to render them capable of ſuch Obedience.* II. *No Perſon in this corrupt State of Nature can reſiſt the Influence of Divine Grace.* III. *In order to render human Actions meritorious, or otherwiſe, it is not requiſite that they be exempt from Neceſſity, but only that they be free from Conſtraint.* IV. *The* SEMIPELAGIANS *admitted preventing Grace to be neceſſary to every Action, and their Hereſy conſiſted in this, that they allowed human Will to be endowed with a Power of reſiſting that Grace, or complying with its Influence.* V. *Whoever ſays, that* Chriſt *died, or ſhed his Blood, for all Mankind, is a* SEMIPELAGIAN [t]. This Condemnation afforded great

Perſecutes the Barberini.

The Five famous Propoſitions of Janſenius *condemned by* Innocent.

Year of Chriſt 1653.

[s] De Larrey Hiſt. de Louis XIV. p. 263.

[t] Bullarium. Roman. tom. 3. p. 261.

Matter

Matter of Triumph to the *Jeſuits*. But it did not quite diſhearten the *Janſeniſts*, who by a ſubtile Diſtinction, the Invention of the ingenious *Antony Arnaud*, ſcreened themſelves from it. They diſtinguiſhed the Matter of *Doctrine* from the Matter of *Fact*; that is, they owned the Five Propoſitions to have been juſtly condemned, but maintained, that they were not to be found in the Book of *Janſenius* in the Senſe, in which the Pope had condemned them, and conſequently, that they ſtill might hold and defend them in the Senſe in which *Janſenius* had underſtood them [u]. This gave Riſe to the famous Queſtion, whether the Infallibility of the Pope extended to Matters of Fact, or only to Matters of Doctrine; a Queſtion, which *Innocent* was prevented by Death from deciding. He died on the 7th of *January* 1655, having held the See Ten Years and Four Months wanting Eight Days. To a profound Ignorance of all theological Matters this Pope joined the moſt ſhameful Indolence. In the Quarrels of Princes he would neither interpoſe nor ſo much as offer his Mediation, ſaying, that when they were tired with beating one another, they would agree of themſelves. He built a magnificent Palace for his Family, and left them poſſeſſed of immenſe Wealth.

Year of Chriſt 1653.

That Condemnation how eluded by the Janſeniſts.

Innocent *dies.*

Year of Chriſt 1655.

Fabio Chigi, a Native of *Siena*, was preferred to the vacant Chair, on the 8th of *April*, under the Name of *ALEXANDER* VII. The new Pope had ſcarce taken Poſſeſſion of the See, when he ſent an expreſs Command to *Donna Olympia* to leave *Rome* in Three Days, to retire to *Orvieto*, and remain there till further Orders. He intended to have called her to an Account for the Money, that had paſſed through her Hands. But in the mean time ſhe died of the Plague; and is ſaid to have left Two Millions of Crowns in Money, beſides ſeveral Eſtates in Land, a magnificent Palace, and Moveables of ineſtimable Value. She bequeathed the Whole to Prince *Pamfili*, the late Pope's Nephew, who was left by *Alexander* to enjoy it undiſturbed, as he owed his Riſe in the Church to his Uncle.——*Alexander* in the Beginning of his Pontificate declared in very ſtrong Terms againſt Nepotiſm. But he ſoon *became a Man*, according to the ludicrous Phraſe of the Time, filled all the beſt Employments, in the State as well as in the Church, with his Relations and Nephews, and, diſmiſſing his old Friends, ſuf-

ALEXANDER VII. *the* 235*th Biſhop of* Rome.

Baniſhes Donna Olympia *from* Rome.

[u] Du Mas Hiſt. des Cinque Propoſitions, p. 158.

Year of Christ 1655.

fered himself to be entirely governed by them [w].——At the Request and Instances of this Pope, seconded by those of the *French* King, *Lewis* XIV. the *Jesuits*, who had been banished out of the Territories of *Venice* for observing the Interdict, were restored by a Decree of the Senate, dated the 19th of *January* 1657 [x].——*Alexander* not only confirmed, at the Instance of the *Jesuits*, the Bull of *Innocent*, condemning the Five Propositions, mentioned above, but by a new Bull, declared, that the said Propositions were the Doctrine of *Jansenius*, and were contained in his Book, nay, that they had been condemned in the *obvious Sense*, and the *Sense of the Author*; *in sensu obvio, in sensu ab Auctore intento.* This Declaration was immediately opposed by the *Jansenists*, recurring to their usual Distinction, that in *Matters of Fact* the Pope was fallible, and consequently, that they were not bound to believe, that those Propositions were the Tenets of *Jansenius*, or that they had been condemned in the Sense, in which he had understood them. However, some of the more moderate among them offered to condemn the Five Propositions *wherever they were found*, and observe a profound Silence concerning *the Matter of Fact*. On the other hand, the *Jesuits* maintained, that when *Matters of Faith* were connected with, or depended upon *Matters of Fact*, the Infallibility of the Pope extended to both; nay, they procured, by their Influence in Cabinet Councils, a Mandate from *Lewis* XIV. commanding all within his Dominions to receive a *Formulary*, or Confession of Faith, in which the Doctrine, condemned by the Pope, was owned to be the Doctrine contained in the Book of *Jansenius* stiled *Augustinus*. They, who refused to sign that *Formulary*, were deprived of their Livings, and either cast into Prison, or sent into Exile [a]. Thus Matters continued during the present Pontificate.——In 1661 a Quarrel broke out between *Alexander*, and the *French* King, *Lewis* XIV. on Occasion of an Insult, offered by the *Corsicans* of the Pope's Guard, to the Duke of *Crequi*, the King's Embassador at *Rome*. This Affair is very differently related by different Authors, but in this all agree, that the *Corsicans* fired at the Embassador, without any Regard to the Sacredness of his Character, as he appeared at the Window of his Palace, on Occasion of a Quarrel between them and some of his Domestics, and that a few

Alexander's *Bull against the* Jansenists.

Year of Christ 1657.

Who are persecuted in France.

The French *Embassador insulted at* Rome.

Year of Christ 1661.

[w] Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. 5. [x] Nani Hist. de Louis le Grand, tom. 3.
[a] Du Plessis d'Argentre Collect. Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus, tom. 3. p. 281——314.

Days

Days afterwards they fired at his Coach as he and his Lady paſſed by their Guard-Room, and killed One of her Pages. As the Pope delayed to give the required Satisfaction, the King ſeized on the City of *Avignon*, and ordered a Body of Troops to file off for *Italy*. *Alexander*, terrified at theſe Hoſtilities, thought it adviſeable to ſubmit, and implore the Clemency of the incenſed Monarch. Negotiations were ſet on Foot, and in 1664 a Peace was concluded at *Piſa* upon the moſt inglorious and mortifying Conditions to the Pope. For the Conditions were, that the Pope ſhould ſend his Nephew to *Paris* with the Character of Legate to give the King Satisfaction; that Cardinal *Imperiali*, who was Governor of *Rome* when the Inſult was offered, ſhould beg Pardon of the King in Perſon; that the Pope ſhould diſcharge his *Corſican* Guards by a public Edict, ſhould erect a Pyramid at *Rome* to preſerve the Memory of ſo notorious a Breach of the Law of Nations, and of the Puniſhment that had attended it; and laſtly, ſhould reſtore *Caſtro* to the Duke of *Parma*, and *Comachio* to the Duke of *Modena*, both which Places he had ſeized, notwithſtanding the Interpoſition of the King in Favour of thoſe Princes [b].——*Alexander* died on the 22d of *May* 1667, after a Pontificate of Twelve Years One Month and Fourteen Days. He is repreſented by the contemporary Writers as a Man of a mean Genius, full of Craft and Diſſimulation, and on that Account diſtruſted and deſpiſed by the Chriſtian Princes. However, he was a Lover of Learning, a generous Encourager of the Learned, took great Delight in reading the *Latin* Poets, and, as he knew moſt of them by Heart, he frequently quoted them, but, perhaps, never more properly than when the Cardinals came to congratulate him upon his Exaltation, anſwering them with the Words of *Virgil*:

Year of Chriſt 1661.

That Inſult how revenged by the King.

His Death.

Year of Chriſt 1667.

——*Diem, quem ſemper acerbum*
Semper honoratum (ſic VOS *voluiſtis) habebo.*

——It was in the Pontificate of *Alexander* that *Chriſtina*, Queen of *Sweden*, abjured the Proteſtant Faith, and embraced that of *Rome*. But the Life ſhe led after her Converſion, as it was called, did no great Honour to her new Religion [c].

[b] De Larrey Hiſt. de Louis XIV. tom. 3. Nani, Reincourt Contin. de Mezerai, &c.
[c] See Arckenholtz Memoires de la Reine Chriſtine.

Alexander

Year of Christ 1667.

CLEMENT IX. *the 236th Biſhop of* Rome.

Alexander had for his Succeſſor *Giulio Roſpiglioſi*, a Native of *Piſtoia*. He was elected on the 20th of *June*, and took the Name of *CLEMENT* IX. He was no ſooner elected, than hearkening to the Remonſtrances of the *Janſeniſts*, who, in the late Pontificate, had refuſed to ſign the above-mentioned Formulary, without proper Explications and Diſtinctions, he declared himſelf ſatisfied with their receiving and ſigning it *ſincerely*, inſtead of *purely and ſimply*, as had been required by his Predeceſſor. This extraordinary Condeſcenſion in the Pope delivered the *Janſeniſts* from all their Scruples, ſince they were thereby allowed to believe, that though the Five Propoſitions were condemned, they might not be the Doctrine of *Janſenius*, nor extracted from his Book. They therefore ſigned the Formulary, and condemned the Five Propoſitions without Heſitation [d]. Thus was the Fury of the *Jeſuits* ſomewhat reſtrained, and Peace, commonly called the Peace of *Clement* IX. reſtored to the Church. But *Clement* died ſoon after he had eſtabliſhed the ſo much wiſhed for Tranquillity. His Death happened on the 9th of *December* 1669, when he had governed the Church Two Years Four Months and Twenty Days. The contemporary Writers ſpeak of him as a Perſon, endowed with every Virtue, becoming the high Station, to which he was raiſed.

Suſpends the Perſecution of the Janſeniſts.

His Death.

Year of Chriſt 1669.

CLEMENT X. *the 237th Biſhop of* Rome.

After a Conclave, that laſted near Five Months, Cardinal *Æmilius Altieri*, come of a noble *Roman* Family, was elected on the 29th of *April* 1670. He aſſumed the Name of *CLEMENT* X. But as he was far advanced in Years, and a Lover of his Eaſe, he neither undertook nor performed any Thing worthy of Notice during the whole Six Years of his Pontificate. He died on the 22d of *July* 1676, when he had preſided in the See Six Years Two Months and Twenty-three Days.

Dies.

Year of Chriſt 1676.

INNOCENT XI. *the 238th Biſhop of* Rome.

The Election of the new Pope was prorogued by the Intrigues of the Cardinals, and foreign Miniſters, till the 10th of *December*, when *Benedict Odeſchalchi*, a Native of *Como* in the Dutchy of *Milan*, was preferred to the See under the Name of *INNOCENT* XI. He was a Man of an irreproachable Character, of uncommon Courage,

[d] D'Argentre Collectio Judiciorum, &c. tom. 3. p. 336. Catechiſm Hiſtorique, &c. tom. 1. p. 352.

auſtere

auſtere in his Morals, and unfeignedly deſirous of reforming the Abuſes, that prevailed in the Church and his Court. He began with aboliſhing Nepotiſm: For when his Nephew came to congratulate him upon his Promotion, he told him, that he muſt not expect to have any Share in the Government, and ſtrictly enjoined him neither to receive, nor return any Viſits as Nephew to the Pope. But at the ſame time, that he might not complain of his having got nothing by the Promotion of his Uncle, he made over to him his whole paternal Eſtate, amounting to Thirty thouſand Crowns of yearly Revenue, ſaying, he could beſtow upon him what was his own, but could not diſpoſe of what was St. *Peter*'s [e]. As the *Franchiſes*, or *Right of Aſylum*, enjoyed by foreign Miniſters reſiding at *Rome*, proved a Sanctuary for the greateſt Criminals, and by ſcreening them from Juſtice, encouraged them in their Crimes, *Innocent* reſolved to ſuppreſs them, the rather, as the Embaſſadors had extended this Immunity to the Streets and Squares, where their Palaces ſtood. The Imperial and *Spaniſh* Embaſſadors, and even Queen *Chriſtina*, readily acquieſced in this Regulation. But the *French* Embaſſador, Marſhal *D'Etrees*, refuſing to agree to it, the Pope allowed him to enjoy his ancient Right, during his Time. This Condeſcenſion in his Holineſs to the *French* Embaſſador was owing to his being unwilling to quarrel with his Maſter *Lewis* XIV. whoſe Arms were become formidable to all *Europe*. However, he could not avoid quarrelling with that powerful Monarch the very next Year. The Subject of their Quarrel was a Right, called in *France* the *Regale*, by which the King claimed the Collation of all Benefices, that became vacant in the Dioceſe of a deceaſed Biſhop till the Nomination of his Succeſſor, and likewiſe the granting of the Inveſtiture to every new Biſhop, and requiring him, on that Occaſion, to ſwear Allegiance to him as his Liege-Lord. Theſe Claims were vigorouſly oppoſed by the Pope, and maintained with no leſs Vigour by the King. The Pope iſſued out Bull after Bull, and the King as many ſevere Edicts againſt all, who ſhould bring into the Kingdom any Bulls, Mandates, or Monitories from *Rome*, or pay any Regard to them. During the Courſe of this long Diſpute, the *French* Biſhops, aſſembling by the King's Order at *Paris* in 1682, confirmed and adopted the Four following Propoſitions, as the ancient Doctrine of the *Gallican* Church. I. *That*

Year of Chriſt 1676. *He aboliſhes Nepotiſm.*

Suppreſſes the Franchiſes.

Year of Chriſt 1677.

Quarrels with the King of France *about the* Regale.

Year of Chriſt 1678.

Four Propoſitions adopted by the Gallican *Clergy.*

[e] Guarnacci Hiſt. Pontif. a Clement XI. ad Clement X. tom. 1. p. 1. et ſeq.

neither

Year of Christ 1682.

neither St. Peter, *nor his Succeſſors, have received from God any Power to intermeddle, directly or indirectly, in civil or temporal Matters; and therefore that Kings and Princes are not liable in temporal Matters to the Eccleſiaſtical Power, nor can they be depoſed by the Power of the Keys, or their Subjects be abſolved from their Fidelity and Obedience to them, or their Oaths of Allegiance.* II. *That the Authority of a General Council is ſuperior to that of the Pope, agreeably to the Fourth and Fifth Decrees of the Council of* Conſtance. III. *That the Rules, Cuſtoms, and Inſtitutions, that have been received in the* Gallican *Church, are to be preſerved inviolable.* IV. *That the Deciſions of the Pope are not infallible without the Conſent and Approbation of the Church.* Theſe Four Propoſitions were ſolemnly adopted by the whole Aſſembly, and propoſed to the whole Body of the Clergy as an inviolable Rule of Faith. At the ſame time the King iſſued out a Declaration in the Form of an Edict, commanding all his Subjects to receive the ſaid Propoſitions, and the Profeſſors of Divinity and Canon Law to teach them in the Schools, with a ſtrict Prohibition to aſſert or maintain the contrary Doctrine.

Conduct of the Pope on that Occaſion.

Innocent thought it not adviſeable to proceed to Extremities againſt the whole Body of the *Gallican* Clergy, ſupported and backed by the King, and therefore contented himſelf with declaring all the Tranſactions of their Aſſembly void and null, with reprimanding the Biſhops for abandoning the Cauſe of the Church, and employing Men of Learning to confute the above Propoſitions[f]. But the Doctrine, which thoſe Propoſitions contain, is held to this Day by the *Gallican* Church.

The Franchiſes a new Subject of Quarrel between the Pope and the King.

Year of Chriſt 1687.

——While this Conteſt between the Pope and the King was carried on with great Reſolution and Warmth on both Sides, another unexpectedly broke out, that left no Room to hope for an Accommodation. The Pope had allowed, as has been ſaid, the *French* Embaſſador, Marſhal *D'Etrees*, to enjoy the *Franchiſe* during his Time. He died in 1686, and the following Year the King appointed the Marquis *De Lavardin* to ſucceed him, with poſitive Orders not to give up, but to aſſert, if neceſſary, even by Force, the diſputed Privilege. In Compliance with this Order, the Marquis made his public Entry into *Rome* with Two hundred Gentlemen, and Four hundred of the *French* Marine Guards. This the Pope highly reſented, and when the Em-

[f] See Cardinal Norris Iſtoria delle Inveſtiture Eccleſiaſt. p. 547. et Heidegger Hiſt. Papalus Period VII. p. 555.

baſſador

baſſador ſent to demand an Audience, he refuſed to receive him till he publicly renounced the uſurped Immunity, and even interdicted the Church of *St. Lewis*, where the Marquis uſed to aſſiſt at Divine Service. On the other hand the King, exaſperated beyond Meaſure at the Treatment his Embaſſador met with at *Rome*, arreſted the Pope's Nuncio at *Paris*, Cardinal *Renucci*, cauſed his Parliament to appeal to a General Council againſt any raſh Meaſures the Pope might be induced by the Enemies of *France* to purſue, and ſeized on *Avignon*. But the Pope ſtill continued inflexible, and the Conteſt was carried on with the greateſt Animoſity till the Death of the Pope, which happened on the 12th of *Auguſt* 1689, when he had preſided in the See Twelve Years Six Months and Two Days. He is numbered by all, who ſpeak of him, among the beſt Popes; and very deſervedly, having made it the whole Buſineſs of his Pontificate to aboliſh the Abuſes, which his Predeceſſors had thought it adviſeable to connive at, to reform the Manners of the Clergy, as well as the Laity, and reſtore, by many wiſe and ſalutary Regulations, the ancient Diſcipline of the Church. He carried his Zeal, perhaps, too far in commanding, on Pain of Excommunication, Women of all Ranks and Conditions to cover their Boſoms and Necks up to the Chin, and their Arms down to their Wriſts, with ſome Stuff, that was not tranſparent, and abſolutely prohibiting them the Learning of Muſic. *Innocent* having found, upon examining the Accounts of the Apoſtolic Chamber, that ſince the Pontificate of *Clement* VIII. who died in 1603, Nepotiſm had coſt the Holy See Seventeen Millions, he drew up a Bull to ſuppreſs it for ever. But the Cardinals, all to a Man, oppoſed its Publication g.——It was in this Pope's Time, in the Year 1682, that *Michael de Molinos*, a *Spaniſh* Prieſt, publiſhed at *Rome* his *Spiritual Guide*, a Book, that gave great Offence to many, eſpecially to the *Jeſuits*. For the Whole of Religion was there placed in a perfect *Calm* and *Tranquillity* of Mind, *abſorbed* in the Deity, and in a *pure and diſintereſted Love* of the Supreme Being, that is, a Love exempt from all Views of Intereſt, or Hopes of Reward. From the *Calm* and *Quiet* of Mind, which this Doctrine required, it took the Name of *Quietiſm*, and thoſe, who embraced it, were called *Quietiſts*. As by ſuch Principles all Kinds of external Worſhip were rejected as inſignificant and quite uſeleſs,

Year of Chriſt 1687.

Innocent *dies*.

Year of Chriſt 1689.

His Character.

The Riſe of Quietiſm in his Time.

Some Account of that Sect.

g Etat du Siege de Rome. Guarnacci Hiſt. Pontif. p. 232.

Year of Chriſt 1689.

the Adverſaries of *Molinos*, not ſatisfied with refuting his Doctrine, as contrary to that of the Church, accuſed him to the Inquiſition, as a Heretic, upon his refuſing to retract it. He had many Friends and Diſciples in *Rome* of Rank and Credit, and even ſome Cardinals, nay, and was highly eſteemed by the Pope himſelf: Yet the *Jeſuits*, his moſt bitter Enemies, being powerfully ſupported by the Cardinal *D'Etrees*, prevailed at laſt; and the Pope, in order to gratify them, was obliged, contrary to his own Inclination, to abandon a Man, to whom he had ſhewn particular Marks of his Favour. *Molinos* was taken up by the Inquiſition in 1685, was obliged to own, and publicly renounce the Errors, of which he was accuſed, and was thereupon condemned to perpetual Impriſonment. That *Molinos* and his Followers were guilty of the many ſhocking Obſcenities laid to their Charge; that they maintained that *the Sin of a Man, united to God, is no Sin, ſince God works in him, and with him, whatever he does*, has been aſſerted by ſome, and denied by others [h].

ALEXANDER VIII. *the 239th Biſhop of* Rome.

Upon the Deceaſe of *Innocent*, Cardinal *Peter Ottoboni*, a Native of *Venice*, was preferred to the Chair, on the 6th of *October*, by the Name of *ALEXANDER* VIII. The King of *France* no ſooner heard of the Election of the new Pope, than, being deſirous of terminating the Differences that had ſubſiſted between him and the Holy See, during the late Pontificate, he ordered the Duke *de Chaulnes*, his Embaſſador Extraordinary at *Rome*, to give up all Claim to the Franchiſes, and at the ſame time he reſtored the City and Territory of *Avignon*. But *Alexander* was not yet ſatisfied. He inſiſted upon the *French* Biſhops revoking the Four Propoſitions, received by their Aſſembly in 1682; and upon their ſtill maintaining them, he condemned the ſaid Propoſitions by a Bull, dated the 30th *January* 1691, and threatened the Biſhops, though ſupported by the King, with the Cenſures of the Church [i]. But the riſing Storm was happily laid by the Death of the Pope. He died on the 1ſt of *February* 1691, after a Pontificate of One Year Nine Months and Twenty-ſix Days. The many wiſe and ſalutary Regulations, made by *Innocent*, were tranſgreſſed with Impunity in the Pontificate of *Alexander*, the antient Diſ-

The Franchiſes given up by the French *King.*

The Doctrine of the Gallican *Church condemned by* Alexander.

He dies.

Year of Chriſt 1691.

[h] See Weiſmen. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Sec. XVII. p. 555. Colonia Bibliotheque Quietiſt. p. 455——488. D'Argentre Collectio Judicorum, &c. tom. 3. p. 357. [i] Larrey Hiſt. de Louis XIV. tom. 5. p. 392.

orders

orders were all revived, and Nepotiſm was carried to the moſt ſcandalous Height [k]. Year of Chriſt 1689.

The next Election was very ſlow, and fell at laſt upon Cardinal *Antony Pignatelli*, a *Neapolitan*, and Archbiſhop of *Naples*. He was elected on the 12th of *July*, and took the Name of *INNOCENT* XII. He undertook, in Imitation of the good Pope *Innocent* XI. the Reformation of the Church and the Court. As Nepotiſm had proved extremely prejudicial both to the Church and the State, he cauſed a Bull to be drawn up, in the very Beginning of his Pontificate, ſuppreſſing it for ever. The Bull was warmly oppoſed by moſt of the Cardinals. But *Innocent* was inflexible, he obliged all the Cardinals, who were then in *Rome*, to ſign it, and thus ſigned it was publiſhed, in Spite of all their Remonſtrances, with unuſual Solemnity [l].——In 1693 *Innocent* condemned anew the Four Propoſitions concerning the Power and Fallibility of the Pope, which had been adopted by the *Gallican* Church, and condemned by his Two immediate Predeceſſors. On this Occaſion the King abandoned their Protection to the great Surprize of the whole Kingdom; and they were forced to ſubmit, and renounce the Doctrine, which they had ſo ſolemnly eſtabliſhed but a few Years before [m]. At this Time the Pope was mediating a Peace between the King and the Emperor *Leopold*, and it was to gain the Favour and Good-will of his Holineſs, that *Lewis* left the Biſhops at his Mercy.——In 1699 was condemned by *Innocent* the Book, which the famous *de la Mothe Fenelon*, Archbiſhop of *Cambray*, had publiſhed under the Title of *The Maxims of Saints*. In that Piece *pure and diſintereſted Love* was recommended and inculcated as alone becoming the *Saints*. As the Book made a great Noiſe, Recourſe was had to the Pope, who appointed a particular Congregation to examine the Doctrine it contained. The Book was declared *unſound* by the Divines, who compoſed that Congregation: Twenty-three Propoſitions were judged erroneous, and the Pope condemned them by a Bull, dated at *Rome* the 13th of *March* 1699. That excellent Prelate not only acquieſced in the Sentence, but read it to his People in the Pulpit at *Cambray*, exhorted them to ſubmit to it, and would not allow any of his Friends to defend what

INNOCENT XII. *the* 240*th Biſhop of* Rome.

He aboliſhes Nepotiſm. Year of Chriſt 1692.

He condemns the Four Propoſitions adopted by the Gallican *Clergy.* Year of Chriſt 1693.

And Archbiſhop Fenelon's Divine Love. Year of Chriſt 1699.

[k] Etat. du Siege de Rome, tom. 2. p. 84. [l] Ibid. p. 110. et Bullarium Bulla 19. [m] Etat. du Siege de Rome, tom. 2. p. 146.

Year of Chriſt 1700. *His Death.*

the Pope had condemned [1]. ——*Innocent* died on the 27th of *September* 1700, having governed the Church Nine Years Two Months and Fifteen Days. He was univerſally beloved for his eminent Virtues, and is greatly commended by all the contemporary Writers for his zealous Endeavours to reform the Church and the Court, though they were not attended with all the wiſhed-for Succeſs.

CLEMENT XI. *the* 241*ſt Biſhop of* Rome.

The new Pope *CLEMENT* XI. a Native of *Urbino*, called before his Election *John Francis Albani*, was unanimouſly choſen on the 3d of *November*, though he was then only in the 51ſt Year of his Age. He declined at firſt the offered Dignity, alleging that he feared his extream Fondneſs for his Nephews, and the Reſt of his Family, would betray him, to the great Diſhonour of the Holy See, into a Tranſgreſſion of the Bull againſt Nepotiſm, which he himſelf had drawn up, and zealouſly promoted. However he yielded the Third Day, to the great Satisfaction of the Cardinals, who entertained the higheſt Opinion of his Abilities, and his Skill in State Affairs. In the War that broke out in the Beginning of his Pontificate, between the Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Bourbon*, about the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, he reſolved to ſtand neuter, and only act the Part of a Mediator. But his refuſing to acknowlege either of the Two Competitors, *Philip* V. or *Charles* III. or to grant to either the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, diſobliged both, and involved the Eccleſiaſtical State in all the Calamities of a War. But *Clement* was not thereby diverted from attending to the Affairs of the Church. He hearkened to the Accuſations, brought againſt the *Jeſuits* by the *Dominicans* and other Miſſionaries in *China*. The grand Accuſation was, that they tolerated in their Converts the idolatrous Practices of their old Religion, and thus introduced a motley Mixture of Chriſtianity and Paganiſm. The Practices, that they connived at and their Adverſaries branded them with Idolatry, were, I. That they permitted the new Chriſtians to adore the ſame God, whom they adored before under the Name of TIEN, which Word in the *Chineſe* Language ſignifies the *Heavens*. The *Chineſe* Deity was, as the Adverſaries of the *Jeſuits* pretended, either the *material Heavens*, or a Deity infinitely inferior, in Excellence and Perfection, to the God of the Chriſtians. Were that true, the Fathers of the Society would, without all Diſpute, be guilty of the Charge brought againſt them.

Greatly embarraſſed in the War about the Spaniſh *Succeſſion.*

Diſpute between the Jeſuits *and other Miſſionaries about the* Chineſe *Ceremonies.*

Charge brought againſt the Jeſuits.

[1] Touſſaints Hiſt. de l'Engliſe de Meaux, l. 5. p. 485, et ſeq. Ramſey vie de Fenelon.

But

Year of Chriſt 1704.

But they maintained, that the *Chineſe*, by their TIEN meant, not the *material Heaven*, but the *Lord of Heaven*, an eternal and all-perfect Being, the Creator and Governor of the Univerſe, and, in ſhort, the ſame God, whom the Chriſtians adore, with all the Attributes, which they aſcribe to him. The *Chineſe* therefore were no Idolaters, according to the *Jeſuits*, but knew, and worſhipped the true God, and conſequently their Order could not juſtly be accuſed of permitting Idolatry in permitting their Proſelytes to adore the ſame God after their Converſion, as they had adored before it. II. The Rights and Ceremonies, that were performed yearly by the Learned among the *Chineſe* to the Memory of their great Lawgiver *Confucius*, and by every Family in Honour of their Anceſtors, were tolerated by the *Jeſuits*, but condemned by the other Miſſionaries as rank Idolatry. On theſe Occaſions the *Chineſe* proſtrate themſelves before a Kind of Tablet, on which the Names of their Anceſtors, and that of *Confucius* are written in golden Letters, make Offering to them of rich Perfumes, Victuals, Fruits, *&c.* and repeat a great Variety of Prayers, which being ended, the Perſon, who officiates, diſmiſſes the Aſſembly with a Bleſſing. Are theſe Ceremonies only Civil Inſtitutions, as was maintained by the *Jeſuits*, or of a Religious Nature, as was aſſerted by the other Miſſionaries? The deciding of this important Queſtion was, at laſt, referred to the *infallible* Heads of the Church; and, ſurely, nothing has ever more plainly ſhewn their total Want of that Prerogative, than their Deciſions concerning it. In 1645 *Innocent* X. highly diſapproved of the Conduct of the *Jeſuits*, and ſtigmatized the Ceremonies, which they tolerated, with the Name of *Chineſe Superſtitions*. In 1656 *Alexander* VII. allowed the *Chineſe* Converts to obſerve ſeveral of the Ceremonies, which *Innocent* had condemned. As the *Jeſuits* had now One *infallible* Pope for them, and One no leſs *infallible* Pope againſt them, the ſucceeding Popes avoided, for ſome time, to come to any Determination, ſince they could come to none without contradicting that of One of their Predeceſſors. Thus the Conteſt was carried on with great Warmth in *China*, to the inexpreſſible Prejudice of the Chriſtian Religion, the more ſenſible among the *Chineſe* deſiring the Miſſionaries to ſettle among themſelves what was, and what was not to be believed and practiſed in their Religion, before they recommended it to others. In 1693 a *French* Prieſt, named *Charles Maigrot*, who had been ſent into

The Ceremonies in Diſpute.

Deciſions of the Popes concerning them.

Year of Chriſt 1704.

China with the Character of Apoſtolic Vicar, and was afterward conſecrated titular Biſhop of *Conon*, in that Empire, condemned, by a public Edict, the Opinions and Practices of the *Jeſuits* as abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Principles of the Goſpel and the Purity of the Chriſtian Religion. From this Sentence the *Jeſuits* appealed to the Pope, *Innocent* XII. who, in 1699, appointed a Congregation to examine and finally decide this tedious Controverſy. But *Innocent* dying in the mean time, his Succeſſor, *Clement* XI. forbad, by a ſolemn Decree in 1704, the Uſe of the Ceremonies in Queſtion, and at the ſame time required the General of the *Jeſuits*, by a private Brief, to ſee that this his Edict was punctually complied with by all under his Obedience. The *Jeſuits* did not acquieſce in the Papal Decree, but explaining it, as forbidding theſe Ceremonies in a religious Senſe, and not as political Inſtitutions, in which Light alone, they ſaid, they were conſidered by the *Chineſe*, they ſtill maintained that they might be innocently obſerved by the new Chriſtians, and continued, in ſpite of the Pope's Prohibition, to permit them. Thus was the War renewed between the *Jeſuits* and their Adverſaries, and on both Sides carried on, in *China* and in *Europe*, with more Acrimony than ever. At laſt *Clement*, apprehending the Conſequences of his provoking ſo formidable an Order as that of the *Jeſuits*, thought it adviſeable to appeaſe their Reſentment by a new Decree; and, accordingly, he iſſued One in 1715, allowing the Miſſionaries and their *Chineſe* Proſelytes to uſe the Word *Tien* to expreſs the *Divine Nature*, provided they added to it the Word TCHU, theſe Two Words ſignifying the *Lord of Heaven*, and plainly ſhewing that they adored not the *material Heaven*, but the *Maker of Heaven*, whom the Chriſtians adored. By the ſame Decree moſt of the Ceremonies, which *Innocent* X. had condemned, and *Clement* himſelf had forbidden, were permitted, upon Condition that they ſhould be conſidered by thoſe, who performed them, not as Religious but as Civil Inſtitutions, or merely as Marks of Reſpect to their Anceſtors and their Lawgiver. Thus the *Jeſuits* triumphed in the End; and they have been ſuffered, ever ſince the Publication of this laſt Decree, to purſue unmoleſted their own Methods of Converſion.——In the Pontificate of *Clement* was revived the Controverſy between the *Janſeniſts* and *Jeſuits*, on Occaſion of a Queſtion, probably, propoſed with that View, and commonly

Condemned in China *by the Apoſtolic Vicar.*

Forbidden by Clement XI.

Year of Chriſt 1704.

But ſtill tolerated by the Jeſuits.

Clement's *final Deciſion.*

The Controverſy between the Janſeniſts

monly called *The Caſe of Conſcience*. The Queſtion was, *Whether Abſolution could be granted to a Man, who received* PURELY AND SIMPLY *the above-mentioned Formulary* [b], *and yet believed, in his Heart, that the Pope and the Church might be miſtaken in Matters of Fact?* Or that the *Five Propoſitions* might not be found in the Book of *Janſenius*, in the Senſe in which they had been condemned by the Pope? In Anſwer to this Queſtion Forty Doctors of the *Sorbonne* gave it under their Hands, that Abſolution might be granted to ſuch a Perſon. As the Pope's Infallibility was thereby denied with reſpect to *Matters of Fact*, the *Jeſuits* and their Friends, applying to his Holineſs, procured a Bull, enjoining a Belief of *Matters of Fact*, as well as of *Matters of Doctrine* or Opinion, and at the ſame time declaring, that a reſpectful Silence was not ſufficient with regard to the former, as was pretended by the *Janſeniſts*, but a poſitive Aſſent was abſolutely neceſſary. This Bull begins with the Words *Vineam Domini*, and is dated the 20th of *October* 1705. It was ſent by the King to the Aſſembly of the Biſhops, then ſitting at *Paris*, to the Parliament, and to the College of the *Sorbonne*, and by all received, for the Sake of Peace, *ſaving the Rights of the Biſhops, the Liberties of the* GALLICAN *Church, and the Prerogatives of the Crown*. Thus was Tranquillity reſtored. But it was ſoon diſturbed anew on the following Occaſion. The famous *Paſquier Quenel*, a Prieſt of the *Oratory*, an intimate Friend of the celebrated *Arnauld*, and after his Death the leading Man of his Party, had publiſhed, in 1671, a Book of *Moral Reflections* upon the Text of the New Teſtament. This Piece he afterwards improved, with many Additions and practical Obſervations, calculated to awaken in the Reader the moſt lively Sentiments of Piety and Religion. It was received with univerſal Applauſe, and highly commended by ſeveral Biſhops, nay, and by the Pope himſelf, *Clement* XI. But the *Jeſuits* diſcovered in it the very Quinteſſence of *Janſeniſm*, which had eſcaped his Holineſs's Infallibility, and was inſenſibly imbibed by thoſe, who peruſed it. They publickly inveighed againſt it, as conveying the Venom of *Janſeniſm* under the ſpecious Appearances of Piety and Devotion. They did not ſtop there, but having extracted from the Book 103 Propoſitions, they prevailed upon the King, by their great Intereſt at Court, to apply to *Rome* for a Bull, condemning the ſaid Propoſitions, and the Book itſelf.

Year of Chriſt 1705. *and* Jeſuits *revived, and upon what Occaſion.*

Clement's *Bull* Vineam Domini, &c.

[b] See above, p. 484.

Year of Chriſt 1713.

His Bull Unigenitus *how received in* France.

ſelf. *Clement* readily granted the King's Requeſt, and in 1713 iſſued out the famous Bull *Unigenitus*, by which 101 Propoſitions were condemned in *Quenel*'s Book, the very Book, upon which *Clement* himſelf had beſtowed the higheſt Encomiums but a few Years before. It was accepted by Forty Biſhops, and oppoſed by Seven, with Cardinal *Noailles*, Archbiſhop of *Paris*, at their Head. But the Bull being, notwithſtanding their Oppoſition, regiſtered, by the King's expreſs Command, in the College of the *Sorbonne*, and in Parliament, it obtained the Force of a Law. It would be both tedious and foreign to my Purpoſe to relate the Diſturbances that attended the Publication of this Bull in *France*, and the ſevere Treatment they met with from the King, who, inſtead of receiving it, appealed from the Pope to a General Council. I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that *Clement*, by a Paſtoral Letter, dated the 8th of *September* 1718, and beginning with the Words, *Paſtoralis Officii*, ſeparated himſelf from the Communion of all, by what Dignity ſoever diſtinguiſhed, who did not receive his Conſtitution; that thereupon Cardinal *Noailles*, on the 24th of the ſame Month and Year, publiſhed his Appeal, dated the 3d of *April* of the preceding Year, but was, at laſt, in 1728, prevailed upon to withdraw his Appeal, and receive the Conſtitution. Moſt of the Biſhops and their Clergy followed his Example. Thus was the public Tranquillity reſtored. But in that Kingdom many, both of the Clergy and the Laity, ſtill adhere to the Doctrine of *Janſenius*, and wait only for a favourable Opportunity of reviving the Controverſy, and rekindling the Flame, that is covered, but not yet extinguiſhed.——In 1717 *Clement* quarrelled with the new King of *Sicily*, the Duke of *Savoy*, about the *Sicilian Monarchy*, as it is called, and upon the King's refuſing to give it up, he laid the whole Iſland under an Interdict. But the King, paying no Regard to the Interdict, ordered the Clergy to perform Divine Service as uſual, and baniſhed all, who refuſed to comply. Of the *Monarchy* of *Sicily* and its Origin I have ſpoken at length elſewhere [e].——*Clement* had the Misfortune to find himſelf conſtantly, we may ſay, between Two Fires: He could grant no Favour to either of the Pretenders to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy without diſobliging the other, and was thus looked upon by both, and treated as an Enemy. To gratify *Philip* V. and avoid an open Rupture with the Court of *Spain*,

He ſeparates himſelf from the Communion of thoſe who refuſe to accept it.

Year of Chriſt 1718.

Clement *quarrels with the King of* Sicily.

Year of Chriſt 1717.

[e] See Vol. V. p. 339, 340.

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he conferred, much againſt his Will, the Dignity of Cardinal upon the famous *Alberoni*. That Promotion was highly reſented by the Emperor, pretending that the new Cardinal kept up a Correſpondence with the Rebels of *Hungary*, and had ſollicited the *Turk* to join them. The Menaces of the Emperor, and the ſeizing of *Comachio* by the Imperial Forces, obliged the Pope to levy Troops, in order to repel Force by Force. But at the Approach of the Emperor's Army, conſiſting chiefly of *Lutherans*, he was glad to conclude a Peace upon the Terms preſcribed to him. In ſhort, his Pontificate was, from the Beginning to the End, an uninterrupted Series of Troubles and croſs Events; and he was frequently heard to ſay, that he wiſhed he repented as ſincerely of his Sins, as he did of his having ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to accept of the Pontifical Dignity. Death put an End to his Life and his Troubles on the 19th of *November* 1721, after a Pontificate of Twenty Years Four Months and Sixteen Days. He was a Man of an untainted Character, was well ſkilled in State Affairs, and ſurpaſſed, in Sagacity, moſt of the preceding Popes, but was often brought into Difficulties by preferring the Judgment of others to his own. He was well acquainted with Scholaſtic Divinity, and a very elegant *Latin* Writer, as appears from his *Letters*, his *Brevia Selecta*, his *Orationes Conſiſtoriales*, his *Homilies*, and his *Bullarium*, of which a magnificent Edition was publiſhed, after his Death, by his Nephew, Cardinal *Hannibal Albani*. He was not altogether free from Nepotiſm, but he never ſuffered it to lead him into thoſe ſcandalous Exceſſes, that had, in latter Times, ſo diſgraced the Pontificates of moſt of his Predeceſſors. Upon the whole, *Clement* XI. may deſervedly be placed among the good Popes [f].

Year of Chriſt 1718.

Clement *dies*. Year of Chriſt 1721.

His Character.

In the Room of *Clement* was unanimouſly elected, on the 8th of *May*, *Michael Angelo Conti*, of One of the moſt illuſtrious Families of *Rome*, who took the Name of *INNOCENT* XIII. He was a Man of excellent Parts, and of an irreproachable Character, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, when a Cardinal, above moſt of the Sacred College. But the Infirmities, to which he had been for ſome Years ſubject, prevented him from making any Figure as a Pope. Soon after

INNOCENT XIII. *the* 242*d Biſhop of* Rome.

[f] Polidorus de vita et rebus geſtis Clementis XI. Morci Riſtretto della vita de Clemente XI.

Year of Chriſt 1721.

Maintains and defends the Bull Unigenitus.

his Promotion he received a Letter, ſigned by Seven *French* Biſhops, begging his Holineſs would be pleaſed to revoke, or, at leaſt, to modify the Bull *Unigenitus*, as ſurreptitious, and only calculated to keep thoſe diſunited, whom it was incumbent upon him to unite. In that Letter, dated the 9th of *June* 1721, they urged ſo many Arguments againſt the Bull, that it rather deſerved the Name of a Book than a Letter. *Innocent* referred it to the Inquiſition, and by a Decree of that Tribunal, dated the 29th of *March* 1722, it was condemned as *Schiſmatical*, and *tending to promote Hereſy*, and all were forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to publiſh, to peruſe, or to keep it by them.——*Innocent* conſented, at laſt, to inveſt the Emperor, *Charles* VI. with the Kingdom of *Naples*, but ſolemnly proteſted againſt the Inveſtiture of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, granted by that Prince to the Infant *Don Carlos*, pretending thoſe States to be Fiefs of the Church, and not of the Empire. He acquitted the perſecuted Cardinal *Alberoni*, received him into Favour, and died on the 7th of *March* 1724, having governed the Church Two Years and Ten Months. He left moſt of the chief Employments poſſeſſed by the very numerous Tribe of his Nephews and Relations, moſt of them Perſons of the Firſt Rank in *Rome*. The Day before his Death he was prevailed upon by the *French* Embaſſador to ſign a Diſpenſation for the Prince *De Buillon*, eldeſt Son to the Duke of that Name, to marry the Princeſs of *Turenne*, his Brother's Widow g.

Inveſts the Emperor with the Kingdom of Naples.

Dies. Year of Chriſt 1724.

BENEDICT XIII. *the 243d Biſhop of* Rome.

Upon the Death of *Innocent* Cardinal *Vincenzo Maria Orſini*, a *Dominican* Friar, and Archbiſhop of *Benevento*, was raiſed to the Chair on the 29th of *May*. He was a Native of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Gravina* of that Kingdom, but, being of a religious Turn of Mind, had, from his tender Years, embraced a monaſtic Life in the Order of *St. Dominic*. He was, in Conſideration of his noble Deſcent, and exemplary Life, preferred by *Clement* X. in 1672, to the Dignity of Cardinal, and ſoon afterwards to the Archbiſhopric of *Benevento*. He was, with the utmoſt Difficulty, prevailed upon to accept of the Papal Dignity, alleging, that he was utterly unacquainted with State Affairs, and that it was too late for him to acquaint himſelf with them. But being forced to acquieſce

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in his Election, he made it the whole Buſineſs of his Pontificate to reduce the Pleaſures and Pomp of his Court, to ſuppreſs Abuſes, and reſtrain the Licentiouſneſs of the Clergy. With that View he held a Provincial Synod in the *Lateran* in 1725. But the *Jeſuits*, of whom Three were, at this Time, Cardinals, highly provoked at his approving the Doctrine of the *Dominicans* concerning *Grace* and *Predeſtination*, found Means to render all his Endeavours ineffectual; nay, they took Occaſion from his Enmity to Perukes, and his ordering the Clergy of all Ranks to wear their own Hair, to expoſe both him and his Council to Contempt and Ridicule. In 1727 *Benedict* publiſhed a Bull, beginning with the Word *Pretioſus*, to confirm the Bull *Unigenitus*. But as he adopted, in his Bull, the Syſtem of the *Dominicans*, the *Jeſuits* pretended, that inſtead of condemning he had approved the Doctrine of *Janſenius*. Indeed the Doctrine of the *Dominicans*, with reſpect to *Grace* and *Predeſtination*, differs very little, if at all, from that of the *Janſeniſts*. But they now diſguiſe their real Tenets with Terms and Diſtinctions, evidently borrowed from the Schools of the *Jeſuits*, and have, on that Account, been ſeverely reproached by the *Janſeniſts* with betraying the Cauſe of Truth [h].——*Benedict* would never ſuffer any of his Relations to interfere in the Government. But his extraordinary Kindneſs to the famous *Nicholas Coſcia*, the Confidence he placed in him, and his admitting him, at laſt, though of a very mean Deſcent, into the Sacred College, offended the Cardinals more than the moſt ſcandalous Nepotiſm could have done. They pretended, that the Dignity of Cardinal ought to be the Reward, not of private, but of public Services only; and even compared the promoting of *Coſcia* to ſo high a Station to the Promotion formerly made by *Julius* III. of his Monkey-Keeper to the ſame Station. However, the Favourite was no ſooner veſted with his new Dignity, than the Courtiers all ſtrove, and among them ſome Cardinals, who ſhould be the foremoſt to congratulate him upon his Promotion, and recommend themſelves to his Favour and Protection. From that Time he governed quite uncontrolled, while the good Pope was wholly employed in viſiting Hoſpitals, and in ſuch like Works of Charity, or in forming impracticable Schemes to unite all Chriſtian Sects in One Church and One Faith.—— One of the moſt remarkable Events of *Benedict*'s Pontificate was the

Year of Chriſt 1725. *Holds a Provincial Synod in the* Lateran.

Confirms the Bull Unigenitus.

Year of Chriſt 1727.

Confers the Dignity of Cardinal upon his Favourite Coſcia,

Who governs uncontrolled.

[h] Lettres Provinciales, Lett. II.

Year of Chriſt 1728. Submiſſion of the aged Cardinal *Noailles*, who, in 1728, conſented, at laſt, to receive, and to ſign the Bull *Unigenitus*, to the inexpreſſible Joy of his Holineſs; and he immediately notified it to the Cardinals in a full Conſiſtory, called for that Purpoſe, requiring them all to write ſeparately to him, and renew the ſo long interrupted Correſpondence between them, and ſo worthy a Member of their College.——*Benedict* died on the 21ſt of *February* 1730, when he had preſided in the See Five Years Eight Months and Twenty-three Days. He had ever led a moſt exemplary Life, had ever been remarkable for the Auſterity of his Morals, and the Purity of his Manners, was poſſeſſed of every Chriſtian Virtue in a moſt eminent Degree, and in Piety no-ways inferior to any of the Popes of the primitive Times. His Kindneſs to the Poor was quite extraordinary and ſtriking. He uſed to call them his Nephews and Relations, ordered the Gates of the *Vatican* to ſtand ever open to them, admitted to his Preſence all who preſented themſelves, and at all Hours of the Day, heard their Complaints, and never failed to relieve ſuch of them as he found, upon Enquiry, to ſtand in real Need of Relief. In order to be better able to provide for them, without putting the Apoſtolic Chamber to any extraordinary Expences, he fixed the Expence of his own Table at Eight *Baiocchi* a Day, ſcarce *Six-pence Engliſh*, drinking no Wine, and living only upon Vegetables. He viſited all the public Hoſpitals in Town, at leaſt, Thrice a Week, frequently adminſtered to the Sick their Medicines with his own Hand, and, when he found any of them at the Point of Death, he kneeled down by them, and prayed till they expired. He was an utter Enemy to all Pomp and Shew, and would even have diſmiſſed his Guards, ſaying, that ſuch Marks of Sovereignty became not the *Servant of Servants*, the Succeſſors of a poor Fiſherman, but was prevailed upon, not without much Difficulty, to lay aſide that Reſolution. However, he made very little Uſe of his Guards, but walked out in the Duſk of the Evening to viſit his ſick Friends, or went in a Coach, attended by One Servant only. Upon the whole, he was, with reſpect to his private Character, One of the beſt Popes we read of ſince the Foundation of the See of *Rome* to his Time. But if we view him in a public Character, we ſhall, perhaps, find him to have been One of the worſt. He left the Government entirely in the Hands of *Coſcia*, and his other Favourites, and entertained ſo high an Opinion of their Integrity,

Year of Chriſt 1728. *The Bull* Unigenitus *received by Cardinal* Noailles.

Year of Chriſt 1728. Benedict *dies*.

Year of Chriſt 1730. *His Character.*

Remarkably kind to the Poor.

An Enemy to all Pomp and Shew.

tegrity, that he would hearken to no Complaints againſt them, though guilty of the moſt enormous and notorious Extortions. It muſt, farther, be owned, that this reſpectable Pope betrayed, in moſt of his Actions, ſome Foible, and that, after all, neither his Prudence nor his Abilities were equal to ſo high a Station [i]. Year of Chriſt 1730.

CLEMENT XII. *the 244th Biſhop of* Rome.

The new Election was protracted by political Intrigues, and the Diſagreement of the different Parties, for the Space of near Five Months, that is, till the 12th of *July*, when the *Albani* Party, conſiſting of the Creatures of *Clement* XI. prevailed at laſt, and, by their Intereſt, *Laurence Corſini*, a Native of *Florence*, was raiſed to the Papal Chair, under the Name of *CLEMENT* XII. He began his Pontificate with obliging Cardinal *Coſcia*, and thoſe, whom he had employed, to give an Account of their late Adminiſtration, and anſwer the many Accuſations brought againſt them by Perſons of all Ranks and Conditions. They were tried by a particular Congregation, appointed for that Purpoſe, and it plainly appearing, that they had defrauded the Apoſtolic Chamber of immenſe Sums, they were ſentenced to make them good, which reduced them almoſt to Beggary. We are told, that a very ſmall Share of the Sums which they were forced to refund, came into the Apoſtolic Chamber, his Holineſs having privately diſpoſed of it to his Nephews and Relations.——*Clement* refuſed at firſt to confirm the Infant *Don Lewis* in the Archbiſhopric of *Toledo*, but was in the End obliged to yield, and even to diſtinguiſh him, though but Eight Years old, with the Dignity of Cardinal. He quarrelled with moſt of the Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially with the Emperor *Charles*, claiming a Right to diſpoſe of the *Dutchy* of *Parma*, as a Fief of the Empire, while his Holineſs obſtinately maintained it to be a Fief of the Church.——*Clement* died on the 6th of *February* 1740, when he had governed the Church Nine Years Six Months and Twenty-five Days. He was a Man of Learning, and an Encourager of the Learned, but left no Writings behind him beſides ſome Bulls, and among theſe One, allowing the Proteſtants, who ſhould embrace the *Roman* Catholic Religion, to continue in the Poſſeſſion of the Church-lands, which they held before their Converſion. He improved the *Vatican* Library with a noble Collection of very ſcarce and valuable Books.

Calls Cardinal Coſcia, *and his Accomplices, to an Account.*

Quarrels with moſt of the Chriſtian Princes.

Dies. Year of Chriſt 1740.

[i] Guarnacci vit. Pontif.

The

Year of Chriſt 1740. *BENEDICT* XIV. *the 245th Biſhop of* Rome.

The College of Cardinals was, at this Time, divided into Two Parties, the One conſiſting of the Creatures of the *Albani*, and the other of thoſe of the *Corſini* Family. As they were pretty equal in Numbers, and neither would yield to the other, the Conteſt laſted Six Months and ſome Days. During that Time, ſeveral Cardinals of both Parties, no longer able to bear their cloſe Confinement in the Height of the Summer Heats, choſe to quit the Field of Battle, and reſerve themſelves for a future Chance. At laſt, the *Albani* Party carried the Day, and by them was elected, on the 17th of *Auguſt*, *Proſper Lambertini*, a Native of *Bologna*, and Archbiſhop of that City, who aſſumed the Name of *BENEDICT* XIV. He was a Man of an untainted Character, of extraordinary Parts, and in every Reſpect worthy of and equal to ſo high a Station. He undertook, in the very Beginning of of his Pontificate, the *Herculean* Labour of cleanſing the Church as well as the Court, and extirpating the many crying Abuſes, that had taken deep Root in both. His zealous Endeavours were not quite deſtitute of Succeſs. But his diminiſhing the Number of Feſtivals, his aboliſhing ſome vain and ſenſeleſs Ceremonies, his Diſlike of the groſſer Superſtitions, that prevailed in the Church, and his undiſguiſed Diſapprobation of the many pious, or rather impious Frauds, countenanced, or connived at by his Predeceſſors, gave great Offence to ſome bigotted Cardinals, and procured him the odious Denomination of *the Proteſtant Pope* from the deluded Multitude. He was a generous and munificent Encourager of Learning, and himſelf a moſt learned Writer. His Works, publiſhed at *Rome*, ſoon after his Death, in 12 Volumes Quarto, will be a laſting Monument of his extenſive Knowlege and profound Erudition. But as the Actions of this Pope, who died on the 2d of *May* 1758, as well as thoſe of the preſent Pope *Clement* XIII. elected in his Room on the 6th of *July* of the ſame Year, are ſufficiently known to the preſent Generation, I ſhall leave thoſe, who may hereafter undertake the Continuation of this Work, to tranſmit them to Poſterity, and cloſe *The Hiſtory of the Popes from the Foundation of the See of* Rome *to the preſent Time*, the Reſult of above Twenty Years Labour.

His Zeal for a Reformation procures him the Denomination of the Proteſtant Pope.

Benedict *dies.* Year of Chriſt 1758.

It would betray an unpardonable Preſumption in me to imagine, that in ſo voluminous a Work I have fallen into no Miſtakes: But

I can ſay, with the ſtricteſt Truth, that I have ſpared no Pains, no Labour, nor Induſtry to avoid even the ſmalleſt. How far my Endeavours may have been attended with Succeſs, I ſhall leave thoſe to judge, who judge with Knowlege, Candor, and Impartiality; but I flatter myſelf, that the Errors, which may occur, are neither numerous, nor important, and conſequently that my Labours may prove, in ſome Degree, ſerviceable to the Proteſtant Cauſe, the Cauſe of Truth. I ſhall therefore conclude with offering the juſt Tribute of my Gratitude to the ALMIGHTY, who has enabled me, in my advanced Years, to purſue and compleat ſo toilſome a Work, notwithſtanding the violent and repeated Efforts of the Enemies of Truth, and their unnatural Allies to divert me from it. May the Detection of the many groſs and pernicious Errors, which I have ſhewn, in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, to have been engrafted, from time to time, upon the pure Religion brought down from Heaven by *the Author and Finiſher of our Faith*, lead my Readers to reject *the Commandments and Doctrines of Men*, and place their ſole Confidence in his Holy Word.

F I N I S.

AN

Alphabetical Catalogue

OF THE

POPES,

FROM THE

Foundation of the See of *Rome* to the preſent Time, marking the Year of each Pope's Election and Death.

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